JAINA TRADITION IN INDIAN THOUGHT

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Prelude

Dr. Hiralal Jain's career represented a fascinating scholarly journey. He was born into a devout Digamber Jain family on October 5th, 1899 in Gangai, a small village on the banks of Sitarewa River, the lifeline of two major Gondwana State seats in Narsinghpur District of Central India province. When he was ten his parents sent him away for his anglovernacular schooling to nearby tehasil town Gadarwara. He passed his Secondary Certificate Examination with distinctions from District High School Narsinghpur. He was graduated from famous Robertson College, Jabalpur with flying colours. He obtained post graduate degree in Sanskrit from Allahabad University and was awarded university research fellowship. He was deeply interested in Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeological Research and Inscriptions. He helped Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal, the then commissioner, Govt. of C.P. and Berar in preparing the Descriptive Catalogue of old Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts preserved in Central India Province and prepared an excellent note on the inspection of the collection. The Govt. of C.P. and Berar appointed him as Asstt. Professor of Sanskrit in King Edward College, Amaroti. Dr. Jain rendered his services to Morris College, Nagpur as Professor and Principal till he retired from Govt. Service in 1954. He took over as Director Prakrit Jain Research Institute, Mujaffarpur on the invitation of Govt. of Bihar.

Dr. Hiralal Jain was essentially a teacher and scholar of international repute. He devoted the golden years of his life in conducting research and producing scholars of classic and mediaeval language and literature. He was offered the post of Professor and founder Head of the Deptt. of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit by the Jabalpur University in the year 1961. He accepted the assignment and served the University for eight years. He reorganised the Institute of Languages and Research during these years. All his energies, throughout his career, was devoted to the elucidation of the manifold facets of religious, philosophical and literary achievements of Jain tradition.

Dr. Hiralal Jain was a man of many worlds, literally and figuratively. He was first and foremost a scholar, a scholar of great sense of moral responsibility. He pushed the known boundaries of knowledge forward hitherto unknown regions and did that in various ways. His greatest scholarly achievement was undoubtedly the edition of Prakrit Jain Shrutang SHATKHANDAGAM of Acharya Pushpadant and Bhutbali with Dhavala Commentary by Veersenacharya. A splendid work on which he spent twenty

golden years, the formative period of his academic life. This edition of Shatkhandagam was published in 16 volumes with his classic introduction, scholarly commentaries and near original translation in Hindi from mediaeval language, better described as Jain Shoorseni Prakrit, thus causing an effect comparable to the translation of the Bible by Martin Luther.

Dr. Jain has focused his research on the religious, philosophical and literary achievements of Jain works throughout his long academic career spanning 46 years. In his inspiring and provocative works he has styled various ways of investigations. More often he studied the interaction of Indian religions with evidence from one tradition focusing on the others. His papers on Jain studies are scattered in many learned publications are brought together for the first time. They cover a wide range of topics representing Jain tradition in Indian thought and culture under the chapters : The Heritage, The History, The Literature, The Philosophy, and The Jain Tradition.

Various systems of religion have grown in the world at different times in different lands. If analysed closely and intellegently they will all be found to contain the same truth and the same morality. Jain morality was the highest in the great centuries of India. It has declined in recent times, since Jainism was compelled to make concessions to the social structure of orthodox Hinduism and accept the caste system against the teachings of Mahavira. Lord Mahavira did not close the gates of knowledge to the ordinary people of India. Every individual, be he a Shudra or a Harijan was free to acquire knowledge and train himself or herself in the highest discipline according to his or her abilities and take his or her place in the society of Jains. According to Jainism religion originally come in, not for safeguarding the future life of person in heaven but, as a measure to keep pace on earth, promot goodwill amongst mankind and inspire hope of a higher life in the individual. Jainism has attempted a rapprochment between these seemingly warring systems by a breadth vision of which goes the name of Syadvad or Anekant.

Jainism has been neglected as a field of study until recent times. Only handful of scholars have devoted time to the study of the sources of Jainism. Dr. Hiralal Jain have clarified the tradition and the principles which characterize the teachings of Mahavira in their distinct originality as an independent spiritual movement, centruries before Buddha who probably was himself a Jain, took the tremendous decision to start his own middle path between the two extremes of pleasure seeking and self mortification. Absolute freedom of philosophical discussion allows differences of opinion in matters of metaphysical theory. Buddha and Mahavir made use of this essential freedom to protest against the dogmastic interpretation of the Vedas against ritualism and ceremonialism which had been abused as a source of income by the priesthood and threatened the very concept of Indian spirituality as a universally valid heritage of the Indian people at large.

In this context Mahavira preceded Buddha and is now recognized as the equal of all the great thinkers of the world. He is most important world figure in the history of thought by virtue of his immence spiritual will power, so imposing and so successful that Buddha himself was compelled to recognize him inspite of the psychological

differences and metaphysical disputes between the disciples of the two greatest Indian master of Yoga. In fact Yoga serves as the common basis of all Indian religions. Yoga is the immemorial tradition of ancient India, the greatest contribution of India to world culture. Jainism is Yoga in its essence, Yoga in its purest form, Yoga as a discipline of body and mind, as the most efficient instrument of self mastery, as a technique for self control unparalleled in the history of religions. Yoga is essentially experimental, in the sense that the individual disciple becomes the laboratory in which the Psychological experiments take place. It imparts to the student the technology which helps him to systematically unfold his higher consciousness by controlling his external as well as internal activities the student is gradually taken through physical, moral, mental and spiritual exercises before he reaches the ultimate state of realisation. There he establishes himself as a 'free soul never to be born again and again' as Edwin Arnold describes the state of Nirvana.

Lord Mahavira was master of Yoga and the greatest Master of pure thought in the history of the human spirit. Mahavira inherited an immemorial tradition from the great Tirthankaras who preceded him among whom Parsva of 8th Century B.C. has been recognized as a historical figure, since Herman Jacobi demonstrated the probability of truth in the Jain Literary tradition. But, there is ample evidence that Jainism represents the purest and strictest form of Yoga as self discipline. The legend of Parsva, whose teaching Lord Mahavira revised and made the basis of his own movement, look upon him as the first historical known Yogi. Although it is admitted that Jainism goes back to prehistoric times and that Ṛṣabh the first of the 24 Tirthankars may have found Yoga as a technique for the training of the highest type of man long centuries before. Heinrich Zimmer the greatest Indologist of Germany has demonstrated in his book 'The Philosophies of India' that Jain Yoga originated in pre-Aryan India and has nothing to do with orthodox Brahmanism which simply appropriated Yoga and perverted it in later centuries.

Jain Yoga is prehistoric seems certain that the original and true spirit of ancient India was represented first by Jainism. Jainism is the fountain head of Indian thought in its purest Yogic tradition. The highest ideal of renunciation applied in everyday life among the Jain Gurus produces men of immense will power such as never existed. Lord Mahavira appeals to us mainly as a man of iron will, directed towards the inner life mastering every detail of the everyday routine of life. The fact that the spiritual hierarchy in Jainism is graduated in such a way that laymen and women can enter the Path and reach the first seven stages and still remain in social life proves the Sagacity of Mahavira who knew human nature as do none of the modern psychologists. He granted freedom within the hierarchy to every Jain to do what he could towards the highest realization without imposing asceticism in its most sever form in order to demonstrate to mankind the potentiality of total self mastery. That the Jain Sadhus gravitate round their Gurus in absolute simplicity and devotion, that the integrity of purpose of Jain Saints is indisputable.

The pursuit of Truth and knowledge has been long and often painfull. There have been many experiments in thought by many faiths but Jains achieved a perfect

way for its attainment. The persons who acquire complete mastery over *Rag* and *Dvesh* meaning worldly lusts and who attains the state of perfect knowledge are qualified to be called Jain. Jain philosophy is a way of living, a method of thought and action devoted to the attainment of the two fold armour of sacredness. One salvation as the goal and the other Non-violence for practice. Here I am reminded of the saying which goes–'It is not what men eat but what they digest, that makes them strong; not what we gain but what we save that makes us rich, not what men read but what they remember that makes them learned.' Likewise not what we preach but what we practice that makes us Jain.

The world today parts for Sages and Saints whose culture cannot be supported by states but nourished only with imponderable values, ethics and undiluted idealism. It is a science and not code of arbitrary rules and capritious commands. It is scientific and accurate religion. Jainism is a religion complete in itself in every way. Dr. Hiralal Jain has underlined the message of Jainism to mankind. "Be a man first and last, for the kingdom of God belongs to the son of man". It is this same truth that is proclaimed in unmistakable terms by the Upanishad text "Tat Tvam asi" (Thau art that) Dr. Jain was a true guru who does not intimidate. He encourages. He knew how to impart knowledge and knew that this is done by sharing. He was modest about his qualities and put people at ease. He feared no one and was not feared by any one.

Dr. Hiralal Jain was the rare model of "Tat Tvam asi" Thou art That. I feel proud and priviledged to introduce his essays on Jain studies to english loving people and write a prelude to 'Jain Tradition in Indian Thought'. His son and my mentor Professor Prafulla Kumar Modi Ex-Vice chancellor, Sagar University has made collection of the material easy. He gave necessary tips and his blessings. I express my heartfelt gratitudes for his suggestions and happiness for his affection.

(Dr. Dharam Chand Jain)

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Section - I
The Heritage

Age of the First Tirthamkara

It is now well known that the first Tirthamkara of Jainism was Lord Ṛṣabhadeva. But People generally forget that Ṛṣabhadeva has been as much adored in the Hindu Purāṇas as an incarnation of God as he is worshipped by the Jains as their Tirthamkara. A full account of this incarnation is found in the fifth section of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa where the five generations leading to the birth of Ṛṣabhadeva are shown as follows : 1. Svayambhu Manu 2. Priavrata, 3. Agnīdhra, 4. Nāvhi, 5. Ṛṣabha. The details of the birth of Ṛṣabha in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa are as follows—King Nabhi, the son of Agnidhra, had no progeny. He, therefore, with his wife Merudevi performed a sacrifice for securing the birth of a son. The God appeared. The priests adored him and related to him the desire of Nābhi to get a son like the God himself. The God said, "I am alone like myself and there is no one else like myself. Still the word of the Brahmins should not prove false. Hence I, shall incarnate myself with my partial virtues as the son of Nābhi." In the fulfilment of this boon, God was born as Ṛṣabha. In the words of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa - *"Barhishi tasminneva Vishnudatta Bhagawan Paramarshibhih prasadito Nabheh priyachikrishaya tadavarodhāt Merudevyam dharmān darshayitukāmo Vātarashanānām Sṛamananṇām Ṛshiṇam urdhvamanthinam suklayā tanvāvatatāra"* 'With his pleasure won by the great sages at the sacrifice, oh Vishnudata, the Lord, with a view to fulfil the desire of Nābhi took his pure incarnation in the womb of his wife Merudevi so that he might reveal the practices of the airgirdled (i.e. naked) and celebrate Sramana saints?

In this statement of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa two things deserve our special attention because they have a very intimate and important bearing upon the place of Lord Ṛṣabhadeva in Indian culture as well as his antiquity and literary tradition. Firstly there is no difference between the Hindus and the Jains as to the recognition and adorability of Ṛṣabhadeva in their respective divine hierarchies. He is very incarnation of Lord Vishnu for the Hindus as he is the first Tirthamkara of the Jains. The faith in his divine incarnation had become so much established in ancient times that even in the Shiva Mahapurana (7-2-9) he was counted amongst the twentyeighth Yogavàtaras of Lord Shiva. Secondly in age this incarnation was regarded as earlier even to that of Kṛṣṇa and Rāma. The purpose of this incarnation as revealed in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa connects the tradition about the prevalence of the Sramana dharma right to the most ancient literary work namely the Ṛgveda in a doubtless manner. According to the

Bhāgavata Purāṇa the purpose of the Ṛṣabha incarnation was to reveal the virtues of the wind-clad Sramana sages. It is also stated-*'Ayamavataro rajasopapluta-kaivalya-sikshanartham'*. This incarnation took place in order to preach absolute knowledge (kaivalya) to the people pervaded with base qualities (rajoguna). But the statement may also be interpreted as follows: "The purpose of this incarnation was to preach the attainment of Kaivalya by the practice of complete disregard of the body so as to allow dirt to accumulate over it? Allowing accumulation of dirt on the body by abstention from brushing the teeth, bathing etc. is a necessary part of the ascetic practice of Jainism. In the time of Buddha there were dirt-covered (Rajojattika) Sramanas as is proved by his own statement found in Majjhimānikaya (40) which is as follows :

'Naham bhikkhava samghatikassa samghati daranamettnā Samannam vadami, achelakassa achelakamatten, raja jalikassa, rajojallikamattena Samannam vadami? i.e. oh bhikkhus, I do not consider that Samanna to be fully observed merely by wearing monk's garments, by abstaining from wearing cloth or by accumulation of dirt on the body or having matted hair etc.

Now the question is how far do the reference to the wind-clad and dirt-covered saints, for whose enlightenment Lord Ṛṣabha according to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa took his incarnation, go in age in Indian literature? In this connection when we look into the most ancient literary works of India, namely the Vedas, we find the windclad (Vatarasana) saints mentioned there in many places. Some of the practices of the windclad saints in the verses of the Vedas are worth our attention. Let us see some of the verses in the Ṛgveda:-

Munayo Vātarasanah pisanga vasate mala
Vātasyānu dhrājim yanti yad devāso avikshata
Unmaditā mauneyena Vātan ā tasthima vayam
Sariredasmākam Yuyam martāso abhi pasyatha

(*Rg*. 10-136-1, 2)

In spite of several efforts of scholars it has not yet been, possible to arrive at an interpretation of the Vedic texts which may be free from doubt. However with the aid of the commentary of Sāyana I would translate the verses as follows:

The windclad saints (with their supersensuous perception) wear dirt (on their bodies) and they look tawny when they hold the motion of the wind (i.e. their breath in meditation) then they (with the lustre of their asceticism) attain the status of gods. (Abandoning all worldly pursuits) we observe silence and thereby enjoy supreme bliss. We stand only with the wind arround us. You mortals see our external bodies only (and not our real inner self. This is what the windclad saints make out).

Along with these verses in the Ṛgveda there is a verse in praise of Keshin which is as follows:-

Kesyagnim Keshi viṣvam Kesī bibharti rodasi.
Kesī visvām svardṛse kesidaṃ jyotiruchyate

(*Rg*. 10-136-1)

"Kesi bears fire, water as well as heaven and earth. Keshi brings before our eyes the universal truths. Keṣi is therefore called the light."

This praise of Kesi occurs at the beginning of the verses pertaining to the windclad saints quoted above which shows that he was the leader of those sages.

The practices of Kesī and the windclad saints as described in the Ṛgveda are worth comparing with those of the windclad Sramana sages and their chief Ṛṣabha. There is no scope for doubting the fact that the windclad saints mentioned in the Ṛgveda and those mentioned in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa mean the same organisation of ascetics. Kesi means 'having prominent hair' which Sayana interprets "wearing rays of light like hair" consistently with his idea of referring it to the sun. But that interpretation has no relevancy or consistancy with the windclad sages to whose practices the whole poem is devoted. Kesi must mean the chief of the Vatarasana sages in whose practices accumulation of dirt, silence and a state of self-intoxication have been specifically mentioned. This is further supported by the fact that Kesi has been subsequently mentioned in the same poem as-

Munir devasya devasya
Saukrtyaya sakha hitah

"i.e. the sage of every god, a friend and benefactor for the good (of all). In the word Vatarasana and in their wearing dirt (vasate mala) there is a clear indication of the practice of nakedness." This may be compared with what the Bhāgavata Purāṇa says about Ṛṣabha which is as follows:-

"Urvaritasariramatraparigrahah unmatta iva gaganaparidhanah prakirnakesah atmanyaropitahavaniyo Brahmartat pravavraja. Jadandhamukabbadhirapisachonma- ttakavad avadhutaveso abhibhasyamanopi jananam grhitamaunavratah tusnim babhuva --- Paragavalambanakutilajatilakapisakesabhuribharo avadhuta malina nija sarirena grahagrhita ivadrsyata' i.e. Ṛṣabha had only his body left to himself as his belonging. Like an intoxicated person, skyclad (naked) and with dishevelled hair, with the sacrificial fire set within himself, he became a wandering ascetic from Brahmavarta. Having an appearance of self-abandonment as if unconscious, blind, dumb, deaf and possessed by an evil spirit, he was silent even when addressed by the people, observing the vow of silence. Bearing a big load of curly matted brown hair hanging on all sides, he, with his body neglected and dirty, looked as if he was haunted by a ghost.

In fact, if we read the life of Ṛṣabhadeva as described in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa side by side with the poem on Kesi from the Ṛgveda, it would appear as if the account of the Purāṇa was an extensive commentary upon the Vedic text. We find at both places the same practice of being windclad or skyclad, bearing matted hair, brown colour, dirt, silence and self-intoxication. The practice of curly hair in the case of Lord Ṛṣabha finds a continued and uninterrupted recognition from most ancient times in Jain iconography where he alone of all the Tirthamkaras is represented with his curly hair as his chief distinctive mark. In this connection, I am reminded of Kesariyanatha which is another name of Ṛṣabhanatha. Kesara, Kesa and Jatā mean the same thing as the lexicography says "sata jatakesarayoh". A lion is also called Kesarin because he has his means. Thus Kesi and Kesari apear to signify the same Kesariyanatha or Ṛṣabhanatha. The popular practice of offering Kesara to Kesariyanath seems to have arisen from the similarity of words. Thus Kesi and Vātarasana sramanas of Bhāgavata

Purāṇa on the one hand and Kesariyanatha or Ṛṣabha Tirthamkara and his Nirgrantha organisation as prevalent on the other appear to be the same.

When I had identified Kesi and Ṛṣabha by the interential process set forth above, my eyes accidentally fell upon a verse in the Ṛgveda where Vṛṣabha and Kesi are mentioned side by side. This verse is as follows:-

Kakardava Vrsabha yukta asid
Avavachit Sarathirasya Kesi
Dudheryuktasya drabatah sahanasa
rechanti sma nispado mudgalanim

(*Rg.* 10-102-6)

According to the introductory verses *'Mudgalsya hṛta gavo'* etc. quoted from Nirukta at the top of the Ṛgveda poem, the cows of sage Muḍgala had been stolen away by thieves. In order to get them back he made Kesi Vṛṣabha his character by whose utterances the cows stopped from running away and turned back to Muḍgala, while commenting upon the verse, Sayana has first interpreted Kesi and Vṛsabha as referring to two different beings, but as an alternative meaning he says *'Athava asya Sarathih sahayabhutah Kesi prakirnakeso. Vṛasbho avavachit bhrsamasabdayat'* etc. Bearing in mind this latter interpretation of Sāyana and the introductory story as well as the ancient tradition of symbolic statements in the field of Indian philosophical exposition I would translate the verse as follows—Kesi Vṛṣabha the chariotteer (dharma sarathi - religious leader of sage Mudgala engaged in destroying the enemies (i.e. passions) spoke out, as a result of which the cows (i.e. senses) of Mudgala, which were running along with his yoked and irresistible chariot (i.e. body) became still and returned to Mudgala's own self i.e. the senses of Mudgala which were running after external objects became controlled and turned towards the self by the preachings of Kesi Vṛṣabha.

Thus the identity of Kesi and Vṛṣabha or Ṛṣabha is fully proved by the Ṛgveda itself. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the name Kesi has continued tó survive in the bierarchy of Jain ascetics as is proved by the fact that the chief disciple of Parsvanātha who led the Jain ascetics at the time of Lord Mahavira was named Kesi (Uttaradhyana 23 Kesi goyamijjam).

Scholars, I hope, will consider this identification of Kesi and the Vātarasana sages with Ṛṣabha and the Sramana ascetics of Bhāgavata Purāṇa and of Jainism. As I have already stated, scholars have not even yet fully succeeded in the interpretation of the Vedas beyond dispute. In particular, the Vedic interpretation has to be improved considerably so as to make it consistent with, the honour and dignity which the Vedas enjoy in Indian culture.

I trust that a good deal of mystery would be resolved when all the references to Kesi, Vṛṣabha or Ṛṣabha and Vātaraṣana sages are studied deeply with close attention.

Era of Last Tirthamkara

In the sphere of thought and culture there have been great revolutions in this land. Imagine Indian society as it was organised three thousand years back. Sacrificial cult held the field. For getting heaven let us perform a sacrifice, for securing the birth of a son, let us perform a sacrifice, for getting money, power, prestige or an object of love let us perform this or that sacrifice. These were the popular and sacred slogans, Kings were elevated to sovereign or dethroned from kingship and all the wishes of the people were promised to be fulfilled by vast sacrifices involving the slaughter of innumerable dumb animals. Sacrifice was the activity 'par excellence' the high priests of the cult also thought it fit to institute the *Varnashrama* distinctions involving the division of the society into men of high and low birth. The ideological and social effects of these cults and institutions can easily be understood. As distinguished from the *Brahmanas*, there were the *Sharmanas* who questioned the authority of the Vedas, the efficacy of the sacrifices and belief in divine wrath of pleasure, as well as the propriety of those social distinctions. According to the literary traditions preserved in the Jaina purāṇas of considerable antiquity, the first Sharmana who launched the campaign mentioned above was Lord Ṛṣabhadeva, who even according to the Hindu Purāṇas, was a very ancient sage, being fifth in descent from *Svayambhu Manu*. He is also admitted to have belonged to a line of ascetics called "Vata-rashana munayah"-the wind-clad ascetics-who find mention in a number of verses in the *Ṛigveda*, older than which there is no piece of literary evidence in India.

Ṛṣabhadeva is said to have been followed by twenty-three other Tirthamkaras, the last of whom was Lord Mahavira, who was preceded by Lord Parshvanatha by two and a half centuries. The Parshvanatha Hills in the Hazaribagh district of Bihar stand as a lasting memorial to the memory of this Tirthamkara. Parshvanatha's predecessor was Neminatha, a cousin of Lord Krishna Vasudeva who guided the Mahabharata War and recited the Bhagavat Gita. Neminatha is still commemorated by the Girnar Hills in Kathiawad where numerous temples are dedicated to his worship. Mahavira was the last in this line of Teachers and he marked the culmination of the revolutionary process.

Born a prince, Mahavira was not allured by royalty, and he left the palace at the age of thirty. The next twelve years of his life were devoted to severe austerities and

intense contemplation in the solitude of the forest. He tried to solve the mysteries of life and nature, and at last supreme wisdom (Kaivalya) dawned on him. It was only then that he started preaching to the people and transforming their moral values and social behaviour. The revolution that he brought about in these spheres forms the firm foundation of Indian culture today.

Lord Mahavira propounded the independance of the spirit, and the possibility of its attaining the highest status of Paramatman. From this point of view, a new sanctity came to be attached to life. It was no more human life alone which was too sacred to be destroyed; even the so-called lower forms of life deserve to be protected against indiscriminate destruction. As far as possible, each living being should be allowed to work out its own destiny unhampered by any external violence or tyranny. The tendency to violence proceeds from a feeling of resentment against any deed or opinion which appears to be opposed to one's own. Mahavira, under the system of *Anekanta* explained that the so-called differences or oppositions were merely the various aspects of a single truth which is always many-sided. Sanity demands that instead of getting upset by the differences, one should try to resolve them by attempting a proper synthesis. The synthetic approach of Lord Mahavira was actually called by Acharya Samantabhadra, nearly fifteen centuries ago, the *Sarvodaya Tirtha*. It would be worth while for the Sarvodaya workers of today to pay some attention to the requirements of that ideal as laid down by Lord Mahavira.

The sacrificial cult no more hold the field now. The Varnashrama form of society has yielded place to a unified status of Indian nationhood available equally to all, and non-violence has been accepted as the basic virtue for individual, social, national as well as international behaviour. Mahatma Gandhi's *Passive Resistance, non-violent non-cooperation*, Pandit Nehru's principles of *Peaceful Coexistence* and Acharya Vinoba Bhave's *Bhudana* ideal, are, in their ultimate analysis, special application work performed on particular occasions and objectives. Lord Mahavira renounced royalty, courted poverty to the utmost limit, and preached limitation of worldly wants and wealth. He has thus already provided for us a suitable basis for the organisation of a socialistic society of State. His adoption of the people's tongue in preference to the language of the learned i.e. Sanskrit, for the purpose of preaching had a far reaching effect in preserving numerous popular dialects of different ages in the different parts of our vast country, and it is only on account of these literary treasures of Jainism that it is possible to trace out the development of modern Indian languages over a period of more than two thousand years. The earliest piece of writing on stone so far discovered and decifered is in memory of Lord Mahavira. The earliest images and statues in our country are also those of the Jaina Tirthamkaras found at Mathura and other places. Some of the literary and artistic products of the followers of Lord Mahavira are amongst the most outstanding examples of Indian culture which could be proud of them for all time to come. In the light of all these facts it is unjustifiable to claim that Lord Mahavira's teachings have triumphed in India more than any other system.

It is not only the Indian cultural history which is dominated by Lord Mahavira. He was contemporaneous with Lord Buddha in India, Confucius in China and Socrates in Greece. Compare him with these great men and it will be found that, to say the

least, he was in no way inferior to any of them in his contributions to human thought and culture. It is now for the government and the people of India to consider seriously and decide how they would like to perpetuate the memory of this great teacher of humanity and maker of ancient as well as modern India.

It may, in this context, be asked that if Lord Mahavira's teachings were so liberal in their views as to comprehend not only all humanity but all living beings, how is it that his followers themselves now exhibit a very narrow outlook in the matter of unification of Indian society and removal of social distinctions such as untouchability and Harijans' temple entry. I must at once confess that activities in every society which, however, should not be considered to be properly represented by them. But being myself a member of the Jaina society, I must, in fairness to those coreligionists of mine, say that it is not really the spirit underlying these reforms which they oppose. In fact, we are all very proud of the fact that the principles that are now being accepted by others have characterized Jain culture for all these centuries since the time of Lord Mahavira. But what is being resented now is the manner in which the new legistation is being carried out. The wordings of the law and its amendment that is on the anvil now are such as to give an impression that Jainism was a form of Hinduism. Now, a follower of Jainism would reasonably ask 'What is Hinduism?' The legislators refuse to define it. Nevertheless every student of Indian history knows very well that the term Hindu is of foreign origin and came into use by the foreigners about the Muslim period. No ancient Vedic, Buddhist or Jain Sanskrit, Pali or Prakrit text even contains this word. It was on account of its foreign tinge that the name Hindustan was found unacceptable for the country, and its ancient name Bharat was restored. Why not then call all the existing or the ancient Indian systems by a common term Bharatiya Dharma or some such thing, instead of illogically sticking to a name for which we have already shown our dislike and which is foreign to all our ancient history and literature. A Jain honestly fails to understand what is meant exactly when his twentyfive centuries old system of religion is designed to be called a form of something which was not even in existence anywhere in the world even one millennium.

The followers of Lord Mahavira yield to none in their national spirit and wide sympathies, and they would support all efforts towards universalising the principles of peaceful coexistence, banning of highly destructive weapons, socialistic reorganisation of society and abolition of all forms of social fragmentation under caste, creed or religion, because these principles form the basic foundations of Lord Mahavira's teachings. But what the Jains desire is that justice must be done to all in every sphere history should not be ignored or allowed to be distorted or coloured through any kind of partiality. Those who are the followers of Lord Mahavira, to them I appeal earnestly to pay more attention to his essential teachings and act in a manner which would do credit to him and his creed. To those who are in positions of power and honour, I humbly request to be fair in their estimate and decisions and allot to personalities, principles and systems their proper place in the national and cultural life of India. To all my other friends I recommend the proper study of the life of Lord Mahavira and his contributions to the cause of human happiness, peace and progress.

Lord Mahavira

Lord Mahavira is known to world history a close contemporary of Buddha. He is as popular in India as, Confucius in China and Socrates in Greece.

All of them were great wise men who revealed human values of supreme importance and revolutioned human thought and culture by their philosophies.

But Lord Mahavira is distinguished by his great gift to humanity in the form of the highest ethical virtue of Ahimsa which has become of first importance in world affairs today.

It is therefore necessary to take an account of the life and teachings of this great world figure on the occasion of his 2600th birth anniversary.

Eastern India has been the scene of philosophical thought and activities since times immemorial. It was here that the supreme spiritual thought contained in the Shramanas cry of revolt against animal sacrifices which formed an integral part of the Vedic religion.

The Kshatriya nobility, influenced with a belief in the spiritual unity between men and animals and conscious of their chivalrous duty to protect the sinless and punish the guilty, were the first to be aroused by the pitiful groaning of the innumerable innocent creatures led to the sacrificial altar in the name of religion.

The ruling family of Vaishali belonged to one of these Kshatriya dynasties.

The Prince of Kundapur named Siddhartha was the son-in-law of Chetaka, the King of Vaishali and brother-in-law of Shrenika Bimbisara, the Emperor of Magadha.

It was this Prince Siddhartha and his wife Trishala who were destined to be the parents of the greatest man of the age, namely, Lord Mahavira.

The site where Mahavira was born is now mostly in ruins.

It is identified with a village called Basarh (a corruption of the ancient name Vaishali) in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar. Where an institution for the study of the teachings of Mahavira and the Prakrit literature which preserves them, has been established.

The young prince was brought up with care in the palace and was imparted the best education of his age. But the growth of years did not promote in him the love of royalty.

He felt impelled to devote himself to a life of austerity suited for the relief of human suffering and guidance towards supreme realisation.

Mahavira left the palace at the age of thirty. For the next twelve years he devoted himself to a life of severe discipline as a monk. Even the slightest article of luxury and comfort he considered to be a botheration and a hindrance in the way of spiritual pursuits.

He therefore assumed nakedness and came to be known as Nigganthа or Achelak (the clothless). It is by these epithets that Mahavira is mentioned in the most ancient Pali texts of Buddhism which assume Jainism as well established religion and Mahavira a well recognised teacher.

It must in this connection be remembered that Mahavira was by no means the first to practice this form of austerity.

The most ancient Indian book the Rigveda-itself records the existence of the Vatarashana (airclad) sages and some of their practices are described there.

It was in the line of these Vatarashana munis according to the Bhagavata Purana that Rishabhadeva was born as the fifth in direct descent from Svayambhuva Manu.

The Jain tradition is that Rishabhdeva was the first Tirthamkara. Who was followed by twenty-two others at vast intervals before Mahavira appeared on the scene as the twenty-fourth Tirthamkara.

The twenty-second Tirthamkara is known to be Neminatha, the cousin of Krishna Vasudeva of the Mahabharta fame. He practised penances at Girnar.

The hill of that name is Kathiawar is still held sacred and is adorned with a large number of magnificient Jain temples.

The twenty-third Tirthamkara is Parshvanath who was born at Banaras and practised penances at Sammedashikhara in Bihar. Which continues to be the most sacred place of pilgrimage for the Jains and is popularly known as the Parshvanatha hill.

At the beginning of Indological studies by western scholars Mahavira was hopelessly confused with Buddha. Later when in the light of further evidence his personality could not be so drowned, his system of religion was considered to be an offshoot of Buddhism.

It was ultimately Dr. Herman Jacobi's researches into Jain and Buddhist literary traditions which established beyond doubt that Jainism was not only independent of Buddhism but Mahavira was a senior contemporary of Buddha and that Mahavira only revived a faith which was already current in his time, his own parents being adherents of that faith. It was also proved that the Jain tradition regarding the twenty-third Tirthamkara Parshvanatha having preached 250 years before was true. The high priests of the Vedic cult were known as brahmanas while the Jain ascetics were called shramanas. The latter did not accept the authority of the Vedas, denounced Vedic sacrifices, entertained no faith in divine favour or disfavour and did not subscribe to the Varnashrama system of social distinctions. The independence of the two orders

was as complete as their antagonism at the earliest stage and this is attested by the authority of the grammarians of the Paninian school who illustrated a rúle of compound formation of words signifying irreconcilable opposition (Yesham cha virodhah shashvatikah) by the example of Shramana-Brahmanan.

Mahavira was thus the twenty-fourth and the last Tirthamkara of the Jains. He practised absolute abstention from worldy possessions and preached Ahimsa on the eve of the historical period of Indian history. He devoted twelve years to the disciplining of his body and mind away from the vibrations of the coach horn and public opinion. He lived on alms of food offered unshaked and contemplated about supreme realities in the peace and quitude of the forest The realisation downed on him and he became Kevali (supremely enlightened).

He then reached Rajagriha the Magadha capital and delivered his first sermon on the Vipulachala a hill in its vicinity which is still held sacred for that event.

The Magadha emperor Shrenika Bimbisara attended on him and put numerous questions concerning the Shramanic traditions.

The same were replied by his chief disciple Gautama Indrabhuti and most of the Jain puranas and narrative tales begin with an account of this meeting as their preamble.

Mahavira then undertook a wide tour throughout the length and breath of northern India. He preached to large masses of people who listened to him with interest, accepted his teachings with faith and practised the same according to their taste and capacity.

He organised his followers into a fourfold Sangha, Muni, Aryika, Shravaka and Shravika (monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen).

He continued to preach for a period of thirty years before he threw off his mortal coil and attained Nirvana at the age of seventy-two at a place called Pava. The site which is now held sacred to the memory of his Nirvana is Pavapuri situated close to Bihar Shareef and not very far from Nalanda and Rajgir.

A fine temple with water all around exists at the site and thousands of devotees go to this temple all around the years but particularly on the fourteenth of the dark fortnight of Kartika to perform the Nirvana worship.

According to the Jain tradition of very ancient origin the most popular Indian festival the Deepamalika or Divali was instituted in memory of Lord Mahavira's Nirvana.

The teachings of Lord Mahavira constitute the Jainism which owns about two million followers today.

The religion is characterised by a special emphasis upon the freedom of the individual as the architect of his own fate, his moral responsibility for his deeds, synthesis of thought and ideas in arriving at the truth and Ahimsa as the highest ethical virtue.

All living beings possess an indestructible soul capable of developing and evolving itself by a process of purification into a Paramatma higher than whom their is none.

Each individual is fully responsible for his deeds, mental, vocal and physical. These threefold activities have a power in themselves to forge spiritual bonds capable of producing all the multifold events and experience incidental to this life as well as the next without the intervention of any other divine agency.

The idea is fully explained in the Jain law of Karma. Pursuit of truth is the key to salvation and truth could never be known by being fanatic or dogmatic.

The way to it lies through Anekanta according to which all seemingly warring notions and ideas are only the various aspects of a single reality which is many sided.

Understand them and fit them into their proper places and you will get unity, harmony, consistency and completeness which otherwise appear to be unattainable.

Lord Mahavira's teachings however reach their pinnacle of glory in his message of Ahimsa (non-violence), as the supreme ethical and moral virtue.

All living beings are fellow travellers on the path of salvation. As such no one has a right to come in the path of another or cause any hindrance by any kind of violence or injury.

A gentleman has been defined as one who has no tendency to do violence to others. Mahavira has tried to transform all into gentlemen of this nature.

The moral principle of Ahimsa applied judiciary would purify all fields of human activity including social, political and economic spheres. Live and let live is the sum and substance of Ahimsa.

Peaceful co-existence in individual as well as national and international spheres is a message of hope to humanity held out by this principle of Ahimsa.

Although Ahimsa has been the creed of the followers of Lord Mahavira for thousands of years, its practice was confined to the narrow limits of religion.

It was given to Mahatma Gandhi to apply the principle of Ahimsa effectively in the domain of political struggle for Independence.

Non-aggression, non-interference, respect for the freedom of others, mutual cooperation in peaceful pursuits, renouncing destructive weapons and utilising knowledge for promotion of happiness and alleviation of suffering all these are only the positive and negative aspects of Ahimsa in its application to social behaviour of individuals as well as nations.

For the propagation of these noble objectives and ideals, there could be no better occasion than the birth anniversary of the great apostle of Ahimsa Lord Mahavira, whose message has been ringing in this land for twenty-six centuries now.

It would also be in the fitness of things if Lord Mahavira's birth anniversary is utilised for the spread of his noble teachings based on Ahimsa.

A time may soon come, let us hope, when the teachings of Lord Mahavira will be accepted universally as the best way to the goal of happiness and peace not only in this land or that but throughout the world.

The Practice of the Earlier Tirthamkaras

It is now established beyond doubt and dispute that Lord Mahāvīra adopted an earlier system of religion which was prevalent in his time and which he renovated and preached to his followers. To mention a few outstanding researches in this direction, it was Dr. Herman Jacobi who in his Introduction to Vols. XXII & XIV of the Sacred Books of the East presented evidence both from the Ardhamāgadhī and Pāli texts to prove "that Pārśva was a historical person". Shri Dhamānand Kosambi took up the thread and he in his book 'Pārśvanātha's Cāturyāma Dharma brought together a mass of material, particularly from the Pāli books, to show how Buddha himself came into contact with the followers of Parsvanath even before as well as after his enlightenment and how the tenets of that earlier system influenced him in the formulation of his own teachings. Pt. Sukhlalji in his article 'Bhagwan Pārśvanātha Kī Virāsat' (Darshana aur Cintana, Part II) has further supported the thesis and has also tried to show what exactly the practice of the followers of Pārśvanātha was. In this task he has focussed attention upon a number of references in the Ardha-Māgadhi Canon. Pandit Dalsukh Mālvaniya has in one of his articles collected all the references to the followers of Parsvanath occurring in the canonical works.

The asceticism of Pārśvanātha has been called 'Cāujjāma (Sk. Cāturyāma) and this name has been given even to the system of Mahāvīra in the Pāli books. The crux of the problem is what exactly was the meaning and significance of 'Caujjama'. The Pāli interpretation of the word is entirely different from that found in the Ardhamāgadhi Canon which understands by it the four vows out of the five laid down by Lord Mahāvīra.

On this point Pt. Sukhlalji has noticed briefly the tradition as contained in the Mulācāra and other Digambara Jain works. But the data presented by him leaves us in doubt as to the exact nature of the tradition and its bearing upon the subject of the religious form of the earlier Tīrthamkara. I am therefore attempting here to present that tradition in a more clear form and see how far it is in agreement or at variance with the ArdhaMāgadhī and Pāli traditions

In the Mulācāra Vaṭṭakera we find the following verses:-

वावीसं तित्थयरा सामायिस-संजंम उवदिसंति।
छेदुवाटाणियं पुण भयवं उसहो यवीरो य।। १।।

आचक्खिदुं विभजिदुं विण्णादुं चावि सुहदरं होदि।
एदेण कारणेण दु महव्वदा पंच पण्णत्ता।। २।।
आदीए दुव्विसोधण णिहणो तह सुट्ठु दुरणुपालेय।
पुरिमा य पच्छिमा वि हु कप्पाकप्पं ण जाणंति।। ३।।

The purport of these verses is as follows:-

The twenty-two Tirthamkaras ("from Ajitanatha to Parsvanatha) have preached Sāmājiya Sanjama (Sk. Sāmāyika Saṃyama) while the First and the Last Tirthaṃkaras (i.e. Ṛṣabha and Mahāvīra) preached Cheduvaṭṭhāṇiyam (SK. Chedopasthāpanā saṃyama). The reason for laying down five vows was that this method makes it easier to explain, analyse and understand the subject matter. People at the beginning were hard to purify and at the end it was difficult to make them keep to the right path. Thus people, at the beginning and at the end did not know what to do and what not do to."

These verses are followed in one edition of the Mulācāara (Text & trans. by Jinadasa Parsvantha Phadkule Sholapur) by another verse which is as follows:-

अज्जव-जडा अणज्जव-जडा य उसह-वीर-तित्थजा मणुजा।
तेसिं सुबोधमत्थं छेदोवट्ठावणं वुत्तं।

'Straight but dull and non-straight and dull were the people during the age of Ṛṣabha and Mahāvīra respectively. For their easy grasp the Chedovaṭṭhāvanā was laid down'.

These contents of Mulācāra would be found to be almost identical with those of Uttarādhyayana Chapter 23. But there is one important difference. While in Uttrādhyayana the system of the twenty-two intervening Tirthaṃkaras is called by the name Cāujjāma (Sk. Chāturyāma), it has been here called Sāmāiya Sanjama and in contra-distinction with it the system of Five Vows has been called Chedovatthaniyam. It is therefore necessary to find out what is exactly meant by these terms.

The commentator of Mulācāra Vasunandi is not sufficiently helpful on the point, because he does not try to interpret the two significant terms. Nevertheless he explicitly mentions that by Chedopasthāpana is meant the Five Great Vows, as is implied in the text itself. The two terms are explained by Devanandin Pūjyapāda in his commentary Sarvārtha-siddhi on the Tattvārtha Sūtra (VII, IX of Umāswāti) as follows:-

.......सर्व-सावद्य-निवृत्ति-लक्षण-सामायिकापेक्षया एकं व्रतं, तदेव
छेदोपस्थापनापेक्षया पंचविधमिहोच्यते।

The Tattvārtha-vārtika further clarifies it by reading the last clause as भेदपरतन्त्र-छेदोपस्थापनापेक्षया पंचविधं व्रतम् Just before these remarks Pujyapāda gives an etymological explanation of the work Sāmāyika.

सम् एकीभावे वर्तते। तद्यथा-संगतं घृतं, संगतं तैलमित्युच्यते एकीभूतमिति गम्यते।
एकत्वेन अयनं गमनं समयः। समयः एव सामायिकम्।
समयः प्रयोजनमस्येति वा विगृह्य सामायिकम्।

These remarks are made while commenting upon the sūtra enumerating the five vows, namely, हिंसाऽनृत-स्तेयाब्रह्मपरिग्रहेभ्यो विरतिर्व्रतम्। This leaves us in no doubt that chedova ṭṭhaniyam sanjama means these same five vows and no others.

The word *Sāmāyika* has here and elsewhere been repeatedly explained to mean abandonment of all sinful acts in equal manner without making a distinction, and hence all vows boil down to one. If therefore Parsvanath preached Samayika samyama, it means there was no division of the vows into even two classes, to say nothing of the four. Division and classification come only with Chedopasthānika saṃyama, which according to Jayasena commentator of Pravacanasāra of Kundakunda (III, 10) may mean:-

> छेदेन व्रतभेदेन उपस्थापनं छेदोपस्थापनम्।
> तच्च संक्षेपेण पंच-महाव्रतरूपं भवति।

i.e. Presentation of Saṃyama by cutting it into several distinct vows is called Chedopasthāpanā which briefly consists of the five vows. This is also what is meant by the author of Sarvārthasiddhi (IX, 18) when he says छेदोपस्थापना विकल्पनिवृत्तिर्वा which is further explained in Rāja-vārttikka as सावद्यं कर्म हिंसादिभेदेन विकल्पनिवृत्तिः छेदोपस्थापना।

Viewed in the light of these explanations of Sāmāyika and Chedopasthāpanā saṃyama, the statement in the Mulācāra as set forth above is found to mean, so far as the distinct characteristic of Pārśvanātha's ascetic practice is concerned, that while Pārśvanātha regarded all Samyama as one (Sāmāyika), Mahāvīra classified it into five vows Chhedopasthānika).

Let us now see whether this view finds any support in the Arhdha Māgadhi Canon. *The first statement that caught my eye in this context was Uttarādhyayana* XXIX, 8 which is as follows:-

> सामाइएण भंते जीवे किं जणयइ? सामाइएणा सावज्ज-जोग-विरइं जणयइ।

Further, the statement in Bhagvatī (25, 7, 785) made the whole position clear. It is as follows:-

> सामाइयंमि उ कए चाउज्जामं अणुत्तरं धम्मं।
> तिविहेण फासयंतो सामाइय-संजओ स खलु।।
> छेत्तूणं य परियागं पोराणं जो ठवेइ अप्पाणं।
> धम्मंमि पंचजामे छेदोवट्ठाणओ स खलु।।२।।

Here we are told beyond any possibility of doubt that Sāmāiya Sanjama itself involves Cāujjāma while splitting of the vows into five restraints would constitute the Chhedovaṭṭhāniyam. If we leave for the moment the word Cāujjāma out of consideration the distinction between Sāmāyika and Chhedopasthāpanā is exactly the same as has been explained above according to the Mulācāra tradition, namely observing purity and freedom from all sinful deeds without any categories is Sāmāyika while splitting the same into classes, which happen in the present case to be five, is Chedopasthānika Saṃyama.

According to Āyāranga (II, 15, 1013) Lord Mahāvīra adopted the *Sāmāyika Saṃyama* at the time of the renunciation. This is described as follows:-

तओ णं समणे भगवं महावीरे दाहिणेणं दाहिणं वामेणं वामं पंचमुट्ठियं लोयं करेत्ता सिद्धाणां णमोक्कारं करेइ। करेत्ता सव्वं मे अकरणिज्जं पावकम्मं त्ति कट्ट सामाइयं चारित्त पडि वज्जइ। सामाइयं चरित्तं पडिवज्जित्ता देवपरिसंमणुय-परिसं च आलिक्खचित्तभूयमिव ठवेइ।

Here not only the lord is said to have adopted the Sāmāīya Sanjama. But the nature of the Sāmāiya Sanjama is also explained, namely, 'I renounce all sinful acts.' There is here no mention of any kinds of vows. But when he attained omniscience he preached the Five Great Vows:-

तओ णं समणे भगवं महावीरे उप्पण-णाणदंसण-धरे गोयमाईणां समणाणं
णिग्गंथाणां पंचमहव्वयाइं सभावणाइं छज्जीवणिकायाइं आइक्खइं भासइ परूवेइं

(२, १५, १०२४)

Thus, Lord Mahāvīra was himself observing the all comprehensive and omnibus Sāmāyika Saṃyama and it was only after his enlightenment that he preached the Five Vows i.e., Chedovatthāṇiyama.

Some fresh light is thrown on the subject by Siddhasena Gaṇi. Commenting on Tattvārtha Sūtra IX, 18 after explaining the word Sāmāyika etymologically, he says:-

सामायिकं द्विप्रकारम्-इत्वर-कालं यावज्जीविकं च। तत्राद्यं प्रथमान्त्य-तीर्थकर-तीर्थयोः प्रव्रज्याप्रतिपत्तावारोपितं शास्त्रपरिज्ञाध्ययनादिविदः श्रद्धतः छेदोपत्थाप्य-संयनारोपण-विशिष्टतरत्वाद् विरतेः सामायिक-व्यपदेशं जहातीत्यत इत्वर-कालम्। मध्यम-तीर्थकृतां विदेहक्षेत्रवर्तिनां च यावज्जीविकं, प्रव्रज्या-प्रतिपत्तिकालादारभ्य आप्राण-प्रयाण-कालादवतिष्ठते।

प्रथमान्त्य-तीर्थकर-शिष्याणां सामान्य-सामायिकपर्यायच्छेदो विशुद्धतर-सर्वसावद्य-योग-विरतावस्थानं विविक्ततर-महाव्रतारोपणं छेदोपस्थाप्यसंयमः। छोदोपस्थापनमेव छेदोपस्थाप्यम्, पूर्वपर्यायच्छेदे सति उत्तर-पर्याये उपस्थापनम्, भावे यतो विधानात्। तदपि द्विधा, निरतिचारसातिचार-भेदेन। तत्र शिक्षकस्य निरतिचारमधीत-विशिष्टाध्ययनविदः मध्यम-तीर्थकर-शिष्यो वा यदोपसम्पद्यते चरम-तीर्थकर-शिष्याणामिति

सातिचारं तु भग्न-मूलगुणस्य पुनर्व्रतारोपणात् छेदोपस्थाप्यम्।

उभयं चैतत् सातिचारं निरतिचारं च स्थितकल्प एव, आद्यन्त-तीर्थकरयोरेवेत्यर्थः।

This may be translated as follows:-

'Sāmāyika' is of two kinds namely temporary and life long. The former is called temporary during the age of the First and the Last Tīrthamkaras it being assumed at the time of initiation (Pravrajyā), abandons the name Sāmāyika when the renunciation becomes more specialised by the assumption of Chedopasthāpya by the faithful ascetic having acquired the knowledge of Śastra-parijñā adhyayana and the like. The Sāmāyika is life-long in the case of the middle Tirthaṃkaras as well as of those of Videha Kṣetra, because beginning with the time of taking Pravṛjyā, it subsists till the time of life departs.

In the case of the followers of the first and the last Tīrthaṃkara there is the discard of the general Sāmāyika-paryāya followed by resort to purer renunciation of all sinful activities and assumption of more distinct Mahā-vratas which constitute the

Chedopasthāpana is also of two kinds, namely faultless and faulty. Of these, it is faultless in the case of a teacher who has acquired the knowledge of the particular Adhyāyam by studying the same, or in the case of a disciple of the middle Tīrthaṃkaras when he takes Upasaṃpadā from the disciples of the first or the last Tīrthaṃkaras. It is faulty Chedopasthāpya when one breaks the Mūla-guṇas and assumes the vratas once again. Both these kinds of Chedopasthāpya, namely, faity and faultless, hold good only in the Sthita-kalpa, that is to say, in the age of the first and the last Tīrthamkaras only.

Here, we learn without a shadow of doubt that the followers of Pārśvanātha observed Sāmāyika Saṃvama only all their life, while in the case of the followers of Mahāvīra it formed a temporary phase and when the probationary period was over after the pravrajya, the disciple took *Upasthāpana* by assuming the distinct Mahāvratas. It envisages two stages of ascetic life, one being called *Parvrajyā* and the other *Upasthāpanā* or *Upasampadā*, like what we find in Buddhism and also in Christianity called Baptism and Confirmation.

We find this same kind of initiation described at the beginning of the Chapter of Caritra in the Pravacanasāra of Kundakunda. Both niraticāra and sāticāra chedopasthāpana is dealt with here, although the commentators have generally missed the point and have got confused with the two meanings of *Cheda*. The following verses are particularly noteworthy:-

आदाय तं पि लिंग गुरुणा परमेण तं नमंसित्ता।
सोच्चा सवदं किरियं उवट्ठिदो होदिसो समणो।। ७।।

वद-समिदिंदियरोधो लोचावस्सयमचेलमण्हाणं।
खिदिसयणमदंतवणं ठिदिभोयणमेगभत्तं च।। ८।।

एदे खलु मूलगुणा समणाणां जिणवरेहि पण्णत्ता।
तेसु (ऽ) पमत्तो समणो छेदोवट्ठाणगो होदि।। ९।।

लिंगग्गहणे तेसिं गुरुत्ति पव्वज्ज-दायगो होदि।
छेदेसु अवधा सेसा णिज्जावगा समणा।। १०।।

On these verses a few remarks of the commentator Amritacandra may also be noted:

ततः सर्व-सावद्य योग-प्रत्याख्यान-लक्षणैक-महाव्रतश्रवणात्मना श्रुतज्ञानेन समये भवन्तमात्मानं जानन् सामायिक-मधिरोहति। ततः समस्तावद्य-कर्मायतनं कायमुत्सृज्य यथाजातरूपं स्वरूपमेकमेकाग्रेणलम्ब्य व्यवतिष्ठमान उपस्थितो भवति। उपस्थितस्तु सर्वत्र समदृष्टित्वाच्छ्रमणो भवति।। ७।।

सर्व-सावद्य-योग-प्रत्याख्यान-लक्षणैकमहाव्रतव्यक्तवशेन हिंसानृत-स्तेयाब्रह्म-परिग्रह-विरत्यात्मकं पञ्चतयं व्रतं तत्परिकरश्च पञ्चतयी समितिः पञ्चतय इन्द्रियरोधः.....विकल्पेनात्मानमुपस्थापयन् छेदोपस्थापको भवति।

।। ८-९।।

यतो लिंग-ग्रहण-काले निर्विकल्प-सामायिक-संयम-प्रतिपादकत्वेन यः किलाचार्यः प्रव्रज्यांदायकः स गुरुः। यः पुनरन्तरं सविकल्प-छेदोपस्थापन-संयम-प्रतिपादकत्वेन छेदं प्रत्युपस्थापकः स निर्यापकः। योऽपि

छिन्न-संयम-प्रतिसंधान्-विधाय-प्रतिपादकत्वेन छेदे सति उपस्थापक: सोऽपि निर्यापक एव। ततश्छेदोपस्थापक: परोऽप्यस्ति।। १०।।

We may not pay our attention to Cāujjāma which looms so large in the Ardha-Māgadhi literature in connection with the teachings of Pārśvanātha. Unfortunately it is nowhere made clear what is exactly meant by that word, except once in Thāṇaṅga (S. 329) where the four are enumerated as सव्वाओ पाणइवायाओ वेरमणं, एवं मुसावायाओ, अदिन्नादाणाओ, सव्वाओ बहिद्धादाणाओ वेरमणं।

Taking their start from this, the commentators try to explain either that the additional vow is implied in the fourth (See Cam. of Abhayadeva of Thāṇāṅga) or that the four become five by the addition of a fifth, namely Maithuna-Viramaṇa (see Shantiyāchārya's Com. on Uttara. XXIII, 23.). But it is noteworthy that the commentators do not claim that the task of splitting the fourth vow of Pārśvanātha into two and thus making them five was accomplished by Lord Mahāvira. On the contrary the two namely *Cāujjāma* and Panca-Mahāvrata systems are always clearly distinguished from each other. In the Uttarādhyana, for example, the one is called 'Cāujjāma' and the other 'Panca-sikkhio'. At other places Mahavrata- is substituted in place of 'Sikkhā'. But an exception to this is found in Bhagavati XXV, 7, 785 quoted above, where it is said that a Sāmāyika Sañjaya is he who abserves Cāujjāma in doing the Sāmāyika, while the one who splits the old pariyāga and settles himself in the Panca-jāma is indeed Chedovatthāva. Here although panca-jāma are said to be evolved by splitting Pariyāga into two, Mahavira is not mentioned as the author of the split. A little close examination of the statement in Bhagavati is necessary. According to it 'there is unsurpassed Cāujjāma dhamma' in doing 'Sāmāiya'. What could it mean? If we interpret it that in sāmāyika four vows are observed, then firstly the word sāmāyika loses all its meaning and significance as explained above, namely, the omnibus abstention from all evil deeds without a distinction (Savva-sāvajja-jog-nivitti). Secondly, it becomes ridiculous to say that if instead of four vows one observes five, then he is *Chadovaṭṭhāniya*, particularly when it is always presumed that the four include the five. It would be Chedopasthāpana even if only two vows are counted as such. Obviously, there is some mistake in understanding the word *Cāujjāma*. Let us now turn to the information culled from the Pali canonical books. In the Samanna-phala-sutta of the Digha Nikāya, *Cātuyāma* is explained as follows:-

इध महाराज, निगणठो चातुयाम-संवर-संवुतो होति। कथं च महाराज, निगणठो, चातुयाम-संवर-संवुतो होति? इध महाराज, निगणठो सव्व-वारि-वारितो च होति, सव्व-वारि-युतो च, सव्ववारि-धुतो च, सव्व-वारि-पुट्ठो च। एवं खो महाराज, निगणठो चातुयाम-संवर-संवुतो होति। (D.N. (Part I) Bombay University Publication p. 69).

Now let us examine the contents of this *Cātuyāma*. Dr. Rhys David's translation of the passage quoted above from Digha-Nikāya is as follows:-

"A Nighanta, Oh king, is restrained with a fourfold self-restraint, he lives restrained as regards all water; restrained as regards all evil; all evil has he washed away; and he lives suffused with the sense of evil held at lay."

The reference to water 'in the translation is obviously a mistake which had been given currency by a commentator on the Pali text based upon the misunderstanding of the word '*Vāri*'. But except for that the translation seems to be satisfactory and it brings out very well the spirit and emphasis of Sāmāyika saṁyama expressed in its definition, namely '*Savva-sāvajjajoganivitti.*' The word savva remains intact and sāvajja-joga-nivitti is found briefly substituted by the word 'Vari' (i.e. vāraṇa) in the Pali text. It may be regarded as a commentary on the Bhagavati text "Sāmāiyammi u kae cāujjāmaṃ anuttaraṃ dhammaṃ".

But the fourfold Yāma still remains a bit doubtful. Dr. Rhys Davids is quite emphatic in his non-acceptance of the first four of the five vows to be meant here. She says: "Prof. Jacobi (Jaina sutras II XXII) thinks the 'Four Restraints' are indended to represent the four vows kept by the followers of Pārśva. But this surely cannot be so, for these vows are quite different".

In my opinion, if the contents of the Cātuyāma were categorically recognised to be Ahiṃsā etc. the Buddhist tradition could never have missed it so completely. This does not mean that virtues Ahiṃsā etc. were not implied. I am sure they were, but probably in the same way as the fourth vow is said to have been included under the fifth. The Saṁyama was one all-comprehensive and it included absention from all evil like violence, falsehood etc.

Of this Sāmāyika saṁyama or Saṁvara, there must have been four facets emphasising the method of restraint as suggested by the Pali tradition. It may be something like the triyoga i.e. by mind, word and deed. In the Ṭhānaṅga itself (S. 385) we find it laid down-

चउव्विहे संजमे पणणात्ते। तंजहा-मण-संजने, वइ-संजमे, काव-संजमे, उवगरण-संजमे।

These may have been the four Yamas or methods of restraint. Or to the three, the senses may have been added as the fourth like what we find in the Mūlācāra:7

विरदो सव्व-सावज्जं तिगुत्तो पिहिदिंदिओ।
जीवो सामाइयं णाम संजम-ट्ठाणमुत्तम्।। ७, २३।।

While this point of the *four* may be still open for investigation, I think it is fairly clear how the system of Parsavanath was Sāmāyika while that of Māhāviṛa Chedopasthānika and on this point both the Digambara and Śvetāmbara traditions agree.

If we have to make the Buddhist statements about cātuyāma significant, we might understand them as follows:-

1. सव्व-वारि-वारितो-Guarded against all channels of evil i.e. आश्रव-रहित।
2. सव्व-वारि-युतो-requipped with all kinds of संवर।
3. सव्व-वारि-धुतो-Absolved of all evil णिज्जरायुक्त।
4. सव्व-वारि-पुट्ठो-Manifestly free from sin मुक्त।

Jain Antiquity

Jainism claims a vast antiquity for itself. Ages ago, their first, Tirthamkara Ṛṣabhadeva practised hard penances, acquired supreme knowledge and laid the foundations of the faith which has persisted ever since. He was followed by twenty three other Tirthamkaras, one after the another at long intervals, and they resuscitated the faith with such modifications and improvements as seemed necessary with the change of time. Ṛṣabha was born at Ayodhya his father being King Nabhi and mother Merudevi. Realising the vanity of wordly existence he sought salvation through renunciation which he later on preached to his followers before he attained Nirvana.

Now the question is whether this claim to antiquity could be susbstantiated from any source other than the Jain texts. Our supreme authority for the remotest Indian antiquity is the Ṛg-Veda, and here an entire hymn (x136) is devoted to the description of Kesi and the Vaṭarasana ascetics. That the former is no other than Ṛṣabha and the latter the Sramana Saints, is amply borne out and explained by the Bhagvata Purana (V, 5, 3-6) which furnishes to us a key for the interpretation of the hymn and in addition gives a detailed account of the parentage, renunciation and austerities of Ṛṣabha in general agreement with the Jaina version. Ṛṣabha was ninth in descent from Suyambhu Manu, through Priyavarata, Agnidhara and Nabhi. His eldest son was Bhārata who became the most powerful sovereign ruler and gave to the country the name that is namely Bharata. Ṛṣabha, after his renunciation of royalty, practised hard penances. He had nothing but his body left to himself. He did not even bear clothes and went sky-clad (gagana-paridhana). To hunger and thirst, dust and dirt and the worst inclemencies of nature and atrocities of man he was impervious. Nevertheless, his curly hair beautiful even in neglect, charming face, sweet smile and serene looks were the attraction and delight of the citizens. He was generally absorbed in meditation and soon become the most accomplished sage. He acquired absolute knowledge (Kaivalya) and supreme bliss (Parama-mahananda). Making allowance for the fact that the description forms part of a Vedic School book. The Purana brings out faithfully the essential features of Jain asceticism, namely, a pessimistic attitude towards life, aversion of all sensual pleasures and worldly pursuits indifference to bodily comforts even in the matter of food and clothing and an inclination for self-mortifications. These, together with an implicit faith in the sanctity of life in all its forms and the chain of retribution

for every mental, vocal or physical deed continuing unbrokenly till salvation is achieved, have throughout the ages of Indian history of which we have any records, distinguished the Śramana ideology from that of the Brahmanas.

Corroboration of historicity of the Tirthamakras that succeeded Rsabha is lacking. Available records other than the Jaina being silent about them. But the prevalence of the code of life in the eastern parts of which India was at variance with that of the Vedic Aryans, and was therefore looked at with suspicion by them, is amply proved by the available literature. Later Vedic text such as the Brahmanas-down to the time of the Smrtis declare emphatically that the Magadha Country with its surrounding parts should be regarded out of bounds for the faithful Aryans of the Midland least they may be contaminater by the non-Vedic faith. But this artificial varrier could not prove effective, with the inevitable result that the two cults met and influenced each other.

Janaka carried the sacrificial fire in his mouth towards the east. But the learned persons at his court soon began to whisper to each other, doubting the efficacy of the priestly persuits and including towards the possibility of a higher truth. The result was the Upanishadic philosophy which ran counter to the established sacramental practices and the Brahmanic hierarchy. It became clear that the impact of eastern thought could no longer be resisted. The genius of the Brahmana was stirred, and he began to absorb the spiritual values of the Sramana ideology into his own cult. He adopted the most practical method of Adoration of the Vatarasana saints and their founder Kesi i.e. Ṛṣabha in the most sacred hymns. He became more introvert and he allowed the offending features of animal sacrifice to grow archaic. The process of assimulation, thus started has continued through out the subsiquent periods of history, and the rich fabric of our present day life and culture is the result.

Who were the Śramanas? Were they a section of the Vedic Aryans? or were they the original inhabitants of the eastern parts of this land? The question is not easy to answer. But the certain facts are undeniable. At no period in history-not even in the Vedic age when there was so much suspicion against them, were they permanently excluded from Brahmana society. On the contrary, there inclusion into it followed as a matter of course, the moment they were prepared to owe allegiance to the Vedas. Then again, the language which has formed the vehicle of their thought from the earliest times could never be conceived to have been of other than the Aryan family. The inheritars of the Śramana faith have never been distinguished from the Aryan stock, nor shown any characteristic marks of the non-Aryan who in the care of the east were the Mundas. This excludes the possibilities of their being regarded as non-Aryan. But they were not Vedic Aryans as was clear from their sharply distinguished right from the Vedic times. The inevitable conclusion appears to be that they may have belonged to an earlier group of Aryan settlers who withdrew to the east as the Vedic Aryans advanced from the West. The possibility of the Aryan immigration in several waves at long intervals has never been excluded, and the wedge theory suggested by the distribution of our linguistic trades, may after all, furnish the solution to this problem as well.

Centuries rolled on and the Brahman and Shramans communities lived side by side exercising a subtle influence upon each other and claiming followers in varying

numbers according to the degree of royal patronage and competent leadership enjoyed by them. The twenty-third Tirthamkara Parsvanatha is now recognised to have been a historical person who gave shape to the Śramana religion as we know it from the most ancient Jaina and Buddhist works. Parsvanatha was born at Banaras, his parents being king Aśvasena and Vamadevi. When he was thirty years old he once heard an account of the first Tirthamkara, from a resident of Saketa and felt attracted towards the life of renunciation. Thereafter he practised hard penances. He was once much harassed by an old enemy of his and on that occasion a pair of Nagas for whom he had once felt compassion, accorded him protection. Enlightenment came to him even as a result of suffering without remorse, and then he preached his ideas to people for a period of seventy years. At the fullripe age of one hundred years, he attained Nirvana, 250 years prior to the Nirvana of Mahavira, the last Tirthamkara.

The moral code formulated by Parsvanatha was known as Caturyama dharma i.e. religion of four abstinences, namely abstinence from injury to life, falsehood, theft and possession of property. This contribution of Parsvanatha has been acknowledged in the oldest canonical books, and is known to have formed the basis of the code ultimately avoided by Mahavira. It was probably Parsvanatha's insistence upon the last voice, possessing nothing external (bahiddhadana Viraman) that secured for his followers the designation of Niggrantha by which name the Jaina monks have been known ever since. Parents of Mahavira are said to have been the followers of Parsva (Pasvacca), and the Pali books designate Mahavira as Niggantha Nataputta. The place where parsvanatha is believed to have been practised penance and attained salvation is still known by his name as Parsvanatha Hills. More temples are dedicated to Parsvanathas than any other Tirthamkara including even Mahavira. And the followers of Jainism are even today popularly better known as devotees of Parsvanatha than the other Tirthamkaras.

According to the oldest Jaina Epic Paurna-Cariam belonging to the early centuries recognised as authoritative by all schools of Jainism, and the Harivamsa Purana of Jinasena (8th century) the life of Mahavira was as follows:-

In this very Bharata country, in the beautiful land of Videha there is a town called Kundagrama. There ruled king Siddhartha with his wife Trisala, the daughter of Cetabaraja. To them was born on the 13th day of the bright night of Chaitra a son, who, on account of a miraculous feat of strength performed by him soon after his birth, was named Mahavira (supreme hero). Growing out of his boyhood, he at the age of thirty on a certain day, the dark fortnight of 10th day of Margasersa realising the frailities of life and feeling a strong inclination for piety, he renounced the world. After twelve years of austerities as he absorbed himself in meditation and restrained from all activities, supreme knowledge dawned on him. This event took place at Jrmbhikagrama on the bank of the river Rjukular on the 10th day of the bright fortnight of Vaisakha. Then wandering with all divine manifestations about him, he came to Vipulagiri (a hill at Rajgir, in Magadha). There a huge auditorium was constructed where poeple of all kinds and classes assembled to listen to him. The king of Magdha, Śrenika, by name, was also present there. He discussed with the Tirthamkara the nature

of right and wrong (Dharma and Adharma). In reply the eminent Jina expressed in Magadhi the nature of existence and the path of virtue. King Śrenika got interested in the discourse. He waited on the Lord from day to day and elicited on numerous point through his chief disciple Goutama. The king at last became himself learned in all topics and was instrumental in spreading the faith throughout the land of Magadha. He then toured through Kasi, Kosala and other parts of the Madhya Desa right up to Mathura radiating knowledge. He made many disciples the chief of whom were eleven, namely, Vajabhuti, Indrabhuti Gautama, Agnibhuti, Sucidatta, Sudharma, Maṅdavya, Mauryaputra, Akampana, Acala, Medarya and Prabhasa. Ultimately the order consisted of fourteen thousand monks, amongst whom three hundred were knowledge of the Purvas. There were thirty-five thousand female ascetics (Aryikas) headed by Candana who was Mahaviras' mother's sister the unmarried daughter of Cetaka. His lay followers men and women numbered one lakh and three lakhs respectively. He attained Nirvana at Pava in Bihar on the 14th day of the dark fortnight of Karttika.

These facts about the life of Mahavira are generally admitted by all. But there are a few additional details found in the Kalpasutra which are accepted by Svetambara but are not regarded as genuine by the Digambaras. They are as follows :-

(1) The Lord first came into the womb of Devnanda wife of Brahman Ṛṣabha. But the gods thought it unfit for the noble birth and hence transferred the embryo to Trisaladevi.

(2) The Kalpasutra makes mention tion of avira's elder brother Nandivardhana, his wife Yasoda of Kaundinya Gotra and his daughter Anojja allias Priyamvada (who was married to Jamli and) who gave birth to a daughter named Sesvati alias Yasovati.

(3) The renunciation took place only after the death of the parents and not during their lifetime as the other account implies.

(4) Mahavira retained some clothing for the first thirteen months of his renunciation. While according to the other version he became Acela at the very beginning.

It is neither possible nor necessary to pronounce judgement for or against these additional points of information the authenticity of which is disputed. But there are more important matters which call for special attention.

There is a good deal of controversy about the exact date of Mahavira's Nirvana. The Jaina-chronological traditions are preserved in two forms. Firstly there are the lists of pontifical succession starting from the Nirvana of Mahavira and extending up to the time of their compilers. In these lists we generally find mention of the period in years during which each pontif held the leadership of the community. The earliest of these lists is preserved by the Svetambaras in the Kalpasutra, and the Digambaras in the Sanskrit Harivansa Purana (8th cent.). But these lists do not help us much in arriving at the correct date of Nirvana, because they do not yield us any fixed point of time correlated with some well determined event of history, from where we might calculate backward. More helpful are the traditions regarding certain political events and

dynasties. These may be boiled down as follows :-The Nirvana of Mahavira synchronised with the coronation of King Palaka at Avanti. Palaka ruled for 60 years. Nanda 155, Mauryas 108, Pusyamitra 30, Balamitra and Bhanumitra 60, Nahapana 40, Gardhabhilla 13 and Saka king for 4 years. Thus 470 years elapsed from the Nirvana of Mahavira upto the time of king Vikrama which may be interpreted to mean as the period between the initial years of the Nirvana era and the Vikrama era. According to this Mahavira's Nirvana took place in 470+57=527 B.C. which is also the initial year of the Nirvana era now current amongst the Jainas.

The most serious difficulty in accepting this date of Mahavira's Nirvana is that it militates against the well-established fact of Mahavira and the Buddha being contemporory teachers. There is a general agreement among scholars that Buddha's Nirvana took place about 480 B.C. He was 80 years old when he died and he did not start preaching before he was 36 years of age, which means that his career as a teacher started about 524 B.C. i.e. a few years after the Nirvana of Mahavira. The traditional date of Mahavira's Nirvana was therefore unacceptable to scholars. Jacobi and Charpentier tried to resolve the deadlock on the basis of a later tradition recorded in the Parisista Parva of Hemchandra (12th cent.) that Chandragupta became king 155 years after the Nirvana of Mahavira. When this is added to 255 years which, according to the above mentioned tradition, elapsed from the Mauryas upto Vikrama it gives 155+255=410 years before Vikrama or 467 B.C. as the dates of Mahavira's Nirvana. Later on when it was found that the year 313 B.C. for the coronation of Chandragupta was not maintainable and the event was assigned to 322 B.C. Jacobi shifted his date accordingly by ten years and asserted that 484 B.C. for the Nirvana of Buddha and 477 B.C. for the Nirvana of Mahavira must be accepted as a "sure foundation" for the history of Magadha. This view is however still open to the serious charge that these dates could not be reconciled with the fact repeatedly mentioned in the earlier Pali Buddhist Texts (Digha Nikaya III, 117, 210, Majjhima Nikaya II, 243) as well as the Chinese Dirhagama (Asia Major III, 1931, p. 144) that Mahavira predeceased Buddha. In fact of these authorities of recognised antiquity, it is no argument to say that the report may be a later invention. The problem therefore still stands for a solution.

There is again a good deal of controversy as to whether Mahavira preached a new religion or reformed an old one. A band of European scholars like, Wilson, Lassen, Weber and others had started the view that Jainism was only one of the different sects into which Buddhism got split up after the departure of its founder. The basis for this view was that there were striking similarities in the Jaina and Buddhist texts, terms and ideas. Another batch of Orientalists like Colebrooke, Prinsep, Stevenson, Thomas and others held the view that of the two systems Jainism must be regarded as older for the simple reason that Gautama was a disciple of Mahavira. The latter view is a good example how false premises may sometimes enigmatically lead to a sound conclusion. It did not take long to prove that Indrabhuti Gautama, the chief disciple of Mahavira, was altogehter a different person from Gautama Buddha—the founder of Buddhism. Through a series of efforts made by scholars led by Buhler and Jacobi it was established beyond dispute that Jainism was older than Buddhism, that Mahavira was a contemporary of Buddha and that he did not preach a new religion but reformed an old one. The Jaina tradition about Parsva having preceded Mahavira by 250 years has

now received general recognition, and he is credited with the formulation of the Caturyama creed to which Mahavira's parents subscribed even before Mahavira become a teacher. It is probably due to this fact that we do not find Mahavira going to any teacher for enlightenment as we find in the case of Buddha. He already had his ancestral creed to go by.

The Caturyama of Parsva consisted of the four vows of non-injury, non-falsehood, non-stealing and non-possession, and the followers were naturally expected to undergo a severe discipline of endurances of bodily inconveniences and sufferings consequential to the observance of the vows, splitting of the hair with one's own hands has always been the foremost practice of the Jaina monks even as a mark of their initiation. Buddha is himself reported to have declared that he was once the "plucker of his hair" which might be taken to signify that he belonged to the same S'ramana community or one of its many offshoots in which the practice of plucking the hair was prevalent. Now Buddha separated himself from it is recorded in the story of his enlightenment. According to it, Buddha had fallen into a swoon being weakened by a every long fast. When he regained consciousness, he put to himself a question-Was all this suffering necessary for the betterment of the soul? The answer to it was his enlightenment-No, self-torture was as much sin as self-indulgence. One must therefore sail clean of these two rocks, the two extremes of life. The Middle Path (Majjhima Pati-pada) is the golden mean to secure the necessary peace and harmony in life. This was no doubt the experience which brought about the exit of Buddha from the order to which he might have belonged and induce him to formulate a creed of his own on the basis of his new experience, which he did in his first sermon at Sarnatha.

Life in the same or similar order produced altogether a different result on the mind of Mahavira, and his experience is found recorded in the very first canonical text the Acaranga. He found the Bhikkhus subsequently worrying about their wear growing old and how to mend it or secure a new one, and the problem of making a large one smaller or smaller ones large by sewing. Under these conditions, he felt it was impossible to secure the peace of mind and freedom from vexation in search of which they had abandoned the home. Mahavira therefore enjoined that monks should be clothless (Acela). It was obviously Mahavira's insistence on nakedness that led to the foundation of a seperate order by him known as "Achela" the clothless.

It may naturally be asked that when the first Tirthamkara Ṛṣabha had practised nakedness how was it that the S'ramana community at the time of Mahavira did not continue the practice and where was the novelty in Mahavira adopting the same and preaching it to his disciples. This is exactly the question which has been raised in some of the earliest and most authoritative books on ascetic practice preserved by the Svetambaras and the Digambaras namely Uttardhyayan Sutra (XX111, 23ff) and Mulacara (533-35). Here the point under discussion is why some Tirthamkara have enjoined four vows and others five, and to explain that clear cut distinction is made between the mode of asceticism as adopted by the first and the last Tirthamkara on the one hand and that adopted by the remaining ones during the interim period on the other. The people in the primitive age at the time of the first Tirthamkara were difficult to reform as they were simple and dull, while the people of the time of the last Tirthamkara found it hard to as they were crooked and dull, therefore the teachers of

their age adopted asceticism with distinct classification. But during the intervaning period the people were both straightforward and wise, and therefore no distinction was thought necessary in their case. The point involved is rather intricate and difficult to grasp quickly. But it is of a very far reaching importance, and therefore needs to be clarified. Of the four vows which have been already attributed to the genius of Parsva the first three namely non-injury, truthfulness and non-stealing are virtures quite common to the monks and laiyty alike in a general way. But the fourth vow, namely possessing nothing external is very important for the monks because it clearly distinguishes them from the house-holders who cannot do without possessing some household property and a married companion. Abstinence from both of these was included in the fourth vow of Parsva. But the emphasis appears to have shifted in practice to non-possession of a married companion and a slight aptitude seems to have prevailed in the matter of other belongings such as clothes etc, as is generally the case with all kinds of ascetics. Mahavira found the evil grown to such an extent at his time that he had to take a strong notice of it, as pointed above, and he not only restored the practice of absolute nakedness exemplified by Ṛṣabha, but split the fourth vow into two separate virtues namely celibacy and poverty, so as to maintain equal importance of both. Observance of both under one head was called undifferentiated restrain (Samayika Samyama), while observance of the same is called differentiated restraint (Chedopasthapana Samyama). This was the special contribution that Mahavira made to the Jaina creed, and it has been duly recorded in the earliest Jaina works. He was the author of the five vows in place of the four accepted by his predecessors.

This stern injunction against holding property in any form had very far reaching consequences, but Mahavira was determined to carry it to its logical conclusions consistently with his new emphasis, he enunciated the principle of enaurance (Parisaha). Twenty-two kinds of hardship were enumerated which a monk must endure and conquer without perturbation or complaint. These included hunger and thirst, cold and heat, mosquito-bite, shame for nakedness, and so on. Having thus constituted the main code for monks, he classified and arranged the eight Karmas and the fourteen stages of spiritual advancement (Gunasthanas), and also formulated the system of Syadvada, thus putting Jaina philosophy on a sound basis as we have it now. Some features of these branches of Jaina philosophy are to be found in all the schools the Śramana Sangha which had become split up into many orders under individual leadership, and therefore they might be presumed to have existed before Mahavira. But their coordination and integration into one system must stand to the credit of Mahavira for they are not so found elsewhere.

Mahavira's teachings were arranged into twelve parts by his chief disciple Indrabhuti Gautama who taught them to Sudharma his junior, and the latter in his turn to his junior Jambu. According to Jaina tradition, the classification of the Angas was made soon after the discourses were delivered by the Lord. But whether it was done during his lifetime or after Nirvana we are uncertain. Then again, we do not know whether they survived in the form of mental moves. If the Angas had assumed the form of books at the initial stage, there should have been no difficulty in preserving them in their original form. As it is, they have come down to us mutilated and corrupted both in matter as well as form. What is noteworthy, however, is the nature or

arrangement of the Angas. The code for the monks formed the first part (Acaranga). The formal rules and principles together with the tenets and dogmas of other faiths with their reputation, were consolidated in the second (Sutra krtanga). Categorical enumeration of objects and realities of nature in a numerically ascending order formed the third (Sthananga). A reclassification of the categories according to similarities of time and place etc. was made in the fourth (Samarayanga). Exposition of the doctrine in the form of Catechism constituted the fifth (Vyakhyaprajnapti). Enunciation of moral precests and illustration of the same in the form of stories and anecdotes was done in the sixth (Nyayadharma-katha). A religious code for the householders was provided in the seventh (Upasa-kathyayana). Lives of ten saints who attained salvation after enduring immense affication were narrated in the eighth (Sutahrddasanga). Lives of other ten saints who also suffered at the hands of the wicked, but could not maintain the same equanimity as the previous class of sages, and they went to the highest heaven instead of salvation are told in the ninth (Sruttaraupatika). Reputation of the opposite views and defence of the right faith, in the form of questions and answers supported by suitable examples and stories was the theme of the tenth (Prasnavyabarana). Reward of virtue and punishment of view was explained and illustrated in the eleventh (Vibabasutra). The twelfth part was called Dṛstivada which consisted of numerous tracts on cosmogony, philosophy, mythology, and even magic. An important class of literature includes under this head was the Purvagata which itself consisted of fourteen different treatises, embodying in them all the knowledge which was traditional not only at the time of Mahavira, but even with his predecessors, because in the cananical books themselves statements about their knowledge and study in the time of Parsva, Nemi and even Ṛṣabha mention has already been made above that amongst the disciples of Mahavira there were many sages who possessed the knowledge of the Purvas.

Thus, while the content of the other parts were regarded as his original contributions, those of the Purvas were all traditional. This is the reason why the Angas and the Purvas have always been clearly distinguished whenever any accurate mention was desired to be made about the canon, inspite of the fact that the latter form only a part of the former. Even the Jaina philosophy of Karma and the stages of spiritual advancement, has been derived from the Purvas, according to the commentators of the most ancient Sutras of Satkhandagama. This is, therefore, one more evidence of the existence of Jaina faith prior to Mahavira.

Each Anga has been called a 'Sutta' which is Sanskritised as Sutra. But the texts were never known to have possessed the most essential quality signified by the Sanskrit word, namely brevity. On the contrary by the evidence of the mutilated texts that have come down to us, they were prolification expression and full of repetitions with profuse prose and verse. This makes us think whether the epithet Sutra is correctly applied to them. Yet another consideration that arises whether the term Sutra could have been used for the texts at the age of Mahavira, because the Sutra style came in full practice at a later date. The correct equivalent of Sutra, therefore, seems to be not Sutra but Sukta, a term which means a sacred exposition, and which we find applied to hate Vedic hymns. The Jainas must have tried to attach the same sanctity, purity and significacne to the words of their masters as was associated with the Vedas in popular mind. And so they used the term for those texts.

Jain Cosmography

Indian cosmography is a subject of immense interest and an independant branch of study by itself; and it is evident from earlier studies (W. Kirfel : Die Kosmographie der Inder, Bonn u. Leipzig 1920, pp. 208-340) that Jaina cosmography occupies an important position therein. Jaina texts dealing with cosmography have a manifold interest: first, the cosmographical details are worked out in an elaborate plan which shows a remarkable consistency and vision; secondly, these details have a close connection with Jaina metaphysical and ethical doctrines; thirdly, the entire range of Jaina literature, especially of the Prathamanuyoga group, is so much permeated by these details that a clear understanding of them needs constant reference to standard works on cosmography; and lastly there is found in them a good deal of knowledge of contemporary mathematics. A historian of the growth of human knowledge in different countries and ages has, therefore, a special interest in these works.

In the Ardhamāgadhi canon there are some works dealing with this subject: the Sūrapannatti (Skt., Suryaprajnapti, published with the Tika of Malayagiri, Agamodaya Samiti, Surat 1919), Jambuddiva-pannatti (Skt., Jambudvipa-prajnapti, pub. with Santicandra's Tika, Devachanda Lalabhai Jaina Pustakoddhara, 52 & 54, Bombay, 1920) and Camdapannatti (Skt. Candraprajnaptih). Besides the commentaries on the Tattvarthasutra, which present good many cosmographical details especially in chapter 3-4, there are available many post canonical texts: Umasvati's Jambudvipa-samasa with the commentary of Vijay asimha (Ahmedabad, 1922); Jainabhadra's Samghayaṇi with the commentary of Malayagiri (Bhavanagar Samvat, 1973), Brhat-ksetra-samasa with the comm. of Malyagiri (Bhavanagar Sam., 1977); Haribhadra's Jambuddiva-samghayani (Bhavanagar, 1915) etc. (W. Schubring: Die Lehre der Jainas, Berlin u. Leipzig 1935, p. 216).

Then there is a small but well-knit group of the pro-canonical texts to which belongs the Tiloya-pannatti, already published, in two volumes, in the Jivaraja Jaina Granthamala, Sholapur, 1943 and 1951. The Loyavibhaya was another ancient text but only a Sanskrit digest of it, the Lokavibhaga, has come down to us. The Tiloyasara of Namicandra (Bombay, 1917) with the commentary of Madhavacandra is an important text of this group. It is to this category of texts belongs the Jambudiva-pannattisamgah (JPS) an authentic edition of which, along with the Hindi paraphrase etc., is being presented in this volume.

There are very few Mss. of JPS preserved in public libraries (Jinaratnakosa, Poona 1944, p. 131); still through the efforts of Dr. Hiralalji, some Mss. could be secured from unexpected quarters. The text constituted here is based on five Mss. which are fully described in the Hindi introduction. The readings from the sixth Ms. are noted in an appendix. The Prakrit text is defective in many places; and in the absence of any commentray etc. the editors had to face many difficulties. It is hoped that this authentic vulgate will serve the purpose of all critical studies for the present. In all those few cases, wherever the editors have improved upon the text, the actual readings are duly noted in the footnotes.

The Mss often call this text by the name Jambudvipa-prajnapti, but the real title of the work, as mentioned in the colophons of various Uddesas is Jambudiva-pannatti-samgaha (Skt. Jambudvipa-prajnapti-samgraha). The word Samgraha indicates that the author is compiling the contents from some earlier source the name of which was perhaps Divasagara-pannatti as indicated by gatha Nos. I.6 & 18; XIII.142. In this work there are 2429 gathas divided into thirteen Uddesas. The title of each Uddesa, mentioned in the colophon at its close, is quite significant and gives a fair idea of its contents.

The First Uddesa (Uvagghaya-patthavo, in 74 gathas) opens with the Mangala, consisting of salutations of five Paramesthings. Then the author declares his object to present the contents of this work as they are traditionally received from Mahavira, through a series of teachers, Gautama to Lohacarya. Then follows a description of the extent, circumference and area of the Jambudvipa which stands at the centre of a series of oceans and islands. Then are detailed the Gopura-dvaras, Ksetras, mountains, rivers, and images of Jinas on their banks etc.

The second Uddesa (Bharaheravaya-vamsa-vannano, in gathas 210) contains the descriptions of the seven Ksetras, Bharata etc., and of the six Kulaparvatas which divide them: in all there are 190 Khandas or sectors the extent etc of which are described in details. Then the Vijayardha mountain, with so many Vidyadhara towns on both of its Sranis and with numerous Jinabhavanas on its different peaks, is described extensively. It is from this that the rivers Ganga and Sindhu flow out into the southern Bharata The various ages, Susma etc., are mentioned, along with the religious aptitude of the inhabitants.

The Third Uddesa (pavvada-nadi-bhogabhumi-vannano, in gathas 246) describes the Kulaparvatas, their peaks and temples on them. Then follow the glories of the deities Sri etc. who dwell in the lotus temples on them lakes on them, as well those of the presiding gods residing on the Jambuvrkass etc. The great river Ganga flows from the Padmahrd on the Himavan mountain. Flowing for 500 yojanas it rushes into a big lake at the foot of that mountain: in its course it washes many an image of Jina. Incidentally we get the description of lakes, streams, temples etc.

The Fourth Uddesa (Mahavidehliyara, in gathas 292) begins with the description of the Mandara mountain which stands at the centre of Jambudvipa. There are parks on it like Nandana etc. which are decked with gorgeous temples Jina. It is in the Panduka park that the birth consecration of a Tirthakara is celebrated by the gods. Incidentally the military glories of Sudharmendra are depicted here.

The Fifth Uddesa (-Mandragiri-Jinabhavanavannano, in gathas 125) presents detailed description (dimensions etc.) of the Jinabhavanas on the Mandara mountain, with their various items of decoration, articles of worship and architectural sectors. The Indras of various grades carry on different forms of worship here.

The Sixth Uddesa (-Devakuru-Uttarakuru-vinnasa-pattharo, in gathas 178) gives a detailed description of Devakuru and Uttarakuru with regard to their mountains, rivers, lakes, deities dwelling therein and the various trees there. There dwell various Nagakumaras in different quarters and sub-quarters which have got special names. Some specific characteristics of the inhabitants are also noted in conclusion.

The Seventh Uddesa (-Kacchavijaya-vannano in gathas 153) sets forth a description of the Videha-ksetra located in between the two Kulaparvatas, Nisadha and Nila. It is divided into various sections due to mountains and rivers. The Kacchavijaya is divided into Khandas, one of which is Aryakhanda and five others Mlecchakhandas. Here dwell Cakravartins whose glories are elaborately noticed. The three Varnas, excepting the Brahmana, are there; and they are all devoted to Jinas. The rivers have given rise to certain islands the presiding gods of which are conquered by Cakravarins who are honoured by Mleccha rulers. The Cakravartin is made to realize that there were many Cakravartins in the past.

The Eighth Uddesa (-puvvavideha-vannano, in gathas 198) describes the Purvavideha with reference to its mountains, rivers, territories and capitals.

The Ninth Uddesa (-avara-videha-vannano, in gathas 197) describes the Aparavideha with reference to its mountains, rivers, territories, and their capitals which bear different names and have their specific dimensions. On the banks of these rivers, there are twenty Vaksara-pravatas the peaks of which are decked with the temples of Jina in which gods and Vidyadharas carry on regular worship.

The Tenth Uddesa (Lavana-samudda-vavannano, in gathas 102) describes the Lavana-samudra which surrounds the Jambudvipa on all the sides. Its dimensions, along with those of the Patalas therein, are duly noted, and the seasonal tides are indicated. There are eight mountains of Velamdhara gods. Then there are the Antrdvipas which are inhabited by strangely figured human beings of abnormal habits. Those who lapse in their pious practices and religious standrds are reborn among these.

The Eleventh Uddesa (bahira-uvasamhara-divasayara-narayagadi-siddhakhetta-vannano, in gathas 365) describes the oceans and islands and lower and upper worlds. Detailed measurements of the Dhatakikhanda, of its mountains and of the oceans round about are given. It is due to Punyas (virtues) and Papas (sins) that the beings go to the upper and lower worlds, of which the regions, residents (with their periods of life, heights etc.) etc. are elaborately discussed.

The Twelfth Uddesa (Joisaloya-vannano, in gathas 193) describes the Vimanas of the Jyotisa or astral regions, the number of moons for different regions, the periods of life etc. of astral gods.

The Thirteenth Uddesa (Pamana-pariccheda, in gathas 176) enumerates and defines the various units of Time and Space and discusses their currency or use in

different walks of life. Then follows an exposition of the means of valid knowledge with a view to establish the validity omniscience, incidentally shedding light on different forms of knowledge. The glories of an omniscient divinity who is free from a number of physical wants and mental weaknesses are fully elaborated.

This brief resume of the chapters of JPS gives us a fair idea of the range of its contents. The Prakrit text is not well preserved: if a few more independant Mss. are available for collation, one can be more confident about its authenticity, and come nearer the text as it left the hand of the author. Then alone one can explain the inconsistency and irrelevancy seen in some contexts (for instance, the description of the Kalpas in Uddesa XI. The present text shows also some traditions different from those found in the Sarvarthasiddhi, Harivamsa etc. This JPS shows close relation with a number of other texts dealing with Kindred topics. Comparing this work with the Jambudiva-pannatti of the Ardhamagadhi canon, one is struck with some common contents: the canonical text, of course, is quite encyclopedic. It is already known that JPS has a number of resemblances with the Triolyapannati (See the Hindi Intro. of TP, p. 168 ff.) from which it has taken a good deal of subject matter often expressed in identical or nearly identical gathas. Similarly it has some gathas common with the Mulacara of Vattakera, the Brhat-ksetrasamasa of Jinabhadra, the Trilokasara of Nemicandra and the Jyotiskarandaka (for details see the Hindi Intro.) some of these gathas might have been a part of traditional memory of cosmographical knowledge current among Jaina monks.

The entire work is written in gatha metre, and the Prakrit dialect used by the author can be called Jaina Sauraseni, according to the terminology of Pischel (Grammatic der Prakrit Sprachen, Strassburg 1900, pp. 19-20). In this work there are heavy descriptions of some regions, and they remind us of the long compounds in the Ardhamagadhi canon.

Though no date of the composition is mentioned, the author Paumanamdi or Padmanandi has supplied us with some information about his spiritual genealogy in the concluding verses (XIII.153 ff.). There was a great saint Viranandi who was endowed with five Mahavratas, pure in faith, possessed of knowledge and the merits of self-control and penance, free from attachment etc., heroic, full of fivefold conduct, kind to six classes of living beings, free from infatuation and above joy and sorrow (159-59). His great disciple was Balanandi, who was well-versed in the Sutras and their interpretations, who was of deep wisdom, who abstained from scandalising others, who was free from attachment, who endowed with faith, knowledge etc. His disciple was Padmanandi who through his benign favour, composed in short the various sections in this work (144-46, 153, 164).

There was a famous and learned monk Maghanandi who was free from attachment and aversion, who had crossed the ocean of scriptural knowledge, who was endowed with deep wisdom austerities and self-control. His eminent pupil was Sakalacandra who had washed his sins in the ocean of Siddhanta, who was meritorious, and who practised austerities and various rules of conduct. Sakalacandra's great and famous pupil was Srinandi who was endowed with spotless knowledge and conduct

and who was puru in his right faith. It is for the sake of this Srinandi that Padmanandi wrote this JPS while he was staying in the town of Bara (Bara-nayara) in the country of Pariyatta or Pariyatra which was rich in lakes and wells, charming with residential buildings, populated by different people, full of wealth and corn, and further attractive on account of pious householders and hosts of monks. The king of that place was Sakti or Santi (Pkt. Satti or Samti) Bhupala who was pure with right faith, who practised various vows, was endowed with good conduct, was ever generous in his gifts, was partial to Jainism and heroic, was endowed with many virtues and honoured by many kings, and who was expert in various arts.

The time when Padmanandi lived is a problem in the absence of any mention of the date in the work itself. Obviously we have to piece together bits of external evidence and try to put broad limits for his age.

(a) The earliest Ms. of JPS, known to us, is that from Amera, and it is written in Samvat 1518 (-78 1440 A.D.).

(b) It is seen that JPS is indebted to a number of earlier works, some of which of authentic authorship and date, like the Mulacara, Tiloyapannatti, Brhat-Ksetrasamasa and Trilokasara. The Trilokasara of Nemicandra is to be assigned to the 10th century A.D.

(c) The Sanskrit text, Lokavibhaga specifically mentions JPS and quotes a gatha from it; but the date of it is not definite.

The evidence setforth above allows us to conclude that JPS of Padmanandi was composed after Trilokasar, i.e. after the 10th century A.D. or before 1440 A.D. that being the age of the Amera Ms. Some more evidence has to be sought to narrow down this period and put a specific date.

Pariyatra stands for the territory above the Vindhya, and also for its western range. Pt. Premi has suggested (Jaina Sahitya aura Itihasa, p. 256 ff.) that Bara-nagara might be the same as Bara in the Kota area of Rajasthan, and it was a seat of the Bhattaraka in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. He further suggests that Saktibhupala might be the same as Saktitumara of the Guhilot dynasty of Rajasthan, roughly at the close of the 10th century A.D. He seems to have been partial to Jainism, though he was a Pasupata by faith. So Padmanandi might have composed this JPS at the close of the 10th or at the beginning of the 11th century A.D. at the time of Saktikumara.

Remnants of the Jaina Śrutāṅga Diṭṭhivāda

1. Traditions about the Aṅgas

According to the unanimous tradition of both, the Digambara as well as the Śvetāmbara Jains, the teachings of the last Tīrthaṃkara Mahāvīra were arranged into twelve books called Aṅgas, and they were handed down by word of mouth from preceptor to pupil till they began to fall into oblivion. But as to the subsequent history of the Aṅgas, the two accounts differ. The Śvetāmbaras hold that the canon of the Aṅgas was successively settled during the second, the sixth and the tenth centuries after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, by congregations of Monks at Pāṭaliputra,[1] Mathurā[2] and Vallabhi,[3] under Sthūlabhadra, Skandilācārya and Devardhigaṇi respectively, and that the forty-five books now current as Āgamas were the result of the labours of the last congregation. The Twelfth Aṅga *Diṭṭhivāda* was, however, irretrievably lost and what had remained of it was only the table of contents found in the various books of the restored canon.

The Digambaras do not accept this tradition. According to them the whole of the original canon was lost and what had remained of it was only fragmentary knowledge of the subject-matter which has been reproduced by subsequent writers in their own language. The only works which may be said to be directly associated with the canon were preserved in what were popularly known as Dhavala, Mahādhavala and Jayadhavala Siddhāntas. Of these works, however, a single manuscript was known to exist in Kannada script on palm leaves at the Jaina pontifical seat of Muḍabidri in South Kanarā. For the last several centuries these MSS. had been used only for worship and they were not available for study. It was only during the last two decades that transcripts of two of them *i.e.* the first and the third, had become available, and the information given here was the result of the examination of those transcripts in connection with the edition of the same which the present writer has undertaken.

2. How Fragments of Diṭṭhivāda were Saved from Oblivion

An examination of the Dhavala Siddhānta MS. shows that it consists of Sūtras in Prākṛt and a very extensive commentary, in Prākṛt alternating with Sanskrit, in the nature of a Bhāṣya, in which are found many verses, mostly Prākṛt, quoted from older writers. This commentary has been called Dhavalā by its author Vīrasena who reveals himself in the Praśasti as the disciple of Elācārya and also a pupil of Āryanandi, the disciple of Candrasena, belonging to the Pañcastūpa line of teachers and completing the

commentary on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in Śaka year 738 (equivalent to the 8th October 816 A.D.) when Jagattuṅga Deva's regime had come to an end and Boddaṇarāya was ruling. These kings I identify with Govinda III and his successor Amoghavarsa I of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty.[4]

This commentary, in its introductory part, gives information about the composition of the original Sūtras as follows:

The teachings of Lord Mahāvīra were arranged into twelve Aṅgas by his pupil Indrabhūti Gautama and they were handed down from preceptor to pupil through a line of twenty-eight Ācāryas. But the knowledge was ever decreasing and what the last of the Ācāryas, Loharya, knew in full was only the first Aṅga. After him only fragments of the Aṅgas were known to Dharasena who practised austerities at Girinagara in Saurāṣṭra (modern Kāthiāwār). He felt the necessity of preserving the knowledge and so he wrote a letter on the subject to the monks of southern India who had assembled at Mahima (probably mahimā-nagarh in the Satara district). The latter sent two monks from the banks of the Benna in the Āndhra country, and Dharasena, after satisfying himself as to the capacity of the monks to learn, taught to them the grantha. These two monks came to be known as Pupphayanta (Puṣpadanta) and Bhūdabali (Bhūtabali), and they reduced the knowledge to writing in the form of the Sūtras upon which the commentary *Dhavalā* has been written. The contribution of Puspadanta was the first one hundred and seventy-seven Sūtras while all the rest of them were composed by Bhūtabali.[5]

3. Period of Restoration

As regards the time of the composition of the Sūtras the commentary helps us to this extent only that it gives the list of Ācāryas upto the twenty-eighth succession from Mahāvīra, records their period of time which comes to 683 years and declares that Dharasena lived sometime after that. But how long after is not made clear. Other succession lists also record the same period, but one of them, the Prākṛt Paṭṭāvali of Nandi Samgha, differs from them all materially in recording the time of each Ācārya separately, in extending the list to four more Ācāryas amongst whom are included our Dharasena, Puspadanta and Bhūtabali and in showing them to have flourished between 614 and 683 years after Mahāvīra. The times mentioned here in and the account of the gradual disappearance of the Aṅga's appear to be more reasonable. The time given for Dharasena is in agreement with that of another independant authority the *Bṛhat-ṭippaṇikā* which attributes a work by name *Jonipāhuḍa* to Dharasena and assigns it to six centuries after Vīra Nirvāṇa. The time of the composition of the Sūtras thus falls, according to the traditional reckoning of Vīra Nirvāṇa, between 87 and 156 A.D.[6]

4. Commentaries on the Restored Texts

Yet another authority has preserved for us an account of the commentaries that were written from time to time on the Sacred Sūtras. This authority is the *Śrutāvatāra*.[7] The time of its composition is not definitely settled, but one conjecture identifies its author Indranandi with the Indranandi Guru mentioned in the *Gommaṭasāra*.[8] This makes *Śrutāvatāra* a work not later than the eleventh century A.D. The details preserved in this work about the composition of the Sūtras are substantially the same as those

recorded in the commentary of Vīrasena. There is yet another circumstance that shows the work to be reliable. The author, when he speaks about the place of Dharasena in the succession list of Ācāryas boldly confesses that "he does not know it because he came across no book or teacher declaring the same."[9] This shows that where the author is informative he relies on some traditions (oral or written) and not merely on his own imagination.

Indranandi gives some details of five commentaries written upon the Sūtras before Vīrasena. The first of these was called Parikarma. Its extent was twelve thousand ślokas and its author was Kundakundācārya, the celebrated author of several Prākrt works. We find numerous references to Prikarma in the *Dhavalā* itself and the quotations given from it are all in Prākrt. This shows that the commentary was written in Prākṛt. The time of Kundakundācārya is about the second century A.D. There seems to be no reason to doubt about the statement of Indranandi. The second commentary mentioned by Indranandi is *Paddhati* by Śāmakuṇda, also equal to twelve thousand ślokas in extent. The third is *Cūḍāmaṇi* by Thumbulūrācārya in Kannada, and as extensive as ninety-one thousand ślokas. The fourth is ascribed to Samantabhadra, a celebrated name in Jaina literature. This is said to have been written in "very beautiful and tender Sanskrit," to the extent of forty-eight thousand ślokas. The fifth commentary was the *Vyākhyāprajñapti* by Bappadeva Guru in Prākṛt equal to seventy-three thousand ślokas in extent. It was written at Maganavalli near Utkalikā, a village situated between the rivers Bhīmarathi and Kṛṣṇamekha. Indranandi also tells us that Vīrasena had this commentary before him when he wrote the *Dhavalā* and this is borne out by the fact that we find references to and quotations from it in the commentary of Vīrasena. The details given by Indranandi about the locality where Bappadeva wrote may be taken to indicate that he was more closely acquainted with this work than with the others, and that he may not have been separated too long from him.Though the time of these commentators is uncertain, we would not be far wrong in separating them from each other by a century and assigning them to the third, fourth, fifth and sixth century respectively.[10]

Unfortunately, however, all these commentaries are at present mere names to us, except so far as we can find traces of some of them in the commentaries of Vīrasena. But it is not unlikely that some of them are still reposing in some manuscript store of the Deccan which has proved itself so pregnant with such treasures, awaiting the hand and the eye of the explorer, even as the *Dhavalā* itself had remained locked up for centuries at Mudabidri.

5. Variations in the Texts and Dogmas, and the Language of the Sūtras

Even a peep into the *Dhavalā* is enough to give us a glimpse of the wealth and richness of the literature that Vīrasena had before him. He had to deal with several different readings found in the several Sūtra books (Sutta-potthaesu) that he had before him and the varying interpretations put upon them by earlier writers and teachers. These he frequently quotes, refutes or supports or leaves the question open for the verdict of those "who might know better than himself." Of a particular interest are his references to the dogmas of two different schools of thought which he calls the northern and the

southern, he himself identifying with the latter. He also mentions and quotes from several authors and works that are otherwise unknown to us, for example, *Sārasaṁgraha* of Pūjyapāda, *Chedasutta, Kammapavāda* and *Dasakaraṇī-saṃgraha* and *Jonipāhuḍa.*[11]

As regards the language of the Sūtras, the technical terminology is almost wholly Ardhamāgandhi as also many other forms. For the rest, the phonology and morphology are predominantly Śaurasenī but exhibiting signs of Mahārāṣṭrī influence. Thus, we may say that the background of the language of the Sūtras is Ardhamāgadhī, the general structure is Śaurasenī and there is a superimposition of Mahārāṣṭrī. How Mahārāṣṭrism may have developed in the language might be illustrated here. There are several verses of Prākṛt quoted by Vīrasena in his commentary from earlier writers. Many of these verses recur in the *Gommaṭasāra* of Nemicandra which was based upon the work of Vīrasena, and some of those verses appear in the latter work in a strikingly Mahārāṣṭricized form. Not only this, but the contrary phenomenon is also discernible. Some verses in the *Gommaṭasāra* retain the Sauraseni traits while they appear in a Mahārāṣṭricized form in the manuscript of *Dhavalā*. From this it appears probable that the latter traits may have been imparted by the copyists. It is, however, difficult to say definitely at present how far the Mahārāṣṭrī influence was originally in the Sūtras and how far it may have been developed later.[12]

6. Extent of Diṭṭhivāda and Relation to it of the Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama

The most interesting part of the commentary is that it gives us details of the extent of the twelfth Aṅga *Diṭṭhivāda* and indicates clearly what part of it has been reproduced in the present Sūtras. *Diṭṭhivāda* consisted of five parts, the fourth of which was called Pūrvagata. Pūrvagata, again, contained fourteen sections, the second of which was known as Āgrāyanīpūrva. Of the fourteen sub-sections of Āgrāyaṇīpūrva, the fifth was Cayanalabdhi which itself contained twenty books called Pāhuḍas. Amongst them the fourth was *Kammapayadi-pāhuḍa* the twenty-four topics of which from the subject matter of the Sūtras and the commentary we are dealing with. Only one small section of the work is based upon the fifth Aṅga *Viyābhapaṇṇatti.*

The work of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali has been called by Vīrasena *Chakkhaṇḍa siddhānta* and it acuqired subsequently the popular title of *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgam*. The names of the six khaṇdas are Jivaṭṭhāṇa, Khuddābandha, Bandha-sāmitta-vicaya, Vedanā, Vaggaṇā and Mahābandha. Their subject-matter is Karma philosophy which is dealt with in the first three khaṇdas from the point of view of the soul which is the agent of the bondage, and in the last three khaṇḍas from the point of view of the objective karmas, their nature and extent. On this two fold division of the subject matter of this Āgama were based on the two parts of *Gommaṭasāra* of Nemicandra *Siddhānta*cakravarti, namely, the Jīvakāṇḍa and the Karmakāṇḍa. The first five khaṇḍas are said to contain six thousand sūtras and these together with the commentary *Dhavalā* of Virasena which is said to be seventy-two thousand ślokas in extent, is popularly known as the Dhavala Siddhānta. The extent of the sixth khaṇḍa is said to be thirty or forty thousand ślokas and it is entirely the work of Bhūtabali himself. It is this khaṇḍa, *i.e.*, the Mahābandha that is popularly known as *Mahādhavala*. The only surviving manuscript of it still reposes in the sanctuary of Muḍabidri Jaina temple.[13]

Yet another teacher by name Guṇadharācārya is responsible for the preservation of another portion of the *Diṭṭhivāda*, about the same time as Dharasena. Of the fourteen Pūrvas the fifth was known as Jñānapravāda consisting of twelve vastus or subjects. Of the twenty Pāhuḍas included in the tenth Vastu, the third was called Pejjadosapāhuḍa, and it is this Pāhuḍa that was preserved by Guṇadharācārya in 180 Gāthās under the name of Kasāya Pāhuḍa. The commentary written by Vīrasena and his pupil Jinasena on this work is sixty thousand ślokas and is called Jayadhavalā. This work is popularly known as *Jayadharvalā* Siddhānta.

The information given in these works as to their origin shows the vast extent of the Aṅga literature in general and of the twelfth Aṅga in particular, and they afford us a peep into the subject matter of the lost *Diṭṭhivāda*. A fuller scrutiny of their contents is yet to be carried out and it is likely to throw considerable light upon the mystery of the name Pūrva or Pūrvagata and the story of their disappearance. In this connection it is noteworthy that the Śvetāmbara Jainas have preserved versions of the first eleven Aṅgas but take the twelfth Aṅga to be entirely lost. The eleven Aṅgas are disowned by the Digambara school which, however, has scrupulously preserved the above mentioned portions of the twelfth Aṅga unknown to the Svetāmbaras. The two traditions, thus, inscrutably seem to complement each other.[14]

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Classic and Puranik Jain Literature

Jaina literature begins with the last Tirthamkar Mahavira who reorganised the old Nirgrantha sect and revitalised its moral and religious zeal and activities. He preached his faith Ahimsa and self-purification to the people in the language of the people which was not Sanskrit but Prakrit. The form of Prakrit which he is said to have used was Araha-Magadhi, by which was meant a language that was not pure Magadhi but partook of its nature. Mahavira's teachings were arranged in twelve Angas by his disciples, and these Angas formed the earliest literature on Jainism. These Angas were as follows·-

1. *Acaranga* laid down rules of discipline for the monks.
2. *Sutrakrtanga* contained further injunctions for the monks regarding what was suitable or unsuitable for them and how they should safeguard their vows. It also gave an exposition of the tenents and dogmas of other faiths.
3. *Sthananga* enlisted categories of knowledge pertaining to the realities of nature in the numerical order.
4. *Samavayanga* classifies objects in accordance with similarities of time, place, number, etc.
5. *Vyakhyaprajnapti* explained realities of life and nature in the form of Cateclusm.
6. *Jnatadharmakatha* contained hints regarding religious preaching as well as stories and anecdotes calculated to carry moral conviction.
7. *Upasakadhyavana* meant to serve as a religious code for householders.
8. *Antahrddasa* gave accounts of ten saints who attained salvation after immence suffering.
9. *Anuttaraupapatipa* contained accounts of ten saints who went to the highest heavens after enduring much persecution.
10. *Praznavyakarana* contained accounts and episodes for the reputations of the opposite views, establishments of one's own faith, promotion of holy deeds and prevention of evil.
11. *Vpaka Sutra* explained how virtue was rewarded and evil punished.

12. *Drstivada* contained the following five sections:

(i) Parikarma, contained track describing the moon, the sun, Jambudvipa and other islands and seas as well as living beings and non-living matter.

(ii) Sutra gave account of various tents and philosophies numbering no less than 363.

(iii) Prathamanuyoga contained ancient history and narrated the life of kings and saints.

(iv) Purvagata dealt with the problems of birth, death and continuity and consisted of the following fourteen parts:

1. *Agrayani* gave philosophical exposition of nature.
2. *Utpada* described how substances like living beings are produced maintained and decayed.
3. *Viryanu pravada* explained the powers and potentialities of soul and other substances.
4. *Asti-nasti-pravada* studied the substances of nature from various points of view pertaining to their infinite qualities and forms.
5. *Jnanapravada* was epistemology, giving an exposition of how knowledge was acquired in its five forms, namely, Mati, Sruti, Avadhi, Manahparyaya and Kevala.
6. *Satyapravada* studied the nature of truth and reality and forms of untruth.
7. *Atmapravada* was study of the self.
8. *Karmapravada* gave an exposition of the eight forms of Karma bondage, namely, Jnanavarana, Darsanavarana, Vedaniya, Mohaniya Nama, Ayu, Gotra, and Antaraya as well as their subdivisions.
9. *Pratyakhyanavado* contained expiatory rites and rules for the observance of fasts and vows.
10. *Vidyanuvada* was an exposition of various sciences and arts including prognostication.
11. *Kayanvadu* was devoted to astrology and a description of the five auspicious events; conception, birth renunciation, enlightenment and salvation in the life of the sixty-three great men, namely, the Tirthamkaras, Cakravarties, Baladevas, Narayanas and Pratinarayanas.
12. *Pranavada* was the science of physical culture and longivity, and expounded the eight forms of medical treatment.
13. *Kriyavisala* gave an exposition of the seventy-two fine arts including writing and poetry.
14. *Lokabindusara* treated of wordly professions as well as ways and means to secure salvation.

(v) Culika was the fifth section of Dṛstivada, dealing with charms and magic, including methods of walking on water, flying in air and assuming different physical forms.

This comprehensive collections of practically the whole knowledge of the times secular as well as religious, could not survive long in its original form. According to the Digambara Jainas, the whole canon was preserved only for 165 years after Mahavira up to the eighth success or Bhadrabahu. After that, portions began to be gradually lost so that after 683 years from the Nirvana of Mahavira, what was known to some Acaryas was only fragmentary. It was only the knowledge of a few portions of the Purvagatas or Purvas that was imparted at Girinagara in Kathiawar by Dharasen to his pupils Puspadanta and Bhutavali who on the basis of it wrote the *Satkhandagama* in the Sutra form during the first or second century A.D. Satkhandagama is therefore the earliest available religious literature amongst the Digambaras. It is authority for the teachings of Lord Mahavira.

The literary traditions of the Svetambara Jainas is however different. They agree with Digambara view so far as the continuity of whole continuity upto Bhadrabahu is concerned. When Bhadrabahu had migrated to the south on account of a famine, the monks met in council at Pataliputra under the leadership of Sthulabhadra and a compilation of the eleven Angas together with the remnants of the twelth Anga, was made. But in course of time the canon became disordered. Therefore the monks met once again at Valabhi in Gujarat under the presidentship of Devardhigani Ksamasramana and collected all the available sacred texts as we possess them now. They are as follows:

I. *Eleven Angas* named above, the twelth being totally lost,

II. *Twelve Upangas*, namely,

1. Aupapatipa, 2. Rayapasenayga, 3. Jivabhigama, 4. Prajnapana, 5. Suryaprajnapti, 6. Jambudvipa prajnapti, 7. Candrapranjnapti, 8. Niryavali, 9. Kalpavatamsika, 10. Puspikak, 11. Puspaculibah, 12. Vrasnidasah.

III. *Ten Prakernas,*

1. Catuh sarana, 2. Aturpratyakhyan, 3. Bhaktaprajna, 4. Samstara, 5. Tandulavaitalika, 6. Camdavijjhaya, 7. Devendrastava, 8. Ganividya, 9. Mahpratyakhyana, 10. Virastava.

IV. *Six Cheda Sutras*

1. Nisitha, 2. Mahanisitha, 3. Vyavahara, 4. Acaradasah, 5. Kalpa, 6. Pancakalpa or Jitakalpa.

V. *Two Culika Sutra*

1. Nandi Sutra, 2. Anuyogadvara

VI. *Four Mula Sutras*

1. Uttaradhyayana, 2. Avasyaka, 3. Dasavaikalika, 4. Pindaniryukti.

There are variations in this classification sometimes Nandi, Anuyogadovra and Pancakalp are put at the head of the Prakirnas. Instead of Pancakalpa, Jitakalpa of Jinabhadra is sometimes mentioned amongst the Chedasutras. Traditionally the number of the texts fixed at Valabhi is 45, the names however vary upto 50.

In a few cases the names of authors are also mentioned. For example, the 4th Upanga Prajnapana is described to Syamacarya, the Jitakalp to Jinabhadra, the 4th Chedasutra Kalp to Bhadrabahu and the 6th Jitakalp to Jinabhadra, the 1st Culika-Sutra to Devardigani himself and the 3rd Mula Sutra Dasa Vaikalika to Svayambhava. It is therefore evident that books written upto the time of the Valabhi conference were included in the canon. Perhaps some later works were also attempted to be included in the Agama as is shown by the enlargement of the list upto 50. But there is no doubt about a good deal of material in the Agama texts being genuinely old as is proved by absence of any reference to Greek astronomy and statements which are not altogether favourable to the Svetambara creed such as the emphasis on nakedness by Lord Mahavira.

The language of these texts is called Arsa by which is meant Ardha-Magadhi. But it is not uniform in all the texts. The language of the Angas and a few other texts such as the Uttaradhyayana is evidently older and amongst them also the Acaranga shows more archaic forms. Then again the language of the verses generally shows tendencies of an earlier age. On the whole the language of this Agama does not confirm fully to the characteristics of any of the Prakrits described by the grammarians; but it shares something with each of them. Dr. Jacobi called this language old Maharastri or Jain Maharastri. But this designation has not been accepted and it is simpler and better to call it by its traditional name Ardha-Magadhi.

The subject matter of this canonical literature is mainly the ascetic practices of the followers of Mahavira. As such, it is mostly didactic, dominated by the supreme ethical principle of Ahimsa. But subject to that, there is a good deal of poetry and philosophy as well as social history. Many narrative pieces, such as those found in the Uttaradhyayana are interesting and instructive and remind one of the personalities and events in the Upanisadas and the Pali texts. From the historical point of view, the life of Mahavira in the Acaranga give information about his predecessors, Contemporaries in the Vyakhyaprajnapti or Bhagavati and the Upasakadasah and about his successors in the Kalpa Sutra is valuable.

A vast literature of commentaries has grown round the Agamas. The earliest of these works are the Niryukties, attributed to Bhadrabahu they are in Prakrit verses explaining the topics systematically and elaborating the same by legends and episodes. Ten of these works are available. Then there are *Bhasyas* (commentaries) also composed in Prakrit verses. These in some cases have got so much intermingled with the Niryuktis that it is now difficult to separate them. They carry the systematisation and elaboration further. These texts of which eleven are available are mostly anonymous. The Bhasya on the Avasyaka is however attributed to Jinabhadra Ksamasramana and that on Kalpa Sutra to Samghadasagani. The *Curnis* of which twenty texts are available, are prose glosses with a curious admixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit. Some of them contain valuable historical information as well. The Avasyaka Curṇi, for example, makes mention of a food in Sravasti, thirteen years after Mahavira's enlightenment. The Nisitha Curni contains a reference to Kalkacarya who invited a foreigner to invade Ujjain. All the curnis are indiscreminately ascribed to Jinadasa gani. The last parts of the commentary literature consists of *Tikas* which carry the expositary and illustrative process to its

logical conclusion. They are written in Sanskrit retaining in many cases the Prakrit narratives in their original form. The well known *Tika* writers are Haribhadra, Silanka, Santisuri, Devendra, alias Nemicandra, Abhayadeva, Dronacarya Maladhari Hemacandra, Malayagiri, Ksemakirti, Vijayavimala Santicandra and Samayasundara. Their activities were spread over a period of 1100 years, i.e. from the 6th to the 17th century. A number of other forms of commentaries called Dipikas, Vicrttis and Avacuries are also in existence.

The Satkhandagama of Puspadanta and Bhutavali, which as already stated above is the earliest and most authoritative work on Jaina philosophy. Its six sections are Jivasthana, Ksudrakahandha, Bandhasvamitva, Vedana, Vargana and Mahabandha. The last of these is almost and independant work and is popularly known as Mahadhavala. It composed in sutra the language of which is sauraseni Prakrit strongly influenced on the one hand by the Ardha-Magadhi particularly in its teachnical phraseology, and on the other by Maharastri. It gives a very systematic and thorough exposition of the Karma doctrine which forms the most essential part of Jaina philosophy. Another work decoted to particular aspects of the Karma doctrine and written about the same time as the Satkhandagama is the *Kasayapahuda* of Gunadharacarya. It is composed in 233 Gatha-Sutras which have been elaborated by the Curni sutras of Yativrssbha. Many commentaries are said to have been written on these works but the only that is now available to us is the *Dhavala* of Virasena on the Satkhandagama and the *Jayadhavala* of Virasena and Jinasena on the Kasayapahuda written during the 9th century in Sauraseni Prakrit they are very voluminous and masterly. Their subject matter was compressed by *Nemicandra* Siddhantacakravartin in his Gommatasara (Jiva Kanda and Karama Kanda *Labdhisara and Ksapanasara* in about 2400 Gatha verses during the 10th century and these works now form the basis of studies in Jaina philosophy, particularly amongst the Digambaras.

The Svetambara literature on Karma doctrine besides the canonical works consist of the six Karma granthas variously called *Karmavipak, Karmastavar, Bandha-svamithva, Sadasiti Sataka* and *Saptatika* of uncertain authorship and date. *Kamma-kayadi* of Sivasarma and *Pancasamgraha* of Candrarsi all composed in Gatha sutras and covering the same ground in subject matter as the works of Nemicandra.

Next to the Karma doctrine in the religious importance are the duties and practices of monks and householders. The earliest work on this subject amongst the Digambaras is the Mularadhana of Sivaraya which contains 2166 Prakrit verses giving an exposition of the four devotions, namely, Faith, Knowledge, Conduct and Austerities, but at the same time dealing with practically all aspects of Jainism. Narrative and descriptive element is also not wanting in the work and at places the poet in the author gets the better of the religious teacher and he flashes fourth in beautiful fancies and figures of speech. The Mulacara of Vattakera prescribes in a thoroughly systematic manner, in about 1250 Prakrit verses the duties practices and observances of ascetic. The work has close affinities with the Mularadhana of Sivarya as well as the Agama texts of the Svetambaras dealing with similar topics. The *Kartikeyanupreksa* of Kumara contains in 500 Prakrit verses a beautiful exposition of the twelve reflections recommended for

the promotion of the feeling of renunciation. But the author who exercised the greatest and most dominant influence on Jaina literature and gave the form and shape to the Digambara creed as it exists today is Kundakundacarya. Tradition ascribes to him a large number of works of which more than a dozen texts called Pahudas (Prabhrat) are now available. They are on the subject of Darsana (36 Verses), Caritra (44), Sutra (27), Bodha (62), Bhava (163), Moksa (106), Linga (22), Sila (40), Ratna (162), Dvadasanupreksa (91), Niyamasara (187), Pancartikaya (180), and Samayasara (415). The last two works are particularly popular and the Samayasara is regarded as the author's best and most sacred production on spiritual topics. Works of Kundakundacarya may be regarded as the earliest models of that ascetic poetry and philosophy which became so popular through a long line of Jaina Buddhist and Hindu saints cutting across all communal barriers.

The dates of these saintly composition is uncertain, and that may be said about them is that they belong to the early centuries. To the 10th century belongs Devasena whose works the Bhavanasamgraha, Aradhanasara, Tattvasara and Darsanasara, besides their religious and moral exposition contain important and intererest information about the origin and development of various Samghas in the Jaina community.

The religious-moral introductions found in these works form the subject matter of a few very interesting anthologies. Vajjalagga of Jayavallabha contains about 700 verses grouped topic wise such as poetry, friendship, fate, poverty, etc. It is a beautiful example of lyrical poetry in Prakrit and is almost non-sectarian. The Upadesa-mala of Dharmadosa contains 540 verses devoted to moral preaching particularly to monks. The author is claimed to be a contemporary of Mahavira. The tradition, at any rate shows the great reverence and high esteem that the work commands. It is certainly earlier than the 9th century when its commentary was written.

Jivasamasa and *Bhavabhavana* of Maladhari Hemacandra (12th century) contain more than 500 Prakrit stanzas of didactive nature. The essence of Jaina dialectics is found in its *Nayavado* or theory of view points and in Prakrit the Sammatitarka of Siddhasena and *Nayacakra* of Devasena are most important contributions on the subject. Jaina cosmology is very thoroughly described in the Triloka-prajnapti of Yativrsabh and Jambudvipa prajnapti of Padmanandi, in Prakrit verses.

Primarily the language of the Jaina literature was the Prakrits which were prevalent amongst the people at one time or the other in different parts of the country. But Sanskrit was not altogether shunned. The earliest work in Sanskrit devoted to religious writing amongst the Jainas is the Tattvarthagama sutra of Umasvati which epitomizes the whole Jaina creed in about 375 sutras arranged in ten chapters. The work occupies a unique position in Jaina literature as it is recognised equally authoritative by the Digambaras and the Svetambaras with a few variations in the readings and is very widely studied by both. It has commented upon by most eminent authors of both sects. There is an old Bhasya on it which the Svetambaras claim to be by the author of the Sutras himself. But this claim is not admitted by the Digambaras who regard the *Sarvartha Siddhi Vrtti* of Pujyapada (6th century) as the earliest

commentary. Pujyapada has made full use of the Satkhandagama sutras in explaining some sutras of this work. The next commentary is *Tattvartha-raja-varttika* of Akalamka (8th century) which offers more detailed explanations of the sutras as well as the important statements of Pujyapada. The Tattvartha sloka-vartika of Vidyanandi (9th century) gives his expositions in verses and makes valuable classifications.

The narrative literature of Jainism has mostly for its subject matter the life of one or more of its sixty-three supermen called Trisasthi Salaka purusa. They are the 24 Tirthamkaras, 12 Cakravartins, 9 Baladevas, 9 Narayanas and 9 Prati Narayanas. In the life of the Tirthamkaras the five auspicious events (Kalyanaka), namely, conception, birth, renunciation, enlightenment and salvation receive special attention of the poets. The conquest of the six subdivisions of Bharata Khanda is the main achievement of the Cakravartins. The Baladevas are charged with the special responsibility of getting rid of the tyrants of their times, the Prati Narayanas, by the assistance of the Narayanas. They thus form, the triples Rama, Laxmana and Ravan form one and Balaram, Krishna, Jarasamdha the other of the last two of these nine triples, and it is they who have inspired most of the narrative poetry next to the Tirthamkaras. Description of the universe and of the past lives of the persons, introduction of numerous subsidiary stories to illustrate one point or the other and occasional discourses on religious topics are some of the other features of this Pauranic literature. The narration as a rule begins in the saintly assembly of Lord Mahavira by the query of Srenika king of Magadha and the reply to it by the chief disciple of the Tirthamkar namely Gautama. A rich literature of this kind is found written in Prakrit, Sanskrit as well as Apabhramsa.

The earliest epic available is the *Paumacariam* of Vimala Suri which, in 118 chapters, gives us the Jaina version of Ramayana having a good deal of matter different from the work of Valmiki which is no doubt known to the author. The language is chaste Maharastri Prakrit and the and the style and occasionally ornate. As Valmiki is the Adi Kavi of Sanskrit, Vimala Suri may be called the pioneer of Prakrit literature. According to the author's own statement the work was produced 530 years after Mahavira's Nirvana i.e. the beginning of the 1st century A.D.

The Padamacarita of Ravisena in Sanskrit (7th century) follows closely Vimala Suri's work, and we have the same epic beautifully rendered in Apabhramsa by Svayambhu and later on by Raidu. The linguistic interest and poetic charm of the Apabhramsa works is remarkable as they set the model for the earliest epics of Jayasi and Tulasidasa in Hindi.

Jinasenas Harivamsapurana (8th century) the earliest Jaina epic on the subject matter of the Mahabharata, the chief heros being the 22nd Tirthamkara Neminatha and his cousin Krisna Narayana. The Apabhramsa version of it is beautified by the genius of Svayambhu, and his later followers Dhavala and Yasakirti.

The most comprehensive work and again the earliest of its kind is the Mahapurana of Jinasena and Gunabhadra (9th century). The first part of it called Adipurana ends with the Nirvana of the first Tirthamkara Adinatha or Rsabhadeva and the second part called *Uttarapurana* narrates the lives of the rest of the Tirthamkaras and the remaining Salakapurusas. The work of Jinasena may be called the Jaina encyclopaedia.

It enlightens its readers almost on every topic concerned with religion, philosophy, morals and rituals. The philosophical knowledge of the author is proved by his commentary, the Jayadhavala and his poetic ability is evinced by his Parsvabhyudaya Kavya in which he has transformed the lyrical poem Meghadut of Kalidasa into an equally charming epic on the life of the 23rd Tirthamkara. This whole Mahapurana has been rendered in to Apabhramsa with commonsurate skill in charming style by Puspadanta in his *Tisatthi-Mahapurisa-Ounalamkaru* (10th century). Another Sanskrit version of it is found in the Trisasthi Salakapurusa-Carita of Hemacandra (12th century) which again has a charm of its own and its historical value is enhanced by the additional section called the Parisisth Parva or Sthaviravalicarita which gives valuable information about the Jaina community after Mahavira's Nirvana.

A large number of works have been written on the life of each Tirthamkara and other personages of the hierarchy in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramsa some of the more important of which are as follows:

In Sanskrit the life of the 12th Tirthamkara Vasupujya by Vardhaman Suri of the 13th Tirthamkara Vimala by Krisnadeva, of the 15th Dharmanath by Haricandra, of the 16th Santinath by Deva Suri, Manikyanandin and Sakalakirti, of the 22 Neminatha by Vegabhat and Suracarya, of the 23rd Parsvanatha by Jinasena (9th century.) Vadiraja (11th century), Bhavadeva and Manikyacandra.

In Prakrit Sumatinathacariam of Somaprabha (12th century), Supasanahacariam of Laksmanagani, and Mahaviracariam of Gunacandra and of Devendra are noteworthy.

In Apabhramsa we have the Mehesaracariu of Raidhu (15th century) on the life of the 1st Tirthamkar, Candappahacariu of Yasakirti (15th century), Santinaha Cariu of Mahicandra (16th century), Neminatha Cariu of Haribhadra (13th century), Damodhara (13th century), and Lakhamdeva (16th century), Pasanaha Cariu of Padamakirti (10th century) of Sridhara (12th century) of Asavala (15th century), and of Raidhu (15th century) and Vaddhamana Cariu of Sridhara and Jayamitra.

There is again a very vast literature in all the three languages concerning the life of persons who attained celebrity for their religious zeal and sacrifice. The Yasastilaka Campu of Somadeva (10th century), Tilakamanjari of Dhanapala (10th century) Jivandhara Campu of Vadibhasimha and of Haricandra are some of the Sanskrit works which belongs to this category. The mentioned works are also noteworthy for their style which admits of an admixture of prose and verses as well as for their diction which vies with the best prose style of the Sanskrit Kathas and Akhyayikas.

In Prakrit the Vasudevahidi of Samghadasagani is remarkable, for its age, style and contents, and so are the Samaraiccakaha of Haribhadra and the Uvaesamala of Udayana which are also valuable for their nature and literary style. Surasundaricariam of Dhanesvara (11th century) and Pancami Kaha of Mabesvara (11th century) are other poems in Prakrit which are interesting for their story, easy flowing narrative and poetic embellishment.

In Apabhramsa some beautiful poems of this kind are the Nayakumaracariu and Jasahara Cariu of Puspadanta, Bhavisatta Kaha of Dhanapala and Karakanda Cariu of Kanakamara.

Jaina literature is full of short stories which were primarily written for the purpose of religious instructions but also serve for amusement. The best and oldest examples of these are found in the Sanskrit Kathakosa of Harisena and the Apabhramsa Kathakosa of Sricandra (11 cent). Some of the unique examples of satire intended for religious edification are found in the Prakrit Dhurtakhyana of Haribhadra (8th cent.) Apabhramsa Dharmapariks of Harisena (10th cent.) and Sanskrit Dharmapariksa of Amitagati (11th cent.)

Lyrical poetry in Jaina literature has found expression through hymns addressed to the Tirthamkara and holy saints Bhaktambarastotra of Manatunga and Kalyanamandira Stotra of Vadiraja, Visapahara Stotra of Dhananjaya and Jinacalurvimsatika of Bhupala are charming examples of these devotional songs.

In the brief space allotted for the survey of Jaina literature what has been possible is the best outline of what exists in published form and manuscript stores at various places and new works of considerable antiquity are coming to light every day. This literature has got a beauty and grandeur of its own for its form, matter and spirit. The Jainas never became partial to one language only like the Brahmanas for Sanskrit and Buddhist for Pali, but they cultivated all the languages of different times and places and have devoted almost equal attention to them all. Even the Dravidian languages of the south have not been neglected and the earliest literature in Tamil and Kannada will be found developed and enriched by Jaina contributions. This literature is not merely meant for past time and pedantry but for the cultivation of those virtues without which man by his so-called progress may work out his own doom. Signs of this danger are not wanting in the present set up of world forces and the trend of events. If humanity has to fulfil its roll of establishing peace on the earth and good will amongst mankind it must extricate itself from the morass of greed and grab and in this task the Jaina literature with its message of non-violence, love of humanity, virtue of tolerance, and lessons of nobility and spiritual supremacy has a great part to play.

Śivabhūti and Śivārya

According to the often quoted verses from *Āvaśyaka Mūla Bhāsya*[1] the schism of the *Boṭikas* took place 609 years after the Nirvāna of Mahāvīra at Rahavīrpur under the guidance of Śivabhūti. The Boṭikas are frequently identified with the Digambaras, and the Śvetāmbara paṭṭāvalīs accordingly assign the date 609 years after Nirvāna of Mahavira the foundation of the Digambara sect.

Let us see whether this Śivabhūti is identifiable with any personality in the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara hierarchies. Looking into the *Kalpasūtra Sthavirāvalī* which is the oldest succession list of *Ācāryas* preserved by the Śvetāmbaras, we find mention of *Sivabhūi* who succeeded *Dhangiri* the successor of *Faggumitta*.[2] This Sivabhūi appears to me to be identical with Śivabhūti of the Mūla Bhāsya for the following reasons:

1. The names are identical.
2. Though the Sthavirāvalī does not mention the time of the Ācāryas, other paṭṭāvalīs which mention the time tend to show that Sivabhūti must have flourished at the time mentioned by the Mūla Bhāṣya for Śivabhūti.
3. The Mūla Bhāṣya associated Śivabhūti with another personality called *Kaṇha* who is also mentioned in the metrical part of the Sthavirāvali along with Sivabhūi.
4. *Samayasundara* in his commentary on the Sthavirāvalī states that it was a pupil of Sivabhūi Sk. Śivabhūti named *Boṭaka* who founded the Digambara sect in the year 609 after Nirvāna.[3] This is in direct conflict with the account given to us by the Mūla Bhāṣya as well as a series of commentators like Jinabhadra Gaṇi, Koṭyācāra and Malayagiri, and appears to have been deliberately designed to save Ārya Śivabhūti, who was adored in the Sthavirāvalī, from any association with the schism of the *Boṭikas;* but it makes the identification complete.

We may now attempt to see whether this Ārya Śivabhūti is identifiable with any person in the Digambara sect. The name at once suggests to us the author of the Ārādhanā or Bhagavatī Ārādhana as a probable person for the identification, because his name as mentioned in the book itself is *Sivajja Sk. Śivārya* whose three teachers

were *Ajja Jiṇaṇandi Gaṇi, Savvagutta Gaṇi* and *Ajja Mittanandi*.[4] These names show clearly that *Ajja* was not a part of the proper name but an honorific title which is given to all the Ācāryas in the Sthavirāvalī. Therefore the name *Sivajja* is equivalent to *Ārya Śiva* which is not difficult to identify with *Ārya Śivabhūti*, because an omission of the latter part of a name is quite normal as in the case of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Bhīma which stand for Rāmacandra, Kṛṣṇacandra and Bhīmasena respectively. The title Ārya, again, though so normal in the Sthavirāvalī is unusual in the Digambara lists of Ācāryas and is found used only very seldom. Śivārya's work Ārādhanā or Mūlārādhanā again occupies a unique place in the Digambara literature. It does not belong to Kundakunda's school[5] and there is no evidence to prove that it belongs to a period subsequent to Kundakunda. But on the other hand, it cannot be dissociated from the Digambara school to which it traditionally belongs. One of its commentators *Aparājita Sūri*[6] has been called the 'Crest-jewel of the *Ārātīya* teachers' and the *Ārātīyas* have been recognised by the author of the *Sarvārtha-siddhi* as authoritative as an omniscient Tirthaṃkara or Śrutakevalī.[7] Other commentators of the same work are *Amıtagati* and *Āśādhara* who are reputed authors of the Digambara sect.[8] Then again, the word *Nandi* forming part of the names of Śivārya's two teachers definitely associates the work with the Digambaras amongst whom the *Nandi Saṃgha* was a very ancient organisation and *Nandı* as a name-ending was quite popular, while it is not found so in the Śvetāmbara pattāvalīs of the early period at all, and even at a later date it was rarely used, since, going over all the available Śvetāmbara lists I could find only two such names, *Indranandi* and *Udayanandi*, both being later than the fifteenth century.[9]

One of the three teachers of Śivārya was *Sarvagupta Gaṇi*. No wonder if this person be identical with the teacher of the same name mentioned in Śravaṇa Belgola inscription No. 104 (254) in succession with the four teachers of *Ācārāṅga* and prior to Kundakunda.[10] In *Bhāva-pāhuḍa*, verse 53 Kundakunda mentions with great respect one Śivabhūti who attained purity and omniscience by proclaiming Tuṣa-māṣa' (the simile of the chaff and the grain).[11] If we take into consideration the context, it is obvious that a saint who attained purity of thought, but did not confirm to the rules of outer conduct, was meant there. This Śivabhūti appears to be identical with the one mentioned in the Sthavirāvali and the author of the *Ārādhanā* in which we find a verse using the simile of the chaff and the grain in order to emphasise the necessity of inner purification.[12] It is this verse that makes the reference in the *Bhāva-pāhuḍa* sufficiently intelligible.

This simile of the chaff and the grain is again implied in the *Āvaśyaka Niryukti* of Bhadrabāhu. According to it there were seven schisms during the period of 614 years which elapsed after the omniscience of Lord Mahāvīra. The last of these schisms was created 584 years after Nirvāṇa, at Daśapura, by Goṣṭhāmāhila who preached that the soul has contact with *Karma*, but it is not bound by it.[13] The author of the *Mūlabhāṣya* explains it as follows : As a coat is in contact with its bearer, but it does not tie him up, even so bondage.[14] *Malayagiri* in his commentary to the *Āvaśyaka Niryukti* explains that *Ārya Rakshıta* left behind three pupils, namely. Lurbalikā Puṣyhmitra, Goṣṭhāmāhila and Phaggu Rakshita. Goṣṭhāmāhila had a gift of speech, still Ārya Rakshita had nominated, not him, but Durbalikā Puṣyamitra as his successor. This annoyed

Goṣthāmāhila to such an extent that he left the community in disgust.[15] According to the *Sthavirāvali*, Puṣyamitra was succeeded by Phaggumitra (*Phaggu Rakshita*) who in his turn was succeeded by Dhanagiri whose successor Śivabhūti was. It is not unlikely, therefore that Śivārya had in mind the aforesaid teaching of Goṣthāmāhila when he wrote in the *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā* that the inner dust of the rice grain could not be cleaned so long as the outer coating was not removed; and Kundakunda in his *Bhāva-pāhuḍa* had praised this very principle of purity upheld by Śivārya.

Similarly, another verse of *bhāva-pāhuḍa* makes mention of a pureminded Śramaṇa *Sivakumāra,*'who, though surrounded by a number of damsels, remained chaste-minded and thus could get over the cycle of birth and death.[16] If we compare this with verses 1108-1116 of the *Bhagvatī Ārādhanā*[17] where very sound advice is given for avoiding the poison of passions even while in the midst of sensual allurements, then we begin to suspect that probably here also Kundakunda had in mind Śivārya himself. The teaching of a saint could metaphorically be attributed to his conduct also.

The above discussion leads us to the following conclusions :

1. Śivabhūti who is said to have founded the Boṭika sect formerly belonged to the line of *Sthaviras* commemorated in the *Sthavirāvalī*.
2. He later on joined the *Nandi Saṃgha* whose sacred books he studied from three teachers, namely, Jinanandi, Sarvagupta and Mitranandi.
3. When in his turn he became the head of the organisation he probably introduced some changes on account of which his followers were called the *Boṭikas*.
4. He wrote the *Ārādhanā*, or *Bhagavatī Ārādhana* on the practice of the monks in which he calls himself Śivārya. This work reveals a phase of religion in the Digambara community which is earlier than Kundakunda's teachings.
5. The pure-minded *Śramaṇa Śivabhūti* mentioned by Kundakunda in his *Bhāva-pāhuḍa* was probably identical with the aforesaid Śivabhūti or Śivārya.

The next question that interests us is whether the place where Śivabhūti is said to have first instituted his organisation could also be identified. Its association with the Digambaras suggests to us Southern India as the possible part of the country where the place called *Rahavīrapura* by the author of the *Mūla Bhāṣya* may be looked for-particularly that part of the South West from Gujarat to Kokan which formed the scene of activity in connection with the compilation of the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama Sūtras*.[18] Looking over this area, one finds a place called *Rāhuri*, now a railway station in the Ahmadnagar district, being the third station and only 15 miles from Ahmadnagar towards Manmad. I feel inclined to identify this place with the *Rahavīrapura (-pūrī)* of Śivabhūti. Philologically there is no difficulty in the corruption of *Rahavīrapurī* in to *Rāhurī*.

It now remains to explain the word *Boḍia* or *Boṭika*. Samayasundra's explanation that it was the name of a pupil of Śivabhūti is not supportable by any evidence. A name like *Boṭika* is nowwhere to be found in the Śvetāmbara or Digambara lists, and no other commentator supports the view. On the contrary, the *Mūla Bhāṣya* uses the word as an adjective of Śivabhūti and of another word Liṅga, which indicates that

Boṭika signified some characteristic mark introduced for the first time by Śivabhūti. The *Mūla Bhāṣya* itself stated that Śivabhūti discussed with his associates the question of *upadhi* or an article which the monks should possess. Looking into the *Mūlārādhanā* I find Śivārya laying great emphasis upon the necessity of the monks' making use of an article (pratilekhana) for removing minute living beings, during all their activities such as walking, taking up things or placing them on the ground, etc. He calls this article the mark (ciṇha) and the characteristic feature (Liṅga) of asceticism. The requisites of this article are also specified that it should not be capable of being contaminated by dirt or sweat and it should be soft, tender and light.[19] By these qualities as well as by the well-known practice of the Digambara monks we can understand that what Śivaryā was recommending to his followers was a bunch of feathers (*Picchikā*). It apperas to me that at that time the quail's feathers came handy and they were utilised by Śivārya and his followers. The word for quail in Sanskrit is *Vartaka* which in Prakrit would normally give us the form *Vaṭṭaka, Vāṭaka, Vāḍaka* and *Vādaa.* This word may have been easily developed into *Voṭaka, Boṭıka* and similar other forms on the analogy of the word *Koṭika, Kautıka* or *Koḍıa* which was applied to the community of the Śvetāmbaras, according to the *Paṭṭāvalīs,* since the tıme of Ārya Suhasti.

REFERENCES

1 These verses are as follows :-

छव्वाससयाइं नवुत्तराइं तइया सिद्धिं गयस्य वीरस्स।
तो बोडिआण दिट्ठी रहवीरपुरे समुप्पन्न।। १४५।।
रहवीरपुर नगरं दीवगमुज्जाणमज्जकण्हे य।
सिवभूइस्सुवहिम्मी पुच्छा थेराणा कहणा य।। १४६।।
ऊहाए पण्णत्तं बोंडिअ सिवभूइउत्तराहि (-उत्तरोही?) इमे।
मिच्छादसणमिणमो रहवीरपुरे समुप्पन्नं।। १४७।।
बोंडअसिवभूईओ बोडिअलिंगस्स होइ उप्पत्ती।
कोडिन्नकुट्टवीरा परंपराफासमुप्पन्ना।। १४८।।

These verses may be literally translated as follows : When six hundred and nine years had passed after Vıra (Mahāvīra) attained Nirvana, there was founded the sect of Boḍikas at Rahavırapura. There was the town of Rahavīrapur, the garden Dīpaka and Ārya Kanha (Krsna); Śıvabhūti raısed the questıon about the Upadhi (a monk's equipment), and the Theras expressed their vıews on the subject. As a result of the discussıon the Boḍika was preached by monks led by Śivabhūti : thus the false doctrine was born at Rahavīrapura. From Bodika Śivabhūtı the distinguishing mark of Boḍika was born; *Kauṇḍınya-kuṭṭa-viras* were born associated with this lineage

2 थेरस्स णं अज्जधणगिरिस्स वासिठ्ठसगुत्तस्स अज्जसिवभूई थेरे अंतेवासी कुच्छसगुत्ते।। १९।।
वंदामि फग्गुमित्तं च गोयमं धणगिरिं च वासिठ्ठं।
कुच्छं सिवभूई पि य कोसिय दुज्जंत कण्हे य।। १।।

3 शिवभूतिशिष्य: एको बोटकनामाऽभूत्। तस्मात् वीरात् सं. ६०९ वर्षे बोटकमतं जातं दिगम्बरमतमित्यर्थ:।

4. अज्जजिणणंदिगणि-सव्वगुत्तगणि-अज्जमित्तणंदीणं।
अवगमिय पादमूले सम्मं सुत्तं च अत्थं च।। २१६१।।
पुव्वायरियणिबद्धा उवजीवित्ता इमा ससत्तीए।
आराहणा सिवज्जेण पाणिदलभोइणा रइदा।। २१६२।।

5. This is evident from the fact that Śivārya does not make nakedness as the absolute rule for monks, but allow exceptions in special cases for which the following verses may be noted:

    जस्स वि अव्वभिचारो दोसो तिट्ठणिओ विहारम्मि।
    सो वि हु संथारगदो गेण्हज्जोस्सगियं लिंग।। ८०।।
    आवसधे वा अप्पाउग्गे जो वा महद्धिओ हिरिमं।
    मिच्छजणे सजणे वा तस्स हु होज्ज अववादियं लिंगं।। ८१।।

6. चन्द्रनन्दिमहाप्रकृत्याचार्यप्रशिष्येण आरातीयसूरिचूडामणिना नागनन्दिगणिपादपद्मोपसेवाजात मतिलवेन बलदेवसूरिशिष्येण जिनशासनोद्धरणधीरेण लब्धयशःप्रसरेणापराजितसूरिणा श्रीनन्दिगणिनावचोदितेन रचिता।। (विजयोदया टीका)

7 त्रयो वक्तारः सर्वज्ञतीर्थकरः इतरो वा श्रुतकेवली आरातीयश्च। (सि. सि. १, २०).

8. For other commentaries on the work, see Pandit Nathuram Premi's-
    'जैन साहित्य और इतिहास' p. 23 ff.

9 पट्टावली-समुच्चय-मुनि दर्शनविजय कृत, pr. 39 and 67.

10. सर्वज्ञः सर्वगुप्तो महिधर-धनपालौ महावीरवीरौ। इत्याद्यानेकसूरीष्वथ सुपदमुपेतेषु दीव्यत्तपस्याशास्त्राधारेषु पुण्यादजनि स जगतां कोण्डकुन्दो यतीन्द्रः।। १३।।

11. तुमसामं घोसंतो भावविसुद्धो महाणुभावो य।
    णामेण य सिवभूई केवलणाणां फुडं जाओ।। ५३।। (भा. पा.)

12. जह कुंडओ ण सक्को सोधेदुं तंदुलस्स सतुसस्स।
    तह जीवस्स ण सक्कं मोहमल संगसत्तस्स।। ११२०।। (भ. आ.)

13. बहुरय पएस अव्वत्त समुच्छ दुग तिग अबद्धिआ चेव
    सत्तेए निण्हगा खलु तित्थम्मि उ वद्धमाणस्स।। ७७८।।
    बहुरय जमालिपभवा जीवपएसा य तीसगुत्ताओ।। ७७९।।
    गंगाओ दोकिरिय छलुआ तेरासिआण उप्पत्ती।
    थेरा य गुट्ठमाहिल पुट्ठमबद्धं परूविंति।। ७८०।। आदि (आ. नि.)

14. पुट्ठो जहा अबद्धो कंचुइणं कंचुओ समन्नेइ।
    एवं पुट्ठमबद्धं जीवं कम्मं समेन्नेइ।। १४३।। (म. भा.)

15. See-आवश्यक निर्युक्ति गाथा ७७७ वृत्ति।

16. भावरावणो य धीरो जुवईयणवेढिओ विसुद्धमई।
    णामेण सिवकुमारो परित्तसंसारिओ जादो।। ५१।। (भा. पा.)

17. उदयम्मि जायवड्ढिय उदएण ण लिप्पदे जहा पउमं।
    तह विसएहिं ण लिप्पदि साहू विसएसु उसिओ वि।। ११०८।।
    सिंगारतरंगाए विलासवेगाए जोव्वणजलाए।
    विहसियफेणाए मुणी परिणईए ण बुड्डुंति।। ११११।। etc.

18. See षट्खंडागम, Vol. I, Intro. p. 13 ff.

19. इरियादाणणिखेवे विवेगठाणे णिसोयणे सयणे।
    उव्वत्तण-परियत्तण पसारणाओटणामसे।। ९८।।
    पडिलेहणेण पडलेहिज्जइ चिण्हं य होइ सयपक्खे।
    विस्सासियं च लिंगं संजयपडिरूवदा चेव।। ९९।।
    रज-सेदाणमगहणं मद्दवसुकुमालदा लहुत्तं च।
    जत्थेदे पंच गुणा तं पडिलिहणं पसंसंति।। १००।।

Section - II
The History

The Chief Political Divisions of India During the Eighth Century

The history of northern India during the three or four centuries immediately following the period of the great emperor Harsha is very obscure, and whatever light is shed by any literary or epigraphical records is most welcome. One such important ray of light is furnished to us by the Jaina writer Jinasena who in his Harivaṃśa purāna says that he finished the work at Vardhamānapura in the Śaka year 705 He also makes mention of the contemporary kings and locates their spheres of influence and power. The verses run as follows:-

शाकेष्वब्दशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरे पूत्तरां
पातीन्द्रायुधनाम्नि कृष्णनृपाजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणाम्।
पूर्वां श्रीमदवन्तिभूभृति नृपे वत्सादिराजेऽपरां
सौराणामधिमण्डलं जययुते वीरे वराहेऽवति।। ५२।।

कल्याणै परिवर्द्धमान विपुल श्रीवर्द्धमाने पुरे
श्री पार्श्वालयनन्नराजवसतौ पर्याप्तशेषः पुरा।
पश्चाद्दोस्तटिकाप्रजाप्रजनितप्राज्यार्चनावर्चने
शान्ते शान्तगृहे जिनस्य रचितो वंशो हरीणामयम्।। ५३।। (सर्ग ६६)

The value of these mentions has long been recognized and historians like Vincent Smith, R.G. Bhandarkar, C.V. Vaidya, H.C. Ojha and A.S. Altekar have utilized them in their works. But none has cared to discuss the boundaries of the kingdoms as suggested by the poet, nor tried to locate the town where he wrote and which formed the dividing centre of the kingdoms mentioned by him. They have generally gone on the presumption that Jinasena had merely mentioned the leading kingdoms of the four directions of northern India without any specific idea of the dividing line. This presumption has sometimes led to confusion as, for example, in the case of C.V. Vaidya who, while trying to explain the mention of the king of Avanti ruling in the east, says: 'It seems the word Avanti-Bhūpati has been wrongly translated as king of Avanti, for Avanti or Malwa cannot be in the east. The proper translation should be king Avanti, Avanti being the name of a king.' (*Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. II, pp. 101-102; Poona,

1924). But he has not tried to identify this King Avanti who controlled the entire east, obviously because there was no such king known to history.

An attempt at the identification of the central place mentioned by Jinasena with reference to the political divisions of India has been made recently by Dr. Upadhye in the introduction to his edition of Harisena's *Bṛihat-kathā-kosha* (Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavana, Bombay, 1943) and by Pandit Nathuram Premi in the chapter on आचार्य जिनसेन और उनका हरिवंश in his जैन साहित्य और इतिहास (Bombay, 1942). Their conclusion is that Vardhamanapura where Jinasena wrote the Harivamśa purāṇa was identical with Wadhwan in Kathiawar, because 'Jinasena wrote his Harivaṃśa at Vardhamānapura when Indrāyudha was ruling in the north; Sri Vallabha, the son of Krishṇa nṛpa in the south; Vatsarāja, the king of Avanti in the east; and in the west, Vira Jaya Varāha over the Sauramaṇḍala. Hariṣena, just 148 years later, associates one Vinayādikapāla with Vardhamānapura. These conditions are not fulfilled, so far as the available material is concerned, by locating that town in Bengal or Deccan; but by accepting its identity with Wadhwān with reference to which the directions are to be understood, all the facts can be satisfactorily explained. Indrāyudha is identified with Indrarāja of Kanauj whose territory appears to have extended sufficiently westward; Sri Vallabha with Govinda II, the son of Kṛṣṇa I of the Rāṣṭrakūta dynasty in the south; Vatsarāja, the king of Avanti, with the Gurjar Pratihāra ruler of that name; and Vīra Jaya Varāha might have been some king ruling over Sauramanḍala or Saurāṣṭra, about whom we do not know anything from other sources. These directions and ruling kings are suitable only for Wadhwān.' (Brihat-kathā-kosha, Intro., p. 121).

Pandit Nathuram Premi has discussed the position of the the four kings and their kingdoms somewhat more fully and subscribes to the same view. With regard to the position of Indrayudha and Vatsarāja and their kingdoms, the remarks of Pandit Premi are as follows :

श्वेताम्बराचार्य उद्योतन सूरि ने अपनी 'कुवलयमाला' नामक प्राकृत कथा जावालिपुर या जालोर (मारवाड़ी) में जब श० सं० ७०० के समाप्त होने में एक दिन बाकी था तब समाप्त की थी, और उस समय वत्सराज का राज था। अर्थात् हरिवंश की रचना के समय (श० ७०५ में) तो (उत्तर में) मारवाड़ इन्द्रायुध के अधिकार में था और (पूर्व में) मालवा वत्सराज के अधिकार में था। परन्तु इसके पांच वर्ष पहले (श० ७०० में) कुवलयमाला की रचना के समय मारवाड़ का अधिकारी भी वत्सराज था। इससे अनुमान होता है कि पहले मारवाड़ और मालवा दोनों ही इन्द्रायुध के अधिकार में थे और वत्सराज ने दोनों ही प्रान्त उसी से जीते थे-पहले, श० ७०० से पहले मारवाड़ और फिर श० ७०५ से पहले मालवा। इसके बाद ७०७ में ध्रुवराज ने मालवराज की सहायता के लिये चढ़ाई करके वत्सराज को मारवाड़ अर्थात् जालोर की ओर खदेड़ दिया होगा और मालवे का पुराना राजा यह इन्द्रायुध ही होगा जिसकी सहायता ध्रुवराज ने की थी। यह निश्चित है कि कन्नौज का साम्राज्य जो बहुत विस्तृत था और जिसमें मारवाड़ और मालवा भी शामिल थे, इसी वत्सराज के पुत्र नागभट्ट ने इसी इन्द्रायुध के पुत्र चक्रायुध से छीना था और इस प्रवृत्ति का प्रारंभ वत्सराज के समय से ही हो गया था। पहले ध्रुवराज ने इसमें बाधा डाली, परन्तु पीछे उक्त साम्राज्य प्रतिहारों के ही हाथ में चला गया। इन सब बातों से हरिवंश की रचना के समय उत्तर में इन्द्रायुध और पूर्व में वत्सराज का राज्य होना ठीक मालूम होता है। (जैन साहित्य और इतिहास, पृ० ४२६-७)

The remarks of both these scholars need scrutiny. The first point for consideration is whether Indrāyudha's kingdom extended sufficiently to the west so as to fall to the north of Wadha in Śaka 705. Looking at the map we find that Waḍhwān is situated well within Saurāṣṭra or Kathiawar. To the north of it are the territories of Marwar, and there is absolutely no evidence available to prove that Indrāyudha ever ruled over those parts. On the contrary, Pandit Premi draws our attention to a mention by Udyotana Sūri in his Kuvalayamālā, according to which Vatsarāja was ruling over Marwar in Śaka 700. To overcome this difficulty in the fulfilment of the conditions for the identification of Vardhamanapur with Wadhwān, he conjectures that the kingdom may have changed hands about the time of Jinasena. There is some confusion in the argument, as a result of which a case is made out for the contrary of what is desired to be established, and no argument remains in favour of Indrāyudha being regarded as the ruler to the north of Wadhwān. We learn from contemporary history that the kingdom of Kanauj was hard-pressed at this time from the north-west by the rulers of Kashmir, and from the east by the rulers of Gauda or Bengal. The Kanauj ruler was thus finding it difficult to maintain his dominions and was not at all in a position to undertake any new conquests. On the contrary, the kingdom of Mārwār, founded by Nāgabhatta or Nāgāvaloka the great grandfather of Vatsarāja himself at Bhinmal, was constantly expanding at the expense of the Kanauj and other neighbouring kingdoms. Nāgāvaloka's supremacy extended to the south, at least upto Broach, as is clearly shown by a copperplate inscription from Hasot in Ankleśvara Taluka, dated V. S. 813, Śaka 678 (Ep. Ind., XII, pp. 202-203). Nāgabhaṭṭa also had a trial of strength against Baloch Mlechhas whose forces he shattered. (Gwaliar Praśasti, Arch. Survey of India, 1903-4, p. 280). Thus Vatsarāja's great-grandfather was supreme from Bhinmal to Broach in Śaka 678 and there is no evidence to show that the fortunes of the kingdom had in any way shrunk by the time of Vatsarāja. There is thus no evidence whatsoever to prove that Indrāyudha's kingdom extended sufficiently to the west so as to make him supreme in the north of Wadhwān in Śaka 705. On the contrary, there is the kingdom of Vatsarāja both to the north as well as to the east of Wadhwān.

The next important question to be considered is whether Jinasena's statement can be interpreted to mean that Vatsarāja was the king of Avanti ruling in the east of Vardhamānapur and Vīra Jaya Varāha ruling to its west over Saurașṭra in Śaka 705. In this there is a two-fold difficulty of syntax as well as of fact. The two pertinent lines of Jinasena's verse are-

पूर्वां श्रीमदवन्तिभूभृति नृपे वत्सादिराजेऽपरां।
सौराणामधिमंडलं जययुते वीरे वराहेऽवति॥

Now, if Vatsarāja is to be qualified by the adjective Avanti Bhūbhṛti where is the word नृपे to be construed? If that also qualifies Vatsarāja, the verse becomes open to the fault of the worst king of tautology, which can only be avoided by taking अवन्तिभूभृत as one person and वत्सराज नृप as quite another. The fact of history also bears this out. Although Dowell (Cambridge Shorter History of India, p. 131) and Altekar (The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their times, p. 55, fn. 21) presume Vatsarāja to be the ruler of Avanti,

there is clear evidence to the contrary. We have already seen from the Kuvalaya-mālā of Udyotana Sūri that Vatsarāja ruled in Marwar in Śaka 700. Then the Baroda copperplate inscription of Karkarāja, dated Śaka 734 (Ind. Ant., XII, p. 160), bears clear testimony to the fact that the Gurjar Lord made a severe attack on the Malwa king who was saved from ruin by the help of Karkarāja. The Rādhanpur and Dindori inscriptions of Govindrāja III, both of Śaka 730 (Ind. Ant., VI, p. 243 and XI, p. 157), make it clear that this Gurjar Lord was no other than Vatsarāja himself. These records also claim for the Rāstrakūta Dhruvarāja the credit of having thrown Vatsarāja back into Marwar after depriving him of the trophies which he had snatched from the Gauḍa king. This evidence of these contemporary records is quite sufficient to prove that the king of Malwa who alone could be called Avanti Bhūbhṛit was quite a different person, and his territories were invaded by Vatsarāja. But the Rāṣṭrakūṭas came to the help of the Malwa king and Vatsarāja had to fall back into Marwar. That Malwa could not be annexed to his kingdom by Vatsarāja is further borne out by the fact that his son Nāgabhaṭṭa II, after wresting the imperial power from Chakrāyudha, had to capture the fortresses in Malwa (Gwaliar Ins., Arch. Survey of India, 1903-4, p. 281, verses 8-II). I). Thus, tnti king was altogether different from Vatsarāja and the former's dominions did not extend up t the borders of Sauramaṇḍala or Saurāṣṭra. Bhandarkar, Ojha and Vaidya have all taken the two as separate and Vatsarāja is taken to rule over the west. The contemporary king of Avanti was probably called Candragupta who is mentioned in the Sanjana Plates of Amoghavarsha I (Ep. Ind., XVIII, pp. 235 ff.) and who has been conjectured to be the ruler of Central India (see V.V. Mirashi's 'Date of Tīvaradeva' in Jha Commemoration Volume, p. 232, Poona, 1937).

With regard to the western kingdom mentioned by Jinasena, the word अपरां (दिशं) according to the interpretation of Dr. Upadhye and Pandit Premi has to be taken in opposition to सौराणामधिमंडलं which is grammatically not very happy, and factually not quite accurate. The Haḍḍālā copperplates of Dharaṇī Varāha, dated Śaka 836, are issued from Vardhamāna (Wadhawan) which was obviously their capital. We can safely presume that Vīra Jaya Varāha mentioned by Jinasena was Dharaṇī Varāha's ancestor three or four generations earlier and he also probably had his capital at Wadhwan which was thus situated well within the Sauramaṇḍala as the kingdom was called In that case, would a writer like Jinasena writing at Wadhwan say that Sauramandala was situated to its west and Avanti king ruler just in the east?

The above discussion reveals that the political divisions as they existed about Śaka 705 were as follows :-

Indrāyudha ruled in the north from Kanauj up to the borders of Malwa. South of Malwa stretched forth the kingdom of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Malwa itself was ruled by a king at Avanti, and immediately to the west of it there extended the kingdom of Vatsarāja covering the whole of Marwar and Gujarat, while Kathiawar was ruled by another king probably named Vīra Jaya Varāha.

As shown above, Wadhwan situated in Kathiawar does not suit as the centre of these political divisions. It therefore becomes necessary to seek a fresh identification which would fit in with the established facts of history.

Obviously it would only be some place in Central India to the west of Avanti and east of Gujarat that would meet the requirements of the situation. Looking for such a place, I find one Badnawar in the Dhara State, being situated about 40 miles to the south-west of Ujjain. It suits excellently the political boundaries given by Jinasena. The Kanauj kingdom of Indrayudha would fall exactly to its north and the Rastrakuta kingdom, which is known to have touched the borders of Dhara, would lie exactly to its west, Avanti kingdom is to its east and Vatsaraja's dominions to its west, being in their turn contiguous with Sauramandala or Saurastra. There is also no difficulty in recognizing the old name Vardhamanapura in the modern form of the old pura, as we find in names like Peshawar (Purushapura), Narwar (Nalapura) and Chandwar (Chandrapura). The corruption of Vardhaman into Badna is also intelligible. Bada or dental da and ma may easily be lost due to the proximity of another nasal letter na which, whoever, inherits its long vowel a. Thus Vardha manapur gives us the modern Badnawar.

Having arrived at this conclusion I made inquiries from Badnawar without in the least giving out my identification. In response to it Mr. Nandlal Lodha of Badnawar kindly wrote to me as follows :-

बदनावर का प्राचीन नाम वर्द्धनापुर था जिसकी साक्षी कुछ मूर्तियों के लेखों से मिलती है। इसी का अपभ्रंश बुधनावर हुआ जो कि अभी भी कितने पत्रों से पता चलता है और अब बदनावर के वर्तमान नाम में लागू है। यहाँ पर प्राचीन किला (गढ़) है जो अभी टूटी-फूटी हालत में खड़ा है। गाँव के किनारे बलवन्ती नदी बहती है। उत्तर की तरफ नदी के पार खेड़ा नामक ग्राम है जहाँ पर प्राचीन मूर्तियाँ मिलती हैं। यहाँ पर प्राचीन जैन प्रतिमा, चरणचौकी, परिकर आदि भग्नावस्था में कितनी ही जगह मैंने संग्रह किये हैं और कितनी ही अन्य स्थानों पर रखी हुई हैं। प्राप्त किये हुए लेखों में से आवश्यकीय लेख उतना भेज रहा हूँ। उनमें वर्द्धमानपुर भी नाम आया है। यह नाम क्यों आया यह मेरे ख्याल से बाहर है।

लेख १

संक्त् ११२२ माघ सुदी ६..........हरा दिनेश्च वर्द्धनपुरे श्री सोमापुरवास्तव्य प्रनसलन देव्य............ सेवा प्रणमति नित्यं।

यह लेख श्याम पाषाण की एक पुरुष स्त्री की मूर्ति की पाटली पर है। यह गाँव के पश्चिम बाजू नागेश्वर नामक स्थान पर रखी हुई है।

लेख २

सं० १२१६ ज्येष्ठ सुदि ५ बुधे आ० कुमारसेन चन्द्रकीर्ति वर्द्धमानपुरान्वये साधु बोहिव्व सुत माल्हा भार्या पाणू सुत पील्हा भार्या पाहणी प्रणमति नित्यं।

उक्त लेख श्याम पाषाण की चरण चौकी पर लिखा हुआ है और जैन मन्दिर के पास संगृहीत है।

लेख ३

संवत् १२२९ वैशाद बदि ७ शुक्रे अद्येह वर्द्धनापुरे श्री शांतिनाथचैत्ये सा० मलन सा० गोशल ठ० बलदेव ठ० कणदेवा दि कुटुंबसहितेन निजगोत्र देव्याः श्री अंवकुन्यनयाः (अंबिकायाः?) प्रतिकृतिः करिता श्री कुलचन्द्रोपाध्यायेः प्रतिष्ठिता।

यह लेख श्याम पाषाण की एक देवीमूर्ति की पाटली पर है और देवी के सिर पर अरहंत की मूर्ति है। यह गाँव के पूर्व बैजनाथ मंदिर में रखी हुई है।

लेख ४

संवत् १२३४ वर्षे माघ सुदी ५ बुधे श्रीमान् माथुर संघे पंडिताचार्य धर्मकीर्ति शिष्यललितकीर्तिः। बर्द्धमानपुरान्वये सा० प्रामदेव भार्या प्राहिणी सुत राणू सां० दिगम सा० याका सा० जाहण सा० राणू भार्या पणिकसुत महण कौनू केलू बालू सा० महण भार्या रूपिणो सुत नेमि घांघा बीजा यमदेव षमा रामदेव सिरीचन्द प्रणमति नित्यं।

यह लेख श्याम पाषाण की एक देवी की मूर्ति की पाटली पर है। यह मूर्ति बदनावर से पूर्व में अमला नामक ग्राम में गई हुई जैन मंदिर में स्थापित है। अमला पांच मील दूरी पर है।

In these insciptions it appears to me the name Vardhanpur or Vardhanapur is a mere Sanskritization of Vadhanawar into which Vardhamanapur may have already got corrupted during the preceding centuries, while the true ancient name is preserved in the name of the Amnaya which had persisted there and which may be the branch of Pannata gana established there at the time of Jinasena.

There remains only one difficulty in these identifications. In verse 44 of his prasasti Jinasena makes mention of the goddess Simha-vahini of Urjayantalaya being in the vicinity for the sake of Siva.

Obviously the reference here is to the famous shrine of Ambadevi at Urjayanta or Girnar and it cannot ordinarily be said to be close to Badnawar. But a little closer attention to the verse and its poetic conception suggests the solution. Though Badnawar is not very near to Urjayanta, it is quite close to Ujjain where the famous Mahakala temple of Siva has existed for ages. Probably a replica of the Ambika's image at Urjayanta was installed at Vardhamanapura and this fact is conceived by the poet as the arrival of Ambika in the locality for the sake of Siva. Thus, there is a pun on the word Siva meaning god Siva or welfare. This idea makes the verse particularly beautiful and poetic. It is probably the only way in which a Jaina monk could regard a goddess riding on lion to be conducive to welfare. In this connection the inscription No. 3 from Badnawar given above is noteworthy. It shows that the practice of installing replicas of the goddess Ambika had persisted there even upto the twelfth century.

Incidentally, Jinasena has given to us quite a new suggestion regarding the origin of the name Saurastra which was so far understood to be derived from and was regarded synonymous with Saurajya (JASB, 1873, p. 105; N. L. Dey's Geographical Dictionary). Jinasena's mention of the country as the Mandala of the Sauras shows that the ancient people of that country called themselves Sauras probably from the fact of their being sunworshippers, and they gave the name to that region.

This Badnawar or old Vardhamanapura must also be the town where Harishena wrote his Katha-Kosha in Saka 853, i.e. 148 years later than Jinasena. It is well known that by this time the whole of northern India including Central India and the kingdom of Malwa had come directly under the rule of the Gurjar-Pratihara kings of whom Vinayakapala is known to have been ruling in A.D. 931 or Saka 853, that is exactly the

year of the composition of the Katha-Kosha. Although the suzerainty of these monarchs is known to have extended to Saurastra, nevertheless it is also known that the local rule of the Varaha kings had persisted there, as is clear from the Haddala copperplates of Dharani Varaha, dated Saka 836. If Harishena was writing at Wadhwan, the capital of the Varaha rulers, he could not have omitted to mention the local ruler at least side by side with his overlord. This also shows that Wadhwan was not the place where the Katha-Kosha was written.

If the identification of Jinasena's Vardhamanapura with Badnawar is corrected, it should lead us to the identification of place mentioned by Jinasena, namely Dostatika where he remaining portion of his Harivamsa purana and which have not attempt to identify. At a distance of about twelve miles to the west of Badnawar modern representative of Dostatika where Jinasena completed his composition of Harivamsa purana which could not be completed at Vardhamanapura when he left it.

From the comparison of the modern name with the older one it appears that the original name may have been दोस्तरिका which might have been at first applied to the stream Bagedi flowing on its eastern side and which may be deep enough 'to be crossed by arms'. By its association the village also may have come to be called by the same name. Or the original name may have been द्वितटिका, later on corrupted into दोतटिका and then wrongly Sanskritized into दोस्तटिका. The significance of this name would be that the village had river-banks on its two sides, it being situated between the rivers Bagedi and Mahi, the latter flowing about a mile to its west into which the river Bagedi itself falls at some distance away from the village. Writing about Dotarika Mr. Nandlal Lodha informs me as follows :-

दोतरिया बदनावर से पश्चिम दिशा में १७ मील की दूरी पर है। गाँव के पास बागेडी नदी बहती है और एक मील की दूरी पर मही नदी बहती है। बागेडी कुछ दूर जाकर बोरदा के पास मही में मिली है। दोतरीया के पास मही नदी जो है उसके पश्चिम तरफ गुजरात का पूर्व तरफ मालवा की सीमा की शुरुवात मानते हैं।

Thus, Dotaria still forms the boundary between Malwa and Gujarat.

Identification of Vardhamānapura and the Ruler of Avanti

In my article on "The chief political divisions of India during the eighth century",[1] I had discussed the historical contents of the two verses from Jinasena's Harivaṁśa Purāṇa[2] and reached the following conclusion : "The above discussion reveals that the political divisions as they existed about Śaka 705 were as follows. Indrāyudha ruled in the north from Kunauj upto the borders of Malwa. South of Malwa stretched forth the kingdom of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Malwa itself was ruled by a king at Avanti, and immediately to the west of it there extended the kingdom of Vatsarāja covering the whole of Marwar and Gujrat, while Kathiawar was ruled by another king probably named Vīra Jaya Varāha. As shown above, Wadhwan, situated in Kathiawar, does not suit as the centre of these political divisions. It therefore becomes necessary to seek a fresh identification which would fit in with the established facts of history Obviously, it would only be some place in Central India to the west of Avanti and east of Gujrat that would meet the requirements of the situation. Looking for such a place, I find one Badnawar in the Dhara State, being situated about 40 miles to south-west of Ujjain. It suits excellently the political boundaries given by Jinasena."

Since this was written, an attempt has been made by Dr. H.V. Trivedi, Assistant Director of Archaeology, Madhya Bharat, to examine some Jaina sculptural and architectural remains recently unearthed at Badnawar. His examination has comfirmed that "the place is mentioned as Vardhnāpura and Vardhamānapura in inscriptions of the mediaval period of our history." According to him "the past glory of this town is fairly witnessed by the numerous old remains now lying scattered in and on the outskirts of the place which are of immense interest to an archaeologist" What is of particular interest in the present context is that Dr. Trivedi has made a pointed reference to the image of Acyuptā devi which was found in the local temple of Baijnath Mahādeva, but is now removed to the Jaina temple. "She has four hands. In the left upper hand a shield is visible and the lower holds the reins. Her right foot is hanging below in the stirrup and the left resting on her right thigh. She is ornamented in her neck and ears and on the breast. At the top is seen a canopy occupied by miniature Jaina figures, one in the middle which is attended by one on either side. All the four corners of the stone also bear miniature Jaina figures. The slab measures 3'5" by 2' and contains an inscription

in three lines, the last line being shorter. The inscribed portion is 1/2' by 1 and the script is Devanagari of the thirteenth century A. D. It states that in the Samvat 1229 (equivalent to 1172 A.D.) on the 7th day of the dark half of Vaiśākha some families (names given) joined to prepare the image of Acyuptā (devi) and installed it in the temple of Shāntinātha at Vardhamānapura that is Badnawar."

It was this inscription which gave Dr. Trivedi a clue to the identification of the Jaina temple which existed on the part of a field where the relics were found all in a heap, the topmost of them being some three or four feet below the level from where they have been excavated and taken to the temple where they are found deposited at present. He remarks. "It is worhy of note that this gives an indication that the temple which at some time existed in the vicinity was so named and was mainly dedicated to Shāntinātha, the sixteenth Tīrthaṃkara who occupied a very high place among them, in honour of his efforts to consolidate the religion and to become one of the *chakravartis*."

Thus, the exploration carried out by Dr. Trivedi further supports my views expressed in the article named above, so far as the greatness, the antiquity and the ancient name of Badnawar is concerned.

Jinasena makes mention of two temples, the Pārśvanātha temple where he wrote the main part of the Purāṇa and the Shāntinātha temple where he completed the remaining portion of the work. So far as the first temple is concerned, it was situated in Vardhamānapura without doubt. But as regards the second temple, it may have been at Dostaṭikā which I have identified with the modern village Dotariā situated 10 miles to the west of Badnawar, or it might be the Śhāntināth temple at Vardhamānapur itself identifiable with the temple of that name at Badnawar because all that Jinasena says about it is that the people of Dostatikā had organised a huge programme of worship there, which was also possible at the famous temple at Vardhamānapura which appears to have acquired the celebrity of a place of pilgrimage. But most likely the worship on the large scale was being held at the Pārśvanātha temple, and it disturbed the peace which Jinasena needed to complete the work. He therefore moved to the more quiet temple of Śhāntinātha and completed the work. This is clearly conveyed by the adjective added to Śāntigṛhe. It would otherwise be absurd to call the temple quiet if the celebrations were being held there. Jinasena must have been anxious to complete the work before he left Vardhamānapura.

It must be this Vardhamānapura which became for some time the seat of government of the Paramāra kings, as is proved by the copperplate grant to Jayavarma of about V. S. 1199 which was issued from there.[4]

With regard to the temple of Pārśvanātha, Jinasena has further enlightened us that it was also called Nannarāja-vasati, presumably commemorating the name of its builder Nannarāja, like the Chandragupta-vasati & Chāmuṇḍarāya-vasati at Śravaṇa Belgola, Mūlārāja-vasati Kumārapala-vasati and Vastupāla-vasati in Gujrat and Rājputānā, and many others scattered all over the country. The question naturally arises who this Nannarāja might be who built the Vasati at Badnawar, on the presumption that it was identical with the place of Jinasena's literary activities? Looking

into the history, one finds a Pāṇḍuvaṃśi king Nanna of south Kosala, whose occupation of practically the whole of the Western Madhya-Pradesh is indicated by an inscription at Bhandak in the Chanda District, towards the end of the 6th century.[5] Then there is Mahārāja Nanna mentioned as Kaṭachchhuri-kula-vaṃśapradīpa i.e. the light of the family home of Kalachuries, whose son Taralaswāmin granted a village Mankanikā (Modern Mankani in Baroda district where the recorded copperplate was discovered). Nanna's queen named Dadda may have been related to Sāmanta Dadda 1, of Gurjar lineage who ruled about the close of the 6th century A.D.[6] Then we come across a family of Pāṇḍuvamśi princes, the first of whom is Udayana, mentioned in a rock inscription at Kalanjar in the Bāndā district of U.P. as an ancient king of that region.[7] His son was Indrabala and grandson Nanna also called Nannadeva, Nanneśvara and Nannarājādhirāja in the record of his son Tivardeva, the prominent king of Mahākosal in the second half of the 6th century A.D. And lastly, we have Nannarāja of the Tivarkhed copper plate inscription which was issued in Śaka year 553=A.D. 631 from Acalapur (Modern Ellichpur in Amraoti district) and recording the donation of lands in the village of Tīvarkhet in Betul district, as well as a line of Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings Durgarāja, his son Govindarāja, his son Swāmikarāja and his son Nannarāja. this same line of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes is recorded in the Multai plates of Nannarāja dated Śaka 631=A.D. 709 also. Though both Dr. Altekar and Dr. Mirashi consider the Multai plates spurious, it only menas that the recorded fact of donation and the date is not correct, but there is no unreliability with regard to the names of the kings and the extent of their dominions. Both the inscriptions can therefore be said to prove that the dominions of Nannarāja extended in the western parts of Madhya-Pradesh. As regards the connection of this line of kings with that of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūtas, Dr. Alteker thought it "extremely probable that Dantidurga was either a direct or a collatoral descendant of Nannarāja," while in Dr. Mirashi's opinion the two branches of the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa family were ruling contemporaneously, one over the Aurangabad District (ancient Mulak country) and the other over Berar (ancient Vidarbha).[8]

Any of the above mentioned four princes going by the name of Nanna could possibly be claimed to have built the Pārśawanātha-Vasati at Badnawar, without any difficulty, so far as the time is concerned. But it appears more probable that Nannarāja of the Tivarkhed and Multai inscriptions was the founder of the temple. Besides his nearness to Jinasena in time and place and the identity of name at both the places, he is recorded to have been specially liberal in religious donations.[9] It is a well known fact that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings were great patrons of Jainism, and several of them constructed Jaina temples and made liberal donations to them. According to the Manne plates of Śaka 724=802 A.D. Shri Vijayarāja, a feudatory of king Nirupamadeva Prabhūtavarsha constructed a Jaina temple at Mānyapuri and king Govindarāja (III) made a donation of a village for the conduct of celebrations and worship at the temple.[10] The king made this donation, being satisfied in his heart by the religious instructions of the Jaina teacher Prabhācandra, pupil of Pushpanandi, pupil of Toraṇācārya. Similarly, according to the Kadaba plates of his reign of Śaka 735=A.D. 813, he permitted his feudatory Cakirāja to make a donation of land to the Jaina teacher Arkakīrti, pupil of Vijayakīrti, for the maintenance of a Jaina temple of Mānyapura.[11] The Naosari plates of Śaka 743=A.D.

821, bear witness to the donation of land to the Jaina temple by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Gujra named Karkarāja, son of Indrarāja,[12] brother of Govindaraja. Amoghavarṣa, son and successor of Govindarāja (III), and the founder of the Raṣṭrakūṭa capital Mānyakhet, is known to have not only patronized Jainism and Jaina writers like Jinasena, Guṇabhadra and Mahāvira, but himself composed the famous Jaina poem Ratnamālikā and probably abdicated the throne out of the Jaina feeling of renunciation. According to the Konnu plates of Śaka 782=860 A.D. he had donated one village to the Jaina temple founded by his feudatory Bankeya.[13] In the light of these facts the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Nannarāja may be accepted as the founder of the Pārśvanātha Jaina temple at Vardhamānapur, the modern Badnawar where Jinasena wrote the Harivaṃśapurāṇa.

In my previous article, I had pointed out a syntactical difficulty in construing the verse of Jinasena so as to make Vatsarāja the ruler of Avanti since this would involve the fault of tautology as 'Avantibhūbhṛti' and 'nṛpe' have both to be taken to qualify Vatsarāja. Commenting upon this, Dr. R.C. Majumdar says,[14] "As regards the redundance of the word 'nṛpa', it should hardly surprise us if we remember such expression as Gurjareśvara-pati used with reference to the son of the same Vatsarāja in a record dated A.D. 812 i.e. less than thirty years after Jinasena wrote." I am sorry that the learned historian did not observe the great difference between the two expressions which no Sanskrit scholar would fail to notice. 'Gurjareśwara-pati' is a compound word equivalent to 'Gurjārādhirāja or Gurjara-rājādhirāja' which would mean the overlord or king emperor of Gujrat and would imply that the king was not ruling over Gujrat directly, but only through a subordinate chief or chiefs. No such justification is however possible when the words Bhūbhṛt and Nṛpa are used separately and the only justification possible is that they qualify two different persons, unless Avantibhūbhṛt is taken to be also the name of the king. But this possibility is excluded by Dr. Majumdar himself when he remarks, "No purpose is served by saying that the ruler of Avanti was the eastern king, which would be almost tantamount to stating that the ruler of the eastern kingdom is the king of the east."[15]

Dr. Majumdar goes on to say "Secondly, it appears from the general tenor of the verse that the author proposes to name the four rulers in the four directions. The proposed translation adds a fifth without indicating its connection or relevancy to the context." Here again, I am sorry to have to say that Dr. Majumdar has not paid much attention to the construction of the verse according to Sanskrit usage and idiom. If only four rulers were intended to be mentioned, there was no necessity of repeating the verbal participle 'avati' to go with Vīre Varāhe, as the previously used participle 'pati' was quite sufficient for all the four. As the verse stands, it clearly mentions the four kings of the four directions connecting them with the common verbal participle 'pāti' and then mentions in a separate clause Vīra Varāha as a ruler of Saura-Maṇḍala which was also closely in the west, but was not absorbed in the kingdom of Vatsarāja.

If Vatsarāja is not to be regarded as the ruler of Avanti, Dr. Majumdar's question is "why the name of the eastern king is omitted, while the names of all other kings are given?" The answer to it will be clear when we determine the position of the ruler at the time, and this I propose to do here.

Dr. Majumdar states : "The two Jaina works would thus prove that the Pratihāra king Vatsarāja ascended the throne in or before A.D. 778, and his kingdom comprised both Mālwa and eastern Rājaputāna. Let us see how far the two Jaina works prove the extent of Vatsarāja's dominions as stated by Dr. Majumdar.

There is no doubt about the statement found in the Kuvalayamālā of Udyotanasūri that he completed his work at Jāvālipur (Modern Jalor of Rājputāna) on the 14th day of the dark fortnight of the month Caitra, when only one day remained for the completion of the Śaka year 700, and when king Vatsarāja was ruling there.[16] On the basis of this, the statement regarding Vatsarāja's time of ascending the throne and his rule over eastern Rājaputānā is correct. But so far as the statement about his rule over Malwa is concerned, it is doubtful, as the interpretation of the verse in the Harivaṃśapurāna of Jinasena, on which it is based, is itself in dispute. Let us see if there is any other authority for it. There is no clear evidence furnished by Dr. Majumdar or any other historian so far as I have been able to consult. But many of them lean upon the statement found in the records of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings that Dantidurga conquered Malwa, and performed the Hiraṇyagarbha ceremony at Ujjain where "Kings such as the Gurjara-lord and others were made door-keepers." Here by the word 'gurjareśa' they think the Partihāra king Vatsaṛāja is meant, and he must have been the ruler of Avanti whom Dantidurga had defeated. The word 'Pratihāri-kṛtam' used in the verse under reference,[17] is taken to imply a hidden suggestion that the Gurjar king was of the Pratihāra dynasty. But this is all conjectural and unwarranted by the words. But even if we take it for granted that Vatsarāja was the ruler of Avanti when Dantigurga made his invasion (about 750 A.D.) he ceased to rule there after the event, because Udyotanasūri, writing in 778 A.D. not only informs us that he was ruling at Jalor in Rājputānā, but also tells us about certain events which make it impossible to presume that he was at the same time ruling over Malwa as well. While every historian has taken note of the reference to the ruling monarch and the date of his composition by Udyotanasūri, no one has taken the trouble to scrutinize the introductory part of his narrative which is as follows:-

"There was once a king named Dṛdhavarmā who belonged to the lunar family (Śaśivamsa sambhava) and had his capital at Vinītā While he sat in his assembly, the son of the Śabara Senāpati (śabara-senāvai-putto) who had gone for the conquest of Malwa (Mālava-narinda-vijaya) came and presented to him the Malwa prince name Mahendrakumāra, a mere boy of five years, whom he had captured after shattering the forces of the enemy, the Malwa king. The king and the queen as well as the ministers looked upon the boy with compassion and talked about the tragedy of fate. On this the boy began to weep. When questioned about the cause of his weeping he said that it was due to his feeling of resentment at his fate which had brought him to the lap of the very enemy of his valorous father at this tender age. Hearing this proud speech of the boy, the king who had no son of his own so far, consoled him by saying that he and his father were no longer his enemies, promised to act so that all may be well in future, and adopted him for a son. The sight of the boy aroused in the queen a keen desire to have a son of her own. In order to satisfy her, the king worshipped their family goddess 'Shri' associated with 'Vishnu,' and by her blessings a son was born who was named Kuvalayacandra who became the hero of the romance."

This account by itself makes it quite clear that the monarch under whom it was written was not the ruler of Malwa; otherwise he could not have been painted in such a pitiable condition of defeat and humiliation. The evidence is sufficiently strong to prove that Vatsarāja was not the ruler of Avanti in 778 A.D. or any time before it. It could not therefore be assumed that when Dantidurga performed the Hiraṇyagarbha at Ujjain (about 754 A.D.) it was any Pratihāra ruler who was defeated and made to act as his doorkeeper. Did then Vatsarāja conquer Malwa after 778 A.D. and before 738 A.D. so as to make it possible for Jinasena to mention him as the Avanti-king ruling in the east. To my knowledge, there is not a grain of evidence to bear this out. On the contrary, we find Vatsarāja too busy in the fight for the crown of Kanauj against his rival the Pāla king, and when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva appreared on the scene, Vatsarāja had to retreat to the fastnesses of the desert in Rājputānā.[18] After his defeat at the hands of Dhruva, Vatsarāja passes completely out of our view and probably his power was confined to central Rājputānā.[19]

When the Gauda king Dharmapāla held his darbār at Kanauj, not long afterwards, a host of rulers, including that of Avanti, acknowledged his imperial position.[20] This Avanti king could not have been Vatsarāja. It is for the first time by his son Nāgabhaṭa II, that we find mention of some sort of conquest in Malwa.[21] But we soon find the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govind II, making his appearance (about 794 A.D.) and putting the Gurjar king to flight and making the king of Malwa to submit to him.[22] This shows that even then the rulers of the kingdoms were different. There is thus no support for the view that Vatsarāja was the ruler of Avanti in 783 A.D. On the contrary, all available evidence tends to show that he was not.

Let us now try to find out who the Avnati king might be when Jinasena mentioned him in his Harivaṃśa purāṇa in 783 A.D. Udyotanasūri, writing in 778, mentions Vatsarāja ruling at Jāvālipur (Jālor) and also describes the political tragedy that had been enacted in Malwa some time before. How far can that account be regarded as historical? Where was the town called Vinīta? Who was the ruling monarch of the lunar dynasty with a Ṣabara commander-in-chief, and who vanquished the Malwa forces, put the Malwa king to flight and captured the Malwa prince? What was the fate of the throne of Malwa after that event? On investigation one finds that Vinītapura was situated in Mahākosala or South Kosala (Chhattisgarh) and it is identified with modern Binka in the old Sonpur State. Formerly, it was the capital of a ruling dynasty, and the earlier records of the Somavaṃśī king Yayāti Mahāśivagupta I (A.D. 970-1000) were issued from there.[23] Looking into the earlier history of the place we find a mighty king Tīvaradeva ruling in South Kosala. In his records he claims to be Pāṇḍuvaṃśī and Somavaṃśī and Parama-Vaiṣṇava. He was the son of Nannadeva, the son of Indrabala, the son of Udayana identifiable with king Udayana of the Pāṇḍava family mentioned in a rock inscription at Kālanjar in the Banda District of U. P. and falling within the old limits of Malwa. He is also identified with a Śabara king of the same name who was defeated by a general of the Pallava king Nandivarman 8th century A.D.) The Sirpur inscription of Bālārjuna mentions Indrabala as the son of Udayana. An inscription from Bhandak in the Chanda District of Madhya-Pradesh, speaks of the four sons of Indrabala, one of whom, king Nanna, is said to have conquered the

earth. His younger brother, Bhavadeva restored a derelict Buddhist temple built by an ancient king of that area, named Sūryaghośa. An inscription of Īśānadeva, another brother of Nanna, from Kharod in the Bilaspur District, seems to be the earliest Pāṇḍuvaṃśī record in South Kosala.[24]

These established facts of history, based on authentic contemporary records, amply support the references in the Kuvalayamālā of Udyotanasūri, so far as the existence of the Somavaṃśi dynasty of rulers devoted to Vishṇu cult, and its association with a Śabara Senāpati is concerned. Looking at the extent of their power and influence, it is also clear that they had large political interest in and round about Malwa, and they were at the peak of their glory at the time of history we are concerned with here. Tivaradeva was succeeded by his brother Chandragupta. Dr. Altekar was of the opinion that it was this king who had been specifically mentioned in the Sanjan plates dated Śaka 793=871 A.D. according to which Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III, 794-814 A.D. defeated Candragupta.[25] But Dr. D.C. Sircar is of the opinion that the identification is doubtful, because there are "reasons to believe that Tīvara was a contemporary of the Viṣṇukundin king Mādhava Varman I (A.D. 535-85)."[26] It is not necessary here to go into the merits of the case whether Tīvaradeva lived during the 6th or 8th century. But it seems to me that there is a strong case for regarding Candragupta as a northern king of Malwa when he was defeated and restored by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III. The latter is said, in the record, to have gone to the north and become unbearable like the sun when it proceeds northward. He robbed the two kings Nāgabhata and Candragupta of their fame and valour in battle as was never done before; but as he desired to earn glory, he reinstated them like a cultivator who uproots and replants the paddy tendrills in his own field.[27] The history behind this appears to me as follows.

Dantidurga Rāṣṭrākūṭa conquered Malwa about 750 A.D. and celebrated the event by holding the Hiraṇyagarbha ceremony at Ujjain at which the then ruling king of Malwa as well as the rulers of Gujrat and other surrounding areas paid him homage and acknowledged his suzerainty. Thus, the ruler of Avanti became a Vassal of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Sometime after this a Somavaṃśi King of South Kosala or Mahākosala with his capital at Vinītapura (modern Binka in Chhattisgarh) made an attack on Malwa, probably in support of their claim to that kingdom, as his forefathers ruled at Kālanjara. The Śabara Senāpati of Mahākosala succeeded in capturing the capital of Malwa and imprisoning the heir-apparent, whose father probably fled away for safety. These events took place some time before 778 A.D. when Udyotana Sūri wrote the account. The Somavaṃśī king who then became the ruler of Avanti, probably named Candragupta, or one of his successors also named Candragupta, seems to have been compelled by the Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa II, to denounce his Rāṣṭrakūṭa vassalage and acknowledge him as overlord. This must have naturally enraged the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor and we find then Govindarāja marching to the north and overthrowing both the Gurjar king Nāgabhaṭa and the Malwa king Candragupta, and reestablishing Rāṣṭrakūṭa suzerainty there in supplying this information the Manne plates of Govindrāja and the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa supplement each other. While the former mentioned the Gurjar and the Malwa rulers in one verse without mentioning the personal names of the kings, the latter mention their names together in a compound without kingdoms.[28] It

is significant to note that this campaign was followed by another in which the king of Kosala (i.e. South Kosala) was subdued. But this reconquest of Malwa by Govindrāja must have taken place about 793 A.D. as the Manne plates indicate that Govinda's father Dhruva was alive at that time and it was to see him that Govinda returned home suddenly from his military camp in the Vindhyas. It is thus clear that Vatsarāja is ruling in Avanti neither in 778 A. D. when Udyotana Sūri mentions him as ruling in Rājputānā, for five years later in 783 A.D. when Jinasena mentions him as ruling in the West. The Avanti king in Jinasena's time is probably the Somavaṃśī king Candragupta, whose kingdom extended from Malwa to Chhattisgarh and who therefore could rightly be called eastern ruler.

It may be that the conquest of Malwa was made by Tivaradeva who may have appointed his son Candragupta to rule over that part of his kingdom; or Candragupta may have undertaken the conquest after succeeding his father on the throne. It may be this successful exploit of Candragupta on account of which he was able to get his son Harshagupta married to a princess of the Maukhari family ruling in eastern U.P.[29] It may be after this that Candragupta left the throne at Vinita to his son and fixed his head quarters in Ujjain.

It may be asked why Udyotana Sūri gave this historical background to his otherwise purely fictitious romance. There are two reasons for it. Firstly, it appears to be a custom of the poets, dramiatists and story writers to provide a historical background to their works, with change of names etc. Where necessary to avoid giving offence to anybody. Compositions like Mālavikāgnimitra of Kalidāsa, Nava-carita of Padmagupta, Viddhashālaṇjikā of Rājeśekhara, Kādambarī and Harshacarita of Bāṇa and Daśakumāracarita of Dandī are examples of this. Secondly, Udyotana Sūri might have felt a personal pleasure in the triumph of the Somavaṃśī rulers in Malwa, because he himself belonged to the lunar family[1]. No wonder if he was connected in some way with that family of kings.

It may now be considered whether the above discussion would help us in identifying the Vardhamānapura where Hariṣeṇa wrote his Bṛhat Kathākośa[30] in Sanskrit verse in Śaka 853 i.e. 148 years later than the composition of Harivaṃśapurāṇa by Jinasena. In my previous article I had expressed a doubt that "Wadhwan was not the place where the Kathā-kosha was written."[31] Hariṣeṇa has mentioned the name of the ruler as "Vinayādikapāla" when he completed his work at Vardhamānapura. The learned editor Dr. Upadhye has correctly identified this ruler with copper-plates according to which 'Cāpamahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇi Varāha' ruled at Vardhamāna as a feudatory of Rājadhirāja Mahīpāladeva in Śaka 836, he was not wrong in presuming that the Pratihāra ruler may have continued to exercise suzerainty over the Varāha ruler in Śaka 853 i.e. seventeen years later. But this presumption is no longer tenable in the light of the now well known facts of history. Neither the rule of Dharaṇī varāha, nor the suzerainty of Mahipāla lasted long after Śaka 836. This was the period of Cālukya ascendancy in Saurāṣṭra, and king Avanivarman II, who is known to be "ruling in A.D. 899 as a vassal of the Pratihāra Mahendrapāla I, led an army against the Cāpas of Vardhamānapura and defeated their king Dharanīvarāha who was a feudatory of the Pratihāra Mahīpāla I, son of Mahendrapāla. This clash between the feudatories of the

Pratihāras shows that about this time the latter had lost effective control over the outlying provinces of their Empire."[32] This political revolution probably took place about A.D. 916 when the Pratihāra empire became so weak that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army led by Narasiṃha Cālukya inflicted a crushing defeat on Mahipāla, advanced to the very gates of the imperial city and destroyed it."[33] "It is said, Mahipāla fled, as if struck by thunderbolt staying neither to eat, nor rest, nor pick himself up; while Narasiṃha pursuing, bathed his horses at the junction of the Gangā." Though Mahipāla seems to have recovered some of his territories after the retirement of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army, there is no evidence to show that he could re-establish his supremacy over the distant Saurāṣṭra country where the Cālukya Avanivarman II, was supplanted only by Mūlarāja Cālukya about A.D. 942. Apart from the mention of Hariṣeṇa, there is no evidence for the authority of the Pratihāra rulers over Saurāṣṭra after 914. A.D. There is however evidence to show that "even so late as A.D. 946 the Pratihāra empire included Malwa."[34] Therefore, if Vināyaka-pāla's[35] reference as a ruler could hold good for Vardhamānapura in A.D. 931 it could only be for the place of that name in Malwa, and not in Kāthiāwāda., There is again no evidence of any ancient Jaina temples, pontifical seats or other institutions in Wadhwan as we find in the case of Badnawar. The evidence cited above goes to prove that:-

1. The Vardhamānapura where Jinasena wrote his Harivaṃśa purāṇa in A.D. 783 and Hariṣeṇa wrote his Brihat- Kathākośa in A.D. 914 is identical, not with Wadhwan in Kāthiāwāda, but with Badanawar in Malwa.
2. The ruler of Avanti in A.D. 783 as mentioned by Jinasena in his Harivaṃśa-purāṇa is not Vatsarāja. He might be the Somavaṃśi king Candragupta.

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9. दानार्द्रीकृतपाणिना प्रतिदिनं येन द्विपेन्द्रायितम् (Tiwarkhed Plates)
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11. Ep. Ind. IV, जैन शिलालेख संग्रह, भाग २, लेख नं. 127, पृ., 131 आदि।
12. J. B. B. R A. S., XX, p. 135.
13. *Ep. Ind.* VI; जैन शिलालेख संग्रह, भा. 2, नं. 127, पृ. 141।
14. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 22.

15. Ibid. p. 21.
16. *Kuvalayamālā* edited by Dr. A.N. Upadhye, (Bombay 1959), p. 203.
17. The words of the Sanjan Copper-plates of Amoghavarṣa I, dated Saka 793 (*Ep. Ind.* XVIII, pp. 235 ff) are :-
    हिरण्यगर्भ-राजन्यैरुज्जयिन्यां यदासितम्, प्रतिहारीकृतं येन गुर्जरशादिराजकम्।।
    This only means that Gurjar and other kings waited upon him as door-keepers (i.e. paid him homage) which they had never done before to anybody. The grammatical formation by the rule 'अभूततद्भावे च्विः' and the inclusion of other kings alongwith the Gurjarlord excludes the possibility of any implication of the Pratihāra-dynasty. It is also unjustifiable to infer from it that Dantidurga had taken his abode in the Gurjar- palace.
18. Manne plates of Śaka 724.
19. *The Age of Imperial Kunuauj*, p. 24.
20. Ibid., p. 23.
21. Gwalior Stone Inscription of Mihira - Bhoja (*Ep. Ind.* XVIII, pp. 99-114) - आनर्त-मालव-किरात-तुरुष्क-वत्स-मत्स्यादि-राजगिरि-दुर्ग-हठापहारैः It is noteworthy that no suzerainty in Malwa is claimed for Vatsarāja in this record.
22. Manne plates of Govinda III, of Śaka 724 पर्जन्यवद् गुर्जरो नष्टः क्वापिः दूरान्मालवनायको नयपरो यत्रातिबद्धांजलिः।
23. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p.146.
24. *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III, The Classical Age, pp. 220-221.
25. Altekar : *The Rashtrakutas and their times*, p. 66.
26. *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III, The Classical Age, p. 220.
27. भूयोऽप्यनुरक्ता-(1) मण्डलयुतः पद्माकरानन्दितो।
    मार्तण्डस्वयमुत्तरायणगतस्तेजोनिधिर्दुस्सहः।। 21।।
    स नागभट-चंद्रगुप्त-नृपयोर्यशश्शौर्यं (?) रणोएवहार्यमपहार्य धैर्यं विकलानयोन्मीलयत् ।।
    यशोर्जनपरो नृपान्स्वभुवि शालिसस्यानिव।
    पुनः पुनरतिष्ठिपत्स्वपद एव चान्यानपि ।। 22।। (Sanjan Plates)
28. पर्जन्यवद् गुर्जरो नष्टः क्वापि भयात्।
    दूरान्मालव-नायको नयपरो यत्रातिबद्धांजलिः।। (Manne Plates)
    मार्त्तण्डस्वयमुत्तरायणगतस्तेजोनिधिर्दुस्सहः
    स नागभट-चन्द्रगुप्त-नृपयोर्यशश्शौर्यं रणेष्वहार्यमपहार्य।। (Sanjan Plates)
29. The Classical Age, p. 221.
30. चंद्रकुलावयणेणं आयरि-उज्जोयणेण रइया मे (कुवलयमाला, पृ. 283)
31. Edited by Dr. A.N. Upadhye and published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1943.
32. "If Harisena was writing at Wadhwan, the capital of the Varāha rulers, he could not have omited to mention the local ruler at least side by side with his overlord.
    कार्तस्वरापूर्णजनाधिवासे श्रीवर्धमानाख्यपुरे वसन् सः।
    विनयादिकपालस्य राज्ये शक्रोपमानके (कथाकोश प्रशस्ति)
33. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 100
34. Ibid., pp. 35-36.
35. Ibid., p. 26, *History of Kanauj*, p. 264.
36. Dr. Upadhye has felt a difficulty in getting the name Vināyakapāla out of the actual mention of Harisena as Vinayādikapāla, and he suggests an amendment of the text as 'Vināyādikapālasya' which however creates further complication. In my opinion the text should be corrected as 'Vināyakādipālasya' which removes all the difficulty.

Location of Vardhamanpura

Jinasena's Harivaṃśa-purāṇa is a great Jain epic poem in Sanskrit. What has specially interested the historians of Ancient Indian History are the two verse at the end of the Purāṇa, in which the poet has mentioned the year of his composition (Śaka 705-783 A.D.), the place where he wrote i.e. Vardhamāna-pura, and characterizing these the four directions and their monarchs.[1]

In these statements made by Jinasena, there was no dispute about the date the directions as well as their rulers, so far as the North ruled by Indrāyudha, and the South ruled by Krishṇa's son Śrīvallabha i.e. Govinda II were concerned. But there has been a great controversy regarding the directions East and West, and the place of Saura-maṇḍala (i.e. Saurāṣṭra). Fleet, Bhandarkar, Altekar and Tripathi were of the opinion that Jinasena means to convey that Vatsarāja was the Eastern monarch ruling at Avanti while Jaya-Varāha of Saura-maṇḍala was the Western ruler. On the other hand, J.C. Ghosh, Banerji, Muni Jinavijaya and Daśaratha Sharma held the view that Avanti-bhūbhṛt is the Eastern king and he has to be distinguished from Vatsarāja who was ruling in the West in Saura-maṇḍala. The chief concern of these scholars was the date for the kings: they did not worry about the location of the place where Jinasena wrote, their presumption being that Vardhamāna-pura was identical with Waḍhawāna in Kathiawad (Saurāṣṭra) which was also mentioned, with the name of its ruler, by the author. As a necessary corollary to this presumption, they also presumed that the mention of the directions and their kings was in general, having nothing to do with the location of the author's place of writing. And this was also the view of Dr. A.N. Upadhye, when he wrote his Introduction to the Kathākoṣa of Hariṣeṇa.[2] He agreed with the first batch of scholars who held Vatsarāja to be the Avanti-ruler and Eastern monarch, the West being represented by Saurāṣṭra where Jaya-Varāha ruled from his capital Vardhamāna (modern Waḍhwana) which was the place mentioned by Jinasena (Śaka 705) and by Hariṣeṇa (Śaka 853) as their seat of writing.

When I read the Introduction of Dr. A.N. Upadhye with the attention which his writing deserve and which he always claims from me, I felt that Jinasena's description of North, South, East and West was not casual or general, but it had a correlation with his place of writing i.e. Vardhamānapura. After some inquiries in this matter, I wrote my first article on the subject in which I supported the view of the second batch of

scholars who held that Avanti king was in the East and Vatsarāja, together with Jaya-Varāha was in the West. Taking into consideration the boundaries as mentioned, I came to the conclusion that they were meant by the author to define precisely his place of writing, namely Vardhamānapura which could only be located somewhere near the point where the borders of Malwa, Rajasthan and Gujrat met. Accordingly, I hit upon Badnāwar as the modern representative of Vardhamāna-pura of Jinasena as well as of Hariṣeṇa. And this is what I propounded in that article.[3]

My views were noticed briefly by Dr. R.C. Majumdar who however did not go into the question deeply enough. He felt that "there are difficulties in the second translation which are of a more serious nature". And one of these diffculties was that if we accept the identification of Vardhamāna with Waḍhwān in Kathiawad peninsula, 'we can hardly regard Vatsarāja as a Western ruler.' This remark is very significant for us, because it indicated that Dr. Majumdar regarded the mention of the various directions by Jinasena, as not in general, but with reference to the place where he was writing. But the historian did not pursue his point further, because his main interest was not the identification of Jinasena's Vardhamānapura, but with the extent of Vatsarāja's kingdom, and whether he was then the ruler of Avanti or not.[4]

It was in reply to the criticism of Dr. Majumdar that my second paper on the subject was written, and here I not only tried to solve the difficulties mentioned by him, but also produced some more evidence to support the view that VMP. of Jinasena as well as of Hariṣeṇa should be identified, not with Waḍhwān in Saurāṣṭra, but with Badnāwar in Malwa.[5] This is now followed up by my colleague Dr. A.N. Upadhye,[6] and my purpose here is to study his views in full detail, so to carry the discussion forward towards the final settlement of the problem.

The issues between Dr. Upadhye and myself are narrowed down to some extent by his acceptance that Vatsarāja need not be connected with Avanti, but was ruling in the West. But he is still of the opinion that Jinasena is 'speaking in general and nothing the directions without any particular locality in view.' Now my difficulty is, as I had emphasised before, that, how can one note the four directions without having some centre in view, because the conception of directions is always relative. If Jinasena had in view the conventional East-West zones of India, he would never have placed Avanti in the East, because even in Madhya Pradesh Malwa is called the Western part of the State. The conventional Eastern India begins from Varanasi[7] and goes up to Bengal. And just at the time of Jinasena there was king Dharamapāla in the East (A.D. 770-810) who was powerful enough to measure swords with Vatsarāja on the one hand and Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva on the other, at the Gangetic Doab, and who by a series of victorious campaigns, made himself the suzerain of nearly the whole of Northern India.[8] Such a mighty potentate of Eastern India could never have been missed and Avanti-Bhūbhṛt, whose name even is not on his lips, mentioned as the Eastern King, if Jinasena had the least idea of parading his knowledge of all the four directions of the country in general.

Let us now examine more closely the central point which emerges from the boundaries described by Jinasena, presuming that the boundaries between the Avanti king and Vatsarāja corresponded with those of Malwa, Rajasthan and Gujrat the point

at which these three meet is approximately 25N and 74.4 E. This is the point where the tips of District Jhabua of Malwa, Banswara of Rajasthan and Dohad of Gujrat meet. As compared to this, Badnawar's location is 25N and 75E. While it is identical towards the north. Thus, it appears Jinasena has almost pin-pointed his place of writing i.e. Vardhamānapura-Badnāwar. Conversely, it also proves that the border between the kingdoms of Avanti king and Vatsarāja were not materially very distant from the present meeting point of the three states.

Dr. Upadhye is not satisfied with Vardhamānapura-Badnāwar equation on linguistic grounds. He says the corruption of Vardhamānapura into Badnāwar is not at all intelligible, the proposed change "is speculative acrobatics of vowel and consonant changes. The fact is obvious that Badnāwar is a natural corruption or changed form of Vardhana(ā)pura as local inscriptions mention it". My own view is that the original name Vardhamānapura continued to be used till about the 12th century A.D. as is clear from the image and other inscriptions which we shall notice soon after. But on the lips of the people it got corrupted into Badnāwar by that linguistic process or development which we find operative in all the New Indo-Aryan languages. This phenomenon is particularly noticeable in place and personal names. In the present context corruptions like Purimatāla into-Purulia, Vāmanasthali-Vanasthali-Banthali, Bhutambilikā-Bhumili and Ghumli, Usmānābād-Sanāwad, Mānapura-Manāwar will be found useful as they illustrate the scientific laws of dropping of the intervocalic consonants including "ma" and the transposition of vowels into ā the changes involved in VMP-BNW development is in particular the dropping of m and the transfer of its long ā to the next consonant for the sake of economy of effort and ease in pronounciation. When this easier form Badnāwar got sufficient currency and its original VMP was forgotten by the poeple the Pandits Sanskritised Badnāwar into Vardhanāpura for the purpose of mention in sacred records. But the more learned found that Vardhanāpura was an incorrect Sanskrit form, and so they made it Vardhanapura. This is how these two forms of the name occur on the images from Badnāwar. Thus there is no acrobatic feat involved in the derivation, unless all the phonetic laws framed for understanding NIA corruptions including Wadhwan-Vardhamāna, Jālor-Jābalipura, Haḍḍala-Aḍḍana etc, are regarded as acrobatics.

But the Badnāwar-Vardhamānapur equation does no longer depend merely upon phonetic laws and historical speculations. It is now confirmed by political and religious inscriptions on images. The Ujjain inscription of Jayavarman is mentioned by Dr. Upadhye. But he doubts whether the Vardhamānapura mentioned in that inscription is identical with Badnāwar. His objection is like this: "He (i.e. Jayavarmadeva) was dethroned soon after his succession by Ajayavarma. The various places mentioned there are not identified. May be that Jayavarman was staying at Vardhamānapura perhaps during the period of exile: the identity of this place in Malwa is still to be proved." Let us, therefore, pay some attention to the historical conditions. The history of Malwas during this period is noteworthy. Naravarman was the king of Malwa (A.D. 1094-1133). During his reign the Parmar power became weak and suffered several reverses. His successor Yaśovarman was defeated by the Chalukya King Siddharāja who also imprisoned him, appointed his own Governor at the Parmar capital

Dhārā in V.S. 1195 (A.D. 1138) and himself assumed the title of Avantinātha. But this did not last long. Yaśovarma's son Jayavarman, not only recovered the lost fortune, but also resumed the ancestral imperial title of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara. This is the information derived from the only inscription of Jayavarman issued from his residence Vardhamānapura between V.S. 1197 and 1200, which according to Dr. A.K. Majumdar "seems to indicate that he had not yet been able to recover the Parmāra capital.[9]

This makes it clear that Jayavarman issued grant from Vardhamānapura, his temporary capital, he had regained much of his dominion in Malwa so as to be able to call himself P. Mahārājādhirāja etc, and to issue commands to his territorial officers, as well as make grants of villages; but he was still waiting for a suitable opportunity to recapture his ancestral capital Dhārā (Dhar) which is only 33 miles from Badnāwar. No other place has, thus, any better claims for the identification. Dr. Upadhye complains that none of the places mentioned in the grant had been identified. This is true. But it was due to the fact that no body had ever tried to look for the identification in the proper locality. When I made an effort in this matter, keeping Vardhamānapura-Badnāwar in the centre, almost all the places could very well be identified with the help of survey maps and local inquiry. Let us proceed in the order in which the places are mentioned. King Jayavarmadeva was residing at Vardhamānapura identifiable with Badnāwar. Once he encamped at Candrapurī which is now represented by village Candoriya about eight miles north of Badnāwar. The village granted was Māyamodaka situated in Vatākhetāka division. The latter is identifiable with Vaḍamaṇḍala and the former with Mathirpada, both falling within ten miles of Badnāwar and situated at the distance of a few miles from each other. Thus all the conditions for the identification are well satisfied. Not only this, but the two villages with their territorial headquarters mentioned in the Copper plate grant of Jayavarma's predecessor Yaśovarma, which was discoverd along with J.V.'s Grant and mentioning the same donee of the Bharadwāja gotra from Adriyal Vidāwari, are also identifiable in the vicinity of Badnawar within ten or twelve miles. The villages granted were Baroda in Rajasayana-bhoga, and village Uthavanak, which are found represented by the modern Baḍod, Rajod and Uḍwā respectively. These facts of history and geography exclude the possibility of the grant of Jayavarmadeva being issued from anywhere else and particularly from the prototype of Wadhwan situated in the dominions of his enemies the Chālukyas. Badnawar can thus claim to have enjoyed that high status and prosperity as well as religious and political importance which is attributed to Vardhamānapura by Jinasena (A.D. 783), Hariṣeṇa (A.D. 931) and Jayavarmadeva (A.D. 1140) for about four centuries. The chain is continued further by Somatilaka Suri (died A.D. 1369) who in his Caityastora makes mention of a temple of Vardhamānapura constructed by Pṛthvīdhara Sādhu, a minister of Paramāra king Jayasimhadeva III (A.D. 1269). The pertinent verse is as follows:-

श्रीतारापुर-वर्धमानपुरयो श्रीनाभिभू-सुव्रतो
नाभेयो वटपद्र-गोगपुरयोश्चन्द्रप्रभः पिच्छले।
ओङ्कारेऽद्भुत-तोरणं जिनगृहं मान्धातरि त्रिक्षणं
नेमिविक्कतनाम्नि चेलकपुरे श्रीनाभिभूर्भूतये॥

Here mention is made of Jaina temples erected at Tārāpura and Vardhamānapura, Vatapadra, Gogapura, Oṃkāra, Māndhāta and Celakapura. Of these places Tārāpura is a well known Jain centre about 4-5 miles from Māṇḍava. It was so rich in Jain monuments that it came to be called 'Laghu Śatruñjaya' and Śatruñjaya-Bhrātā, during the Paramāra Age. Vardhamānapura is Badnawar, Vaṭapadra may be the same as Baḍaud mentioned in Yaśovarma's grant and identified above, while Omkāra and Māndhāta are the well known places of pilgrimage situated on the Narmadā and now called as Oṅkāreśvara and Maheśwara respectively. Thus, all the identifiable places fall within the limits of Malwa.

Somatilaka Sūri has, however, posed before us a problem by making mention of the construction of a temple by the same Sādhu at Vardhanapura also along with Dhārā on the one side and Candrakapuri on the other as follows:-

श्रीधारानगरेऽथ वर्धनपुरे श्रीनेमिनाथः पृथक्।
श्रीनाभेयजिनोऽथ चन्द्रकपुरीस्थाने सजीरापुरे।.

There is no doubt that here Dhārā is the famous capital of King Bhoja and other Paramār rulers, Vardhanapura is Badnawar and Candrakapuri is Candoria which I have already identified above with Candrapuri where King Jayavarmadeva resided temporarily and made a grant mentioning Vardhamānapura as his capital. Normally, one would be inclined to understand Vardhamānapura and Vardhanapura as representing two different places. But looking at the context of the two mentions, namely, Vardhamānapura along with Tārāpura, Vaṭapadra (Baroda), Oṅkāra and Māndhātā on the one hand, and Vardhanapura side by side with Dhārā and Candrakapuri on the other, the inference would be irresistable that both the places have to be located in Mālwā and not too far from each other. But when we look at the mention of the other places by the same author and the same work, we also find him mentioning one and the same place twice by the same name or more often in a slightly changed form due perhaps to the exigencies of metre, in some cases. For example, Candrakapurī and Candrānakapura, Māndhātṛ-mūla and Māndhātṛ-pura, Vaṭapadra and again Vatapadra. But the mystery about Vardhanapura and Vardhamānapura deepens when we take into account a few epigraphic records discovered from Badnawar, some of which make mention of Vardhanapura or Vardhanāpura, while others of Vardhamānapura in different contexts. A dozen of these records have come to my knowledge, and luckily all, except one, are dated. They bear dates from V.S. 1122 (A.D. 1065) to V.S. 1234 (A.D. 1177). This period of over a century, it may be recalled, was critical for the Paramār Kings of Mālwa, because they were hard pressed by the Kalachuris, the Southern Chalukyas and, more particularly, by the Chalukyas of Gujrat who even captured King Yaśovarmadeva and took him away to Gujrat, and appointed their own Governor over Mālwa at Dhārā, thus, compelling the Paramārs to have an alternative capital at Vardhamānapura. That was how we find his son Jayavarmadeva residing at Vardhamānapura and issuing his commands from there about V.S. 1200. It appears that during this period, the town attracted new Jaina families to settle there for trade etc and they built new temples and set up new images. Thus, there was a mixture of Jainas who had resided there for generations, right from the

time of Jinasena and Harişeņa on the one hand, and the new immigrants on the other. This distinction seems to be reflected in, the two groups of the local epigraphic records, and the conjecture receives support from a local tradition about which I was informed by Mr. Nandalal Lodha, a resident of Badnawar to whom I am indebted for much of my information on the subject. According to him, the local belief is that those records which mention *Vardhamānapurānvaya* belong to the Digambara Jainas, while those that mention Vardhanapura are of the Śvetāmbaras. This information acquires particular significance in view of the fact that Mr. Lodha himself belongs to the latter group, but I have found him holding liberal and impartial views in matters of historical truths, though otherwise quite keen about his own special creed. This view is fully borne out by the records which are at hand. The first record mentions Samvat 1122, Magha bright 6 on which day some object of worship (broken) was set up by Pranasalan (?) a resident of Siyapura 'today here at Vardhanapura (*Adyeha Vardhanapure*)'. The second epigraph is quite completely preserved and it records that on Friday, Vaiśākha dark 7 Samvat 1229, 'to-day here at Vardhanapura (*Adyeha Vardhanāpure*)' in the temple of Śrī-Śāntinātha, Sāha Bhalan, Gosal, Kadadeva and others along with their family installed the image of their family deity Ankumanā, and the installation ceremony was conducted by Śri Kulacandropadhyāya. These are the only two available records mentioning the name of the town as Vardhanapura in one case and Vardhanāpura in the other. The second record is indisputably Śvetāmbara because the family goddess mentioned there has no place in the Digambara hierarchy. The first record furnishes no such clear evidence, but two facts are quite suggestive. Firstly, it mentions that the family was not old residents of this town, but came from outside. And secondly, there is no mention of any spiritual geneology, as is invariably the case with the other group of the records which are as follows.

The first record mentions Saṃvat 1216, Jyeṣṭha bright 5, Wednesday, Ācārya Kumārasena Candrakīrti and Sādhu Bohibba his son Malha and wife Panu, son Pilha and wife Pahuni in Vardhamānapurānvaya (*VMP-Anvaye*) bowing daily. The second record opens with the mention of Lāḍa-vāgaḍānvaya and its teachers Cāritrasena, Padmasena, Virasena Vādi (?) and Kumārasena Candrakīrti and goes on to recite that in the Vardhamānapurānvaya (*-ye*) Setthi Vacā, his son Sālamaka etc. bow daily. Though this record is not dated there is another record from the same site which mentions Lāṭā Saṃgha and Acārya Candrakīrti and his pupil Mādhava-Candra. It does not mention the V. M. P. anvaya, but it is dated in Sam. 1224, Jyeṣṭha bright 5. The former record therefore appears to be earlier than this. The third epigraph is dated Saṃvat 1234, Māgha Su. 5. Wednesday, Panditācārya Dharmakīrti and his pupil Lalitakīrti and Sā. Prāmadeva and his wife Prahini in the Vardhamānapurānvaya (*-e*). So far as I know, this is the only record out of the above mentioned, published so far (Bhaṭṭāraka Sampradāya No. 552). It is said to have been discovered at Amla which is a village about five miles from Badnawar. The other records which do not mention the V.M.P-anvaya but obviously belong to the same group and the same age, make mention of (i) Māthura Saṃgha and Kumārasena (V.S. 1210 Vaiśākha Su. 1). (ii) Khaṇḍeraka Gachcha (V.S. 1222) (iii) Māthurāmnāya Paṇḍitācārya Śrī Cāritrasena (V.S. 1226). (iv) Māthurasemgha Ā. Dharmakīrti and his pupil Ā. Lalitakīrti (V.S. 1228 Phālguṇa

Su. 5 Saturday) and (v) Mūlasaṃgha Ācārya Bhaṭṭāraka (?) (V.S. 1230 Māgha Su. 13). A truck load of important Jaina monumental remains from Badnawar has been carried away to Ujjain where they are stored, but not yet properly arranged and studied. They are likely to yield valuable information when fully examined.

From this analysis, the conclusion seems to be irresistible that during that period of about a century when there appears to have grown a great zeal for building temples and setting up images the more ancient residents distinguished their monuments by recording their spiritual genealogy and also in some cases, their own connection with the Vardhamānapura line of house-holders associated with the time-honoured Jinasena and Hariṣeṇa. Even examples of a line of teachers being called by a place-name even at the place of their origin are not wanting. The Sūrastha gaṇa has been so called even at Surat itself (see Bhaṭṭāraka sampradāya No. 65). In the mean time new Jaina families which belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect also set up images of their family details, recorded the place from where they had come and particularly emphasised their time and place (*adyeha*) which they, according to the then current form called Vardhanapura and Vardhanāpura. Vardhamānapura, Vardhanāpura and Badnawar do not involve any extraordinary mutation or elision of vowel and consonant which may be said to be unknown in the linguistic evolution of the NIA. from Old and Middle IA. The change could be illustrated by numerous universally accepted names such as VAN (AS) THALI, BHU(TA) M(B)ILIKA, (U)S(MA)NABAD, BHO(JA)PAL, JA(BA)L(IP)UR, (H)ADDA-(L)NA etc. There is no wonder if V.M.P. was first corrupted into Badnāwar which was corrected into Vardhanāpura, and then Vardhanapura by Sanskrit Pandits. Such refined back-formations are by no means rare. To say nothing more about the non-Sanskrit linguism, phonetic idiocyncracies of the popular tongue had to be given recognition even by the Sanskrit grammarians who had to admit such alternative forms as *ādatta* and *ātta*, the intervocalic *dā* being altogether dropped, although the grammarians have tried to give a slightly different meaning into the alternate forms as is also the case with *vistāra* and *vistara*, *bhojya* and *bhogya* etc. The class of Sanskrit words like Pṛṣodarādi for *Pṛṣadudara* is well known for its phonetic aberration and so also the Uṇādi class of words. If these are regarded as phonetic acrobatics, they have to be at the same time recognised as universally prevalent.

While looking for the identification of the pontifical lineages and teahcers mentioned in the Badnawar epigraphs, I happened to hit upon a very valuable clue. As described above, the inscription of V.S. 1226 mentions Māthurāmnāya and Ācārya Cāritrasena, while another undated inscription records the Lāḍa Vāgaḍānvaya and Ācārya Cāritrasena, his pupil Padmasena, his pupil....his pupil Kumārasena Candrakīrti. The last two names appear together in one other epigraph of V.S. 1216, Kumārasena singly in another of V.S. 1210, and Candrakīrti with his pupil Māghasena in yet another of V.S. 1224. This leads me to two conclusions. Firstly, this Cāritrasena and his pupil Padmasena are identical with the two teachers of the same names mentioned in the colophon of the Mūlācāra MS as well as in the Paṭṭāvalī (Bhaṭṭa. Sampra. 631-32 & 638), although the name Cāritrasena is wrongly printed as Citrasena and his pupil and grand pupil, whose names are different from those of the Mūlācāra and the Paṭṭāvali, proves that a separate pontifical seat was established by Cāritrasena

and his pupil at Vardhamānapura. This identification leads us to the solution of the great mystery, because it is stated in the Paṭṭāvali that Cāritrasena carried out an intensive religious propaganda in the region of Lāṭa-Vargaṭa, as a result of which the Punnāṭa gachcha which was lying in cold storage amongst the people reappeared gloriously in the world under the name of Lāṭa-Vargaṭa.

(यैः पञ्च-लाटवर्गटदेशे प्रतिबोधं विधाय मिथ्यात्वमल-निरसनंचक्रे। ततः पुन्नाट गच्छ इति भाण्डागारे स्थितं लोके लाटवर्गटनामाभिधानं पृथिव्यां प्रथितं प्रकटीबभूव। भट्टा सम्प्र ६३१)

This makes it very clear that the Punnāṭa line of Teachers mentioned by Jinsena and Hariṣeṇa had not died out as such, but it was renamed as Lāṭa-Vargaṭa Saṃgha about the middle of the 11th century its earliest record being of V.S. 1055 (Bhaṭṭa Sampra.)

One, question, however, still remains to be answered. Why had the Punnāṭa Saṃgha to be kept in cold storage, and why it had to be proclaimed under a different name? The words *'bhāṇḍāgāre sthitam'* and *prathitam prakaṭī-babhūva* are very significant, since they suggest that there was some very strong reason for suppressing the name Punnāṭa and substituting some other name in its place. The answer is furnished by the history of the times. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas are found to have gained political dominance in Mālwa and Gujrat some time about the seventh century, and there is epigraphical evidence to prove that the Paramāra dynasty itself originated from them. There is plenty of evidence to porve that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were great patrons of Jainism. There is also little doubt that the advent of the Punnāṭa Saṃgha and construction of the Nannarāja-vasati in Vardhamānapura, took place under their patronage. In my previous article I had mentioned four rulers being the name Nanna-rāja who could, without violating the dictates of time and place, be given the honour of building the temple. To these four, Dr. V.V. Mirashi had added a fifth ruler Nannappā mentioned in an inscription of V.S. 767 (A.D. 710) found at Indragarh in district Mandsaur to the north of Badnawar. The Paramāras remained under the protectorate of Rāstrakuṭas till Sīyaka II alias Harṣadeva, encouraged by his victories over his other neighbours, decided to throw off their yoke. His first attempt was frustrated by the strong hand of Kṛṣṇa III. But on his death, Harṣa launched a severe attack on his successor Khoṭṭigadeva and went to the extent of plundering the burning the Rāṣtrakūṭa capital, Mānyakheṭa. This event is mentioned by Dhanapāla in his Prakrit Lexicography *Pāia-lacchi-nāma-mālā* completed in V.S. 1029. The sorrowful event is also graphically beweailed by the contemporary Apabhraṃśa poet Puṣpadanta, and is glorified in the Udaipur (Gwaliar) inscription, of the Paramāras. The blow was so severe that Khoṭṭigadeva died almost immediately by the shock. His successor Indra III and his uncle Mārasimha the Gaṅga ruler, tried for some time to retrieve the most prestige of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, but it was all in vain. Both Indra and Mārasiṃha became Jaina monks and ended their earthly careers by the *Sallekhanā* form of Jaina renunciation. (*Imperial Kanauj*).

It can easily be imagined how Harṣadeva must have returned to Mālwa from his southern campaign with pride and revengeful. He must have tried to wipe out from his kingdom all vestiges of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa supremacy, including the southern names

like Pannāṭa saṃgha and Nannarāja Vasati. What a coincidence? It was Nannarāja who built the temple and established the seat of learning at Vardhamānapura. And just about two hundred years afterwards, it was Nanna the patron of Puṣpadanta and a hereditory minister of the King who was destined to witness not only the Rāṣṭrakūṭa glory setting, but also suppression of even the names which might stand as witnesses of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa suzerainty in Mālva and Gujarat, which at this time formed one Paramāra Kingdom. This must be the reason why the name of the temple as Nannarāja Vasāti was dropped and Punnāṭasaṃgha was put in cold storage, until it reappeared as Lāṭa-Vargaṭa Saṃgha. Thus, the appearance and disappearance of Punnāṭa Saṃgha in Mālva synchronises with the rise and fall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa supremacy almost to a day.

The name of the place is mentioned by Jinasena as Vardhamāna pure', and by Hariṣeṇa as Vardhamānākhya-pure' These have so far been understood to mean Vardhamānapura by Dr. Upadhye and others. But now Dr. Upadhye makes a distinction. His present opinion is that according to these mentions, Vardhamāna is really the name of the locality and the term 'pura' is more descriptive appendage than a part of the name of the town. So it can not be equated with Badnāwar, but it can be with Waḍhawan with greater satisfactio2 tion.his distinction appears to me rather superficial and strange and I can not controvert it better than by citing similar other cases. Take for instance, the mention of a town in three different old verses which are well known and therefore quoted here in parts.

(i) *Kāneyām Nagnāṭakoham* etc.

(ii) Paścān Mālva-Sindhu-Thakka-viṣaye *Kāncīpure* Vaidiśe

(iii) Ihaiva dakṣiṇasthāyām kāncyām puryām parātmavid.

Here, we find Kānci alone, like Vardhamāna, Kañcīpura like VMP and *Kāñcyām puryām* like *Vardhamāne pure*, and lastly, to make the example fit on all fours, we have the modern name of the town Kanjivaram like Badnawar. Shall we, therefore, look for their identification separately and refuse to recognise them as interchangeable names? In both the work *KK* and *HP* as well as elsewhere we find numerous place-names mentioned in their full as well as in shorter forms like Campā and Campāpura. Pāvā or Pāvāpura, Ujjayini or Ujjayinipurī etc., which cannot be considered as signifying two different places. When we come across a name like '*Pure Hastināgābhidhāne*' have we to understand that the real name is Hastināga and not Hastināgapura? Even if places are found whose names agree with the fuller or shorter forms, their separate identification has to be justified on grounds other than the names. In the present cases the authors had in their mind the full name, otherwise they would not have cared to bring in 'pura' by some means or other even when they could not accomodate it in continuation, owing to the difficulties of metre. Prosody requires long and short vowels to come at specified places, and thus makes it very difficult to allow a long name of eight *mātrās* to be accomodated straight way. The poets therefore, have to express them by breaking them up into two and put them in a compound or some other form. Another similar name of eight *mātrās* is Vināyakapāla which also is broken by Hariṣeṇa

in two parts and combined them with 'adi' which has created complications. My own full name is Hiralal Jain. But my elders used to call me briefly Hira, my friends call me Jain, while the full name is only mentioned in formal records. There is, thus, a no room for a historian to make a capital out of the varying forms of names, short or long.

Moreover, the corrupted form Wadhawan may appear to be a proper noun, but its basic correct form Vardhamāna cannot be so regarded. It being a participial adjective meaning developing or prosperous, it can not by itself signify a town, except by the process of transferred epithet like Motor standing for Motor car and Rail for Railway train. Therefore, Vardhamāna itself presupposes its full name Vardhamānapura.

I am glad to note that Dr. Upadhye regards the identification of Jinasena's Dostaṭikā with the modern Dutaria in the victinity of VMP-BNW as tempting. But he resists his temptation to accept it finally, because he thinks the VMP-BNW equation must be proved first. My own view, however, is that the two identifications are mutually inter-dependent as the one equation supports the other. The more the conditions mentioned by Jinasena are fulfilled, the greater the possibility of the main identification. The existence of Dostaṭika, in the neighbourhood is one of them. The other is the existence of two Jain temples at VMP, one of Pārśvanātha and other of Śāntinātha. Remnants of both these temples have been found at Badnawar as I had already pointed out in my previous article which is not disputed by Dr. Upadhye. The mention of a number of chieftains bearing the name Nanna or Nannarāja in my previous article was suggestive only, a 'probable conjecture' as Dr. Upadhye calls it and so also my interpretation of the verse in *HP* mentioning the goddess Simhavāhinī of the Urjayant Hill, so that they may provide hints for further investigation and verification.

Thus, I have tried to meet all the objections raised by Dr. Upadhye against the identification of Jinasena's Vardhamāna-pura with modern Badnawar near Ujjain and Dhara in Malwa, on the basis of the clues furnished by the *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa,* which may be summarised as follows :

(1) *H.P.* has defined the N.S.E.W. boundaries of the place of writing and the centre emerging from these for identification is only the locality of Badnawar.

(2) *H.P.* mentions Dosṭatikā the residents of which came to organise worship on a grand scale in the temple of Pārśvanātha where Jinasena was writing. This Dostaṭikā is identifiable with a village in the vicinity of Badnawar, and the temple of Pārśvanātha is also identifiable at Badnawar by its remnants in the form of images and inscriptions.

(3) *H.P.* informs us that the worship-noise at the Pārśvanātha temple disturbed him in his composition of the work, and therefore he moved to the temple of Śāntinātha where he got the necessary peace of mind to complete the *Purāṇa*. This temple of Śāntinātha is also identified by the excavation of its site in Badnawar which yielded images and inscriptions in support of the identification.

(4) Jinasena has associated himself with Punnāṭa Gaṇa. This Gaṇa is found to have been renamed as Lāda-Vāgaḍa-gaṇa some time after the end of

Rāṣṭrakūṭa supremacy in Malwa in V.S. 1029 when Harṣadeva of Dhārā defeated Khoṭṭigadeva of Mānyakheta.

(5) The large number of archaeological remains excavated at Badnawar prove unquestionably that it was a very ancient centre of Jaina culture, and it continued to be so, more or less, till today, as could be expected of the Vardhamānapura mentioned by Jinasena in Śaka year 705.

(6) Hariṣeṇa the author of *K.K.* informs us that he also belonged to Punnāṭa Saṃgha, that he resided at Vardhamānapura which was inhabited by rich people and was beautified by many Jaina temples, and that he wrote in Vikrama Year 989=Śaka 853, when King Vināyakapāla was ruling there. All these conditions are fully satisfied by the modern Badnawar as stated above. As for the rule of Vināyakapāla in this region, I can not do better than quote from *The History of the Gujara-Pratiharas* by Dr. B.N. Puri.[10]

The information available from the Bengal Asiatic Society plate of 988 and the Rakhetra stone inscription dated in the V.S. 999-1000 suggested that the king (Vināyakapāla) ruled atleast from the year 931 A.D. to 943 A.D. The Gurjara Pratihāra empire during the time of Vināyakapāladeva seems to have extended from Benaras to Gwaliar in the west. In the South-West it included Ujjain which was ruled by the great feudatory Lord and Governor of Ujjain, Mādhava, and Śri Śarman who was the commander in chief and was carrying on the affairs of the state at Maṇḍapikā (Modern Mando in the Dhar state, C.I) under this Pratihāra monarch. This undoubtedly proves the supreme control of the Pratiharas of Kanauj over Mālwa at that time.

(7) The modern name of the place Badnawar is a corruption of Vardhamānapura. Wara is a normal corruption of pura in names like Manāwar, Nemāwar, Bhadāwar etc, while Badnā has resulted from Vardha (mā) na like Sanābad resulting from (U)s- (mā)-nābāda. But the identification is no more a mere phonetic speculation as the original name is supported by the inscription of Jayavarman and the image inscriptions from Badnāwar.

This is how the claim of Badnawar as the place where Jinasena and Hariṣeṇa composed their works, stands.

According to Dr. Upadhye "the validity of identification depends upon the fulfilment of certain conditions already mentioned by Jinasena and Harisena". These conditions as far as I can see, are:-

(i) Location of Vardhamānapura as indicated by the two authors.

(ii) Location of the place called Dostaṭikā.

(iii) Presence of many Jain temples including those of Pārśvanātha and Śāntinātha.

(iv) Existence of a Jain pontifical seat of Punnāṭa Sangha.

(v) Rule of King Vināyakapāla in the territory.

The case of Badnawar has already been fully examined and summarised above. Let us now examine the claim of Wadhawan-Vardhamāna on the same point.

1. There is no direct mention of the territory or kingdom in which the VMP was situated. But the N.S.E.W. boundaries are accurately defined by Jinasena who, so far as the W boundary is concerned, has even made it clear that Vatsarājā only controls a narrow strip of land between Avanti and Saurāṣṭra which is ruled over by another King. Waḍhawan does not satisfy the requirements of these boundaries. If the boundaries have to be ignored, it must be explained why they have been mentioned in that context.

As regards point (ii), (iii) and (iv), absolutely no evidence has, to my knowledge, been so far produced to show that Wadhawan fulfils the conditions.

The last point is very important because so far as *Kathākośa* is concerned, that is the only political and geographical indication about the place of its composition. According to Dr. Upadhye "both Jinasena and Haḍḍala grant refer to the ruling local family of Varāhas, and the Haḍḍala grant (in Śaka 836) and Hariṣeṇa (in Śaka 853) rightly refer to successive rulers Mahipāla and Vināyakapāla. If Hariṣeṇa has not mentioned any Varāha ruler, either he did not think it necessary or the rulers of that family had lost their prestige, after Dharaṇī Varāha. the linking is so perfect in the details supplied by Jinasena, Haḍḍala grant and Hariṣeṇa that one is perfectly justified in identifying V.M.P. with modern Wadhawan." Let us examine here how far this linking is sound.

First, there is no evidence to show where Jaya Varāha the ruler of Saura-maṇḍala mentioned by Jinasena, had his capital. According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar "Mahā Varāha was ruling somewhere in Saurastra... Mahāvarāha seems to have been succeeded by Jaya Varāha who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 783 in the territories of the Sauryas to the West Vardhamāna, modern Wadhawan, in Kathiawar. Nothing is known of this dynasty after Jaya Varāha. the Baroda plate dated A.D 812 stated that Mahā Varāha (predecessor of Jaya Varāha) 'kindled with rays of the sun' attacked the Rāṣṭrakūta Kṛṣṇa I (A.D. 758-773)." Dr. Majumdar thinks that the word "*Saurya*" in the epithet "*Sauryāṣma-sandipitam*" may also mean the people of that name as in "*Saurāṇāmadhimaṇḍalam*" of the Jainā Harivaṃśa. My own view is that the *Saura-maṇḍala* of Jaya Varaha was identical with the *Saurāṣṭra-maṇḍala* where the temple of sun (Taruṇāditya) was situated, and to which, according to Una (Jhunāgrah) inscriptions of A.D. 893 and 897 two successive kings of the Chalukya dynasty made donations of villages. The first of these Kings Balavarman scored a victory over the King of Hūṇa-maṇḍala to the North-West of Malwa. While his son Avanivarman II, also known as Yoga, led an army against the Chapas of Vardhamānapura and defeated their King Dharaṇī Varāha who was feudatory of the Pratihara Mahipala I.

These facts of history are enough to prove that the Saura Maṇḍala of Jaya-Varāha was identical with the Saurāṣṭramaṇḍala of his successors the Chalukyas, that his capital was Ūna in or near about Jhunagarh far away from Vardhamāna Wadhawan and that his kingdom was far greater than that of Dharaṇī-Varāha. Perhaps his father Mahā Varāha's victory against the Rāṣṭrakuṭas was in the living memory of Jinasena and it may also be in recognition of the Varāha rulers that he made a special mention of King

Jaya Varāha and honoured him with the title of Hero (*Vira*). It is also likely that Jaya Varāha participated in the war and exhibited his heroism. There may be a pun on '*Jaya-yute vire*'*

Secondly, it is also important to note that in ancient times Saurāṣṭra did not include the whole of Kathiawar. In M'Crindle's *Ancient India* and the Periplus it signifies its coastal region only. In the Girnar Inscription of Rudradāman, Anarta *i.e.* Northern, and Saurāṣṭra *i.e.* Southern Kathiawar are separately mentioned. In his *Archaeology of Gujarat*, Dr. Sankālia has made it clear that in the strict sense, Saurāṣṭra meant only the Southern part of Kathiawara known as Sorath with its capital at Girinagar, and later at Vallabhi under the Maitrakas (500-700 A.D.). It is, thus, very doubtful whether Wadhwan and Aḍḍānaka-deśa fell in the Sauramaṇḍala in the time of Jinasena.

Thirdly, Dharaṇī Varāha of Vardhamāna-Wadhawan had no correlation with the family of Jaya Varāha as has been presumed merely on the basis of similarity of the name-ending. But in the case of D.V. it is only casual as his ancestors were named Vikramānka Aḍḍaka, Pulakeśī and Dhruvabhaṭa (D.V.'s elder brother). These rulers belonged to Cāpa (Cāpotkaṭa or Cāvaḍā) family. For further information from the Haḍḍāla grant, I may quote Dr. Puri "Haḍḍala", as the plate suggested was in the possession of Dharaṇī Varāha's ancestors for a long time, and the very name of the country Aḍḍana (identified with portions of the present Limbidi and Adhawan) was called after Aḍḍaka, the grand-father of Dharaṇī Varāha. No higher title than Nṛipa or Rājā was attached to any of D.V.'s predecessors who obviously had no pretensions of ruling over Saura Maṇḍala or Saurāṣṭra, but over a very small kingdom round about their capital Aḍḍana (Haḍḍala), the whole principality being also called by the same ancestral name Aḍḍanaka-deśa. It was perhaps only Dharanī Varāha who made some effort to enlarge the kingdom and secured the favour of the Pratihāra emperor Mahipāla who conferred on him the status of a Mahā-sāmanta. It was probably he who, for the first time shifted, temporarily or permanently, his capital to Vardhamāna-Wadhawan which may have been founded by himself in memory of the high status gained by him. The whole history of this Cāpa dynasty of Aḍḍana consists of the solitary grant of A.D. 914. Nothing prior or posterior to it is known about the dynasty, and the political, religious or cultural importance of Vardhamāna-Wadhawan which thus loses all its claim for identification with the Vardhamānapura of the Harivaṃśa of Jinasena.

Lastly, there is no evidence to show that Vardhamāna Wadhwan possessed those numerous Jaina temples, that pontific-seat of learning, that prosperity of the town and that rulership of Vināyakapāla which has been mentioned by Hariṣeṇa in his *Kathā-kośa-praśasti* in A.D. 931. The available records do not support any claim of Pratihāra supremacy over that area after A.D. 914.

Thus, there being no link between Vardhamānapura and Jaya-Varāha, between Jaya-Varāha and Dharaṇī Varāha, and between Wadhwan, Sauramaṇḍala and Vināyakapāla Pratihāra in A.D. 931, the whole chain collapses and makes it necessary to reconsider the respective merits of Wadhawan and Badnawar for the required identification in the light of the facts and evidences cited above.

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   पूर्वां श्रीमदवन्तिभूभृति नृपे वत्सादिराजोऽपराम्
   सूर्याणामधिमण्डलं जययुते वीरे वराहेऽवति।।
   कल्याणैः परिवर्धमान-विपुल-श्रीवर्द्धमाने पुरे
   श्रीपार्श्वालय-नन्नराज-वसतौ पर्याप्त-शेषःपुरा।
   पश्चाद्दोस्तटिका-प्रजा-प्रजनित-प्राज्यार्चना-वर्चने।
   शान्तेः शान्त-गृहे जिनस्य रचितो वंशो हरीणामयम्।।
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Identification of Jerahat

The problem of the identification of Jerahat arose when during the course of my search for manuscripts of Apabhramsa language, I discovered an old Ms. of *Dhamma parikshā*. The first folio at the beginning of the Ms. and an unknown number of folios at the end were missing, as is usual old manuscripts when they are not preserved carefully. However, the colophon at the end of each *Sandhi* or chapter mentions the name of the poet as well as of his teacher. The author of the poem was *Śrutakirtī*, the pupil of *Tribhuvanakīrtī*. This mention at once distinguished the present work from the Apabhraṃśa poem of the same name by Harisheṇa, noticed by Dr. A.N. Upadhye in his article "Harishena's Dharmapariksā in Apabharṃśa" published in the silver jubilee number of the Annals of Bhandankar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. XXIII, 1942. This naturally aroused my interest in the work still further and I tried to determine the time and place of its composition.

The poem itself furnished no further clues regarding the history of its coṃposition. Fortunately, however, I discovered a mention of another *Apabhraṃśa* poem namely Harivaṃśapurāṇa, ascribed to *Srutakirti*, the pupil of *Tribhuvanakirtī*, in the list of manuscripts preserved at the Jaina Siddhāntā Bhavana, Arah, in Bihar. There was no doubt as to the identity of authorship of the two works. Luckily, the manuscript of *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* has come down to us not only complete but also with a colophon mentioning the date and place of its composition. But I had then no opportunity of studying and scrutinizing the data in detail, and therefore when I introduced the Manuscript of *Dhammaparikhā* discovered by me, to the All India Oriental Conference at its fifteenth session held in Bombay in November 1950, as a new find, I confined my remarks to the barest mention that "Srutākirtī the pupil of Tribhuvanakirti is said to have completed the Harivaṃśapurāṇa in Vikrama Samvat 1552 when Gyasuddin was ruling at Maṇḍar Maṇḍavagarh in Malwa. There is no doubt that the author of *Dharma parikshā* is identical with the author of Harivaṃśapurāṇa. Our work may, therefore, be assigned to about 1500 A.D." This article on '*Dharmapariksha*' of *Śrutākirtī*, was published in the proceedings and translations of the All India Oriental Conference, session, Bomaby page 290 ff.

However, the facts recorded at the end of manuscript of Harivaṃśapurāṇa, both in Apabhraṃśa verses as part of the work, as well as in Sanskrit prose as the scribe's

colophon are so important and interesting from the historical point of view that a thorough secrutiny of the same is necessary here. The author's own account of himself given towards the end of the work in Apabhraṃśa verses is as follows :-

जह कमेण सुयणणिउ छिण्णइं।
इगअंगदेसधरइं उववण्णइं।। १।।

पंचमकालचलणपढमिल्लइं।
तह उवण्ण आयरिय महल्लइं।। २।।

कुंदकुंदगणिणाअणुकम्मइं।
जायइं मुणिगणविविह सहम्मइं।। ३।।

गणवलातवागेसरि-गच्छइं।
णंदिसंघमणहरमइसच्छइं।। ४।।

पहाचन्दगणिणा सुदपुण्णइं।
पोमणंदि तह पट्टउवण्णइं।। ५।।

पुणु सुभचन्ददेवकमजायइं।
गणि *जिणचन्द* तहय विक्खायइं।। ६।।

मालवदेस धम्मसुपयासणु।
मुणि *देविंदकित्ति* मिठभासणु।। ७।।

तह सिसु अमियवाणि गुणधारउ।
तिहुवनकित्ति पबोहणसारउ।। ८।।

तह सिसु *सुदकित्ति गुरुभत्तउ*।
जेहिं हरिवंसपुराणु पउत्तउ।। ९।।

मच्छरउज्झिउ बुद्धिविहीणउ।
पुव्वायरिहिं वयण-पय-लीणउ।। १०।।

अप्पबुद्धि बहुदोसएं लिव्वउ।
जं असुद्ध तं सुद्ध करिव्वउ।। ११।।

एयहु सयलगंथ-सुपमाणहु।
तेरसद्ध सहसइं बुह जाणहु।। १२।।

संवतु विक्कमसेण-णरेसहं।
सहसु पंचसयबावण सेसहं।। १३।।

मंडवगडुवारि मालवदेसइं।
साहि गयासु पयाव असेसइं।। १४।।

णयर जेरहद जिणहरु चंगउ।
णेमिणाह जिणबिंबु अभगउ।। १५।।

गंथु सठण्णु तत्थ इहु जायउ।
चउविहु संघु णिसुणि अणुरायउ।। १६।।

माघ किण्ह पंचमि ससिवारइं।
हत्थ णखत्त समत्तु गुणालइं।। १७।।

गंथु सठण्णु जाउ सुपवित्तउ।
कम्मक्खयणिमित्तु जं उत्तउ।। १८।।

पढहिं सुणहिं जे भावण भावहिं।
पायडअच्छराहु णिसुणावहिं।। १९।।

तह सम्मत्तरयण वर लाहइं।
सग्ग पवग्ग अचल सुह साहइं।। २०।।

घत्ता

हरिवंसपुराणहु तिजयपहाणहु
भाउ करिवि जे सद्दहहिं।
सियपुत्तकलत्तइं लाहमहंतइं
सग्ग-पवग्गइं पुणु लहहिं।। १८।।

दुवई

वीर जिणिंद चलण पणवेप्पिणु जिणसासाण महंतहो।
दिसउ समाहि संति भव्वयणहं धम्मणुदायरत्तहो।।

इय हरिवंसपुराणे मणहरे सरायपुरिसगुणालंकारकल्लाणे तिहुवणकित्तिसिस्स-अप्पसुद-सुदकित्ति-विरइयए महाकव्वु विरयंतो णाम सइंतालिसतिमो संधिपरच्छिेदो समत्तो।।

The information contained in this record is as follows:-

"In course of time after the Nirvāṇa of Lord Mahavira, the saints who possessed knowledge of his complete teachings as embodied in the twelve Śrutangas remained no more in existence. Only the saints who possessed knowledge of the Śrutangas partially continued to live. In the first quarter of the fifth Age, great Acaryas were born, beginning with *Kundakunda gani.* In the *Nandi saṃgha, Balatkāra gaṇa, Saraswati gachchha,* the following line of teachers was produced, namely, *Prabhācandra, Padmanandi, Śubhacandra* and *Jinacandra.* Then was born Muni *Devendrakīrti* who spread the faith in the country of *Malwa.* He was very sweet in his tongue. His pupil *Tribhuvanakirti* was equally talented, learned and nector like in speech. This pupil was *Śrutakirtī,* a devotee of his teacher. He composed the *Harivaṃśa purāṇa* in accordance with the older works. The extent of the work is 12,500 ślokas (each śloka being counted as equal to 32 syllables). The composition of the work was finished in Vikrama Samvat 1552 on Monday the 5th of the dark fortnight of the month Māgha, when the constellation was *Hastā.* This composition took place in the beautiful Jaina temple of Neminath situated in the town of *Jerhad* when *Shahi Gayas* was reigning in his full glory at *Māṇḍavagarh* in Malwa."

These facts are very revealing about the poet as well as the time and place of his poetic activities. What is more valuable for us here is the flood of light which he sheds about the political set of his time and locality. As regards the poet's personal history, we are told that he belonged to the distinguished line of teachers beginning with Kundakunda. The six generations of teachers prior to him were Prabhacandra, Padmanandi, Śubhacandra, Jinacandra, Devendrakirti and Tribhuvanakirtī, Srutākirtī the author of Harivamsapurana and Dharmanpakarikhā was the seventh in this line after Tribhuvanakirti. The fifth in the line Devendrakirti is credited with preaching the Jaina faith to the people of Malwa in his own time. Presumably, he founded a pontifical seat at *Jerhad* in Malwa, where he was succeeded by Tribhuvanakirtī who in his turn was succeeded by Srutākirtī, the author.

The time of the composition of Harivaṃśapurāṇa is very clearly mentioned as Monday, the 5th of the dark fortnight of Māgha in Vikrama Samvat 1552 corresponding to 1495 A.D. At that time the suzerain head of Malwa was Sahi Gayas. Looking into the history of the times it is easy to know who this Sahi Gayas was. Dilavar Khan Ghuri, who claimed descent from the princes of Ghur, had been appointed governor of Malwa by Firuz Tughluk. He never assumed the royal title, but after 1392 he behaved as an independent ruler. He was poisoned by his son Alp Khan in 1406. Alp Khan now ascended the throne of Malwa and adopted the title of Hushang Shah. He occupied the fortress of Manḍu of Rajput fame, and immortalised himself in Madhya Pradesh by founding the town of Hushangabad on the Nerbudda shortly before his death in 1435. Hushang's son and successor Ghazni Khan (now Muhammad Shah) was a confirmed drunkard and commited disgusting barbarities. He was therefore removed by poisoning by his uncle Mahmud Khalji, who then became the ruler of Malwa. He was gratified by the arrival at Mandu of an envoy from the Caliph in Egypt at Murtanjid Yusuf, bearing for him a patent of sovereignty in 1465. Three years later came to him another mission from Timur's grandson, Abu Said, king of Transoxiana, Khurasan and Balkhi. Thus his sovereignty received foreign recognition. Mahmud died in 1469 and was succeeded by his son Ghiyasuddin who continued to rule Malwa from his capital at Mandu till 1500 A.D. When his eldest son Nasiruddin ascended the throne with his father's consent. He was done to death by poison four months later. (Cambridge Shorter History of India, Chapter VII). Indisputably, it is this Ghiyasuddin who has found mention by Srutākirti in his Harivaṃśapurāṇa in 1495 A.D.

It however, still remains a problem to identify the place called *Jerhad* where the Harivamśa Purāṇa was composed. Our field of inquiry in this respect becomes defined by the scribe's colophon in Sanskrit prose found at the end of the manuscript of Harivaṃśapurāṇa. It is as follows:-

संवत् १५५३ वर्षे वक्र वदिरद्वज गुरौ दिने अद्येह श्री मडपाचलगढदुर्गे सुलितान गयासुदीन्राज्ये प्रवर्तमाने श्री दमोवादेसे महाखान मोजखान वर्तमाने जेरहट स्थाने सोनी श्री ईसुर प्रवर्तमाने श्री मूलसंघे बलात्कारगणे सरस्वतीगच्छे श्री कुन्दकुन्दाचार्यान्वये भट्टारक श्री पद्मनन्दिदेव तस्य शिष्य मण्डलाचार्य देवेन्द्रकीर्तिदेव तच्छिण्य मण्डलाचार्य श्री त्रिभुवनकीर्ति देवान् तस्य शिष्य श्रुतकीर्ति इदं हरिवंशपुराणं परिपूर्ण कृतम्। भव्यजनपठनार्थ ज्ञानावरण कर्मक्षयार्थं श्री पार्श्वनाथ चैत्यालये श्री चतुर्विंशतितीर्थकरं परमभक्त्या प्रणम्य तथा श्रुतगुरुभक्तिपूर्वकं नमस्कृत्य ग्रन्थस्य अविघ्नसमाप्ति निमित्तम्।

This colophon records that on Thursday, the 2nd of the dark fortnight of Kartika (?) in Samvat 1553, Śrutakirti the pupil of Tribhuvanadeva who was himself the pupil of Devendrakirtideva the pupil of Padmanandideva of the line of Kundakunda in Mūlasangha, Balatkara gana, Saraswatigachcha, completed the Harivaṃśa Purāṇa at *Jerhat* in the country of *Damova*, where MahāKhāna BhojKhan was present, and Sultan Gayasuddin was ruling at the fort of *Mandapācala*. This Mandapācala is no doubt the Maṇḍugarh and Sultan Gayasuddin is no other than Sahi Gayas of the Apabhraṃśa prasasti. The names of the Ācāryas are also the same except that the name of the lineage Prabhacandra and names after Padmanandi Śubhacandra and Jinacandra are omitted here, presumably for brevity. But one great disparity that is noticeable here is about the date of the completion of the poem. The date mentioned here is about nine months later than the one mentioned in the body of the work as discussed above. It appears to me that the later date is of the copy of the manuscript and not of the composition of the work, although the wording of the colophon is otherwise. What interests us most in this colophon is the additional information the place of composition of the poem. Here we are told that *Jerhat* was included in *Damova desh*. This naturally reminds us of Damoh which is now a subdivision of the Sagar district in Madhya Pradesh. The identity is proved by a number of inscriptions of the Khalji Sultans of Mandogarh discovered in the town of Damoh itself and its vicinity.

The first of these records is in Persian, inscribed on a stone which is said to have been originally fixed to the western gate of the Damoh fort which has now altogether disappeared. It records that the brick work opposite western gate of the fort at Damoh was built by *Ghiyasudduniyā* in the year 885 on the 24th of Shawwar corresponding to 1480 A.D. The second record is dated Samvat 1520 corresponding to 1463 A.D. and mentions Mahārājādhiraj Sultan Mahmud Shah Khilchi of Manḍogarh (Māṇḍu). The third inscription refers itself to the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah, son of Nadir Shah and is dated in Vikram Samvat 1570 or 1512 A.D. The record is a proclamation of remission of certain fees levied in the town of Damoh which is mentioned as *Damauvanagar*. The stones bearing all these three records were deposited in the Deputy Commissioner's bunglow at Damoh. (see *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar* by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, 2nd Edition, Nos 108, 109+110). In addition to these Rai Bahadur Hiralal has reported in his *Damoh Deepak* (p. 15) that the name of Giyas Shah was recorded in several sati inscriptions, one of these existing at Narsingarh is dated Samvat 1543 or 1486 A.D. This evidence was sufficient to establish the identity of Damova, and Jerhat could be expected to exist somewhere near it. Looking into the maps I found a village called *Jerath* situated about twenty miles to the north-west of Damoh. On local inquiry I found that there was an old Jain temple in existence there and the Tirthankar installed in the main shrine was Neminath. Thus the identity of old Jerhat with the modern Jerath stands well established. But what a change have these four and a half centuries brought on the place. In V.S. 1552 we find Acarya Śrutakirti composing his poetry in Apabhraṃśa there and reciting it to an appreciative and admiring audience consisting of ascetics and nuns as well as laymen and women. Today Jerath is an obscure village, hardly bearing any signs of its former glory and literary activities.

There is yet another interesting point emerging from the Sanskrit colophon of Harivaṃsa purāṇa. This is about the mention of *Mahakhān Bhoj Khan*. This person appears to have been a local officer corresponding to the District Magistrate, appointed by the Khilji Sultan of Mandu and posted at Damova or Damoh. This idea gets support from the third inscription mentioned above in which the following words occurs:-

महाराजाधिराज राजश्री सुलितान महमूद साहि बिन नासीर साहि राज्ये असौ दमौवा नगरे श्री महाषाण आजम मलू षाम (षान) बिन मलू षाम् (षान) मुक्ते वर्त्तके etc. (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XV p. 293).

It is evident from this that the discrict officer posted at Damoh by the Khalji sultans of Malwa was probably given the title of *Mahakhan* which may also have been the designation of their district officers elsewhere.

The Dhārāśiva Caves and The Śilāhāra Dynasty

Dhārāśiva is the headquarters of a district in the Hyderabad State. It has recently been renamed as Osmanabad after the name of the present Exalted Highness, the Nizam of Hyderabad, Osman Ali. About two miles north-east from the town, in a ravine facing the west, is a group of caves which have been noticed and described by Mr. James Burgess.[1] Of the seven caves, the four on the north side of the ravine are decidedly Jaina excavations. Nothing was so far known about the origin or the date of these caves. Mr. Burgess tentatively assigned them to about 650 A.D. adding that 'perhaps they belong to a somewhat earlier date.' A work has recently been discovered which throws some light upon the origin of the Jaina caves. This work is the Karakaṇḍa-Cariu written by Kanakāmara Muni in Apabhraṁśa, completed in ten saṁdhis or chapters.[2] The fourth and the fifth chapters contain information about the caves. The part of the story pertaining to this subject is as follows:-

Karakaṇḍa was ruling at Campā in the Aṅga country. Having consolidated all his dominions, he once asked his minister whether there was any person who did not acknowledge his suzerainty. On being told that the Cola, the Cera, and the Pāṇḍya kings of the Drāviḍa country did not pay him homage, he sent an ambassador to those kings who dismissed him with scant courtesy. In wrath, Karakaṇḍa took a vow that either he would place his foot on their heads or renounce the kingdom. He then marched out with a vast army and reached Terāpura. Here he was visited by the local ruler named Śiva who told him about the existence of an old cave on the side of the adjoining hill. Karakaṇḍa visited this cave and found an image of Pārśvanātha in the cave. On the top of the hill, he discovered another image of Pārśvanātha buried in an ant-hill. This also he imported into that cave. He then discovered a spring of water which was so far blocked inside the cave. Before opening it up he excavated another cave. Karakaṇḍa felt curious to know who had excavated the first cave, and his curiosity was satisfied by a Vidyādhara who told him the story of its excavation as follows:-

In the southern Vedyardha there ruled two Vidyādhara brothers Nila and Mahānīla. Being pressed by the enemies they fled and came to Terāpura where they made their home and gradually built a kingdom. They were subsequently converted to Jainism by a sage and they excavated the cave and installed the image of Pārśvanātha

therein. The Vidyādhara also told Karakaṇḍa that the image which he found on the top of the hill was picked up by two other Vidyādharas from a Jain temple on thePūdi hill in Malabār and was left on the Terāpura hill by them. Karakaṇḍa felt satisfied at this account, and excavated two more caves in the vicinity before proceeding on to Simhala and then, on return, conquering the Draviḍian kings of Cola, Cera and Pāṇḍya.

Now, I consider the caves mentioned by Kanakāmara as identical with the Jaina caves found existing at Dhārāśiva on the following grounds. Firstly, the Terāpura where Karakaṇḍa found the old cave is identical with the modern Tera, twelve miles to the north-east of Osmanabad. It was known to the ancients as Tagara, which name baffled the attempts of scholars at its identification for a long time. Some identified it with Devagiri and other with Junnar, while Sir R.G. Bhandarkar proposed Dharur in the Nizam's dominions as the site of the ancient city.[3] It was only in 1901 that Dr. Fleet suggested its correct identification with the modern Tera misspelt as Thair, Ther, Tair etc. in maps.[4] The name Tera seems to be more directly connected with Terāpura.

Secondly, the situation of the caves as described by Kanakāmara tallies with that of the existing caves. The poet says that Karakaṇḍa started from the south of Terāpura where he was encamping and found the caves towards the west, on the side of a hill at some distance. He also speaks of a lake which abounded in lotuses. Now, the existing Tera is twelve miles to the north-east of Dhārāśiva, the old site of the town being divided into fourteen *wadis* or small villages, and the caves are a few miles to the south-west in the ravine of a hill. Near the caves is still to be found a lake which though now wanting in lotuses, is still reputed in the public to have once abounded in lotuses.

Thirdly, the principal cave contains an image of Pārśvanātha as described by the author, who speaks of the cave as a large one having a thousand pillar (*Sahasa-khambha*) which should be taken to mean nothing more than having too many pillars to be counted at a glance. Below is reproduced the description of only the main hall of the principal cave of the group, as given by Mr. Burgess, in order to convey an idea of the extensive scale on which the cave has been designed-

"The great śālā or hall of the cave is not quite square, being wider at the back than in front, the former width being 95 feet, the latter only 79 feet, while the depth is about 80 feet. In this area are thirty-two pillars, arranged in two concentric squares. The inner square has 12 pillars and encloses an area 23 ft. 9 inch. square, and 10 ft. 2 inch high. The outer, about 9 ½ ft. from the walls has twenty pillars and encloses an area about 55 ft. deep by 58 wide, leaving an aisle round the central square about 13 ft. wide in front and back, while along the sides it is 14ft. wide. The roofs of the aisles on each side of this outer square vary in height with a tendency to increase towards the back, the aisle being 12 ½ ft. high, and the one in front of it 11 ft. 7 inch. at the back and slightly less in front while the side aisles are about 10 ft. 4 inch. in height. In each side wall are eight cells, each about 9 ft. square and in the back are six three on each side of the shrine, which occupies the centre. The cells are all plain and exactly of the character of those usually found in Bauddha caves. In the floor of the cell(k) in the north-west corner, is a small hole in the floor which is constantly filled with water and may possibly have some connection with the cistern" etc.

Kanakāmara says that when Karakaṇḍa observed minutely the shrine he found a knot at the seat of the Jina. On inquiry he learnt from an old artisan of the place that it was meant to stop a fountain of water which had sprung up there. Karakaṇḍa felt curious and caused the fountain head to be opened up. From it water gushed forth and filled the whole cave. It was later on brought under control by the help of a Vidyādhara. Now, at the principal cave there is a cistern close to a chamber containing images of Pārśvanātha. In its floor there are two openings connected with the cistern. I consider this chamber to have been the old sanctuary where Karakaṇḍa discovered the fountain. As described above, there is yet another cell attached to the hall which has a hole in the floor constantly filled with water.

The last point in favour of the identification is that the caves are still popularly known amongst the Jainas as Karakaṇḍu's caves.

The question now arises, who were the excavators of the ancient cave? While investigating whether any historical basis could be found for the origin of the cave as given by Kanakāmara, I came upon the following information about the Śilāhāra princes-

"The Śilāhāra princes trace their origin to Jimūtavāhana, the son of Jimūtaketu who was the king of a certain class of demigods called Vidyādharas, and who saved the life of a serpent named Śaṅkhacūḍa by offering himself as a victim to Garuḍa in his place. One of the titles borne by the princes of all the three families was '*Tagarapura-varādādhīśvara*' or, lords of Tagara the best of cities,' which fact has a historical significance. It shows that the Śilāhāras belonged to a family that once possessed supreme sovereignty and reigned at Tagara. In one Śilāhāra grant it is expressly stated that the race known by the name of Śilāhāra was that of the kings who were masters of Tagara (*Śilāhārākhyavaṁśoyam Tagareśvara-bhūbhṛtām)*. As mentioned in a former section, Tagara was a famous town in the early centuries of the Christian era, and retained its importance till a very late period, but unfortunately the town has not yet been identified, nor have we found any trace of the Śilāhāra kingdom with Tagara as its capital. Perhaps it existed between the close of the Āndhrabhṛtya period and the foundation of the Cālukya power."[8]

From this account two facts emerge very prominently, firstly, that the Śilāhāra princes were the descendants of a Vidyādhara and, secondly, that they once had their capital at Tagara which has, since Sir R.G. Bhandarkar wrote the above account, been identified with Terāpura or Tera near modern Osmanabad. These facts have been emphasized in almost all the incriptions of the Śilāhāras. In the Śilāhāra grant of Narasimha dated Śaka 980, for example, we read-श्री शियळारवक्रातिलको जीमूतान्वयप्रस्तारप्रभव: सुवर्णगरुडध्यालोललीलाध्वजो विस्तीर्णार्णवमेखलावनिवधूकान्तो महीमण्डलप्रस्तुत्यो मलेयङ्कसर्प्पनृपतिः श्रीराजविद्याधरः अरिभूभृच्चकवक्रस्तगरनगरभूपालकस्तीर्वतेजाः स्थिरवाक्य:..... etc.

This also proves the same conclusion.

The next question that arises is how and when did the Vidyādhara ancestors of the Śilāhāras come to rule at Tagara? This question occurred to Sir Bhandarkar and it has not yet been solved. According to Kanakāmara, two Vidyādhara brothers Nila

and Mahānila came to Terāpura from the Southern Vedyardha, Somadeva, in his Kathā-sarit-sāgara locates the Vedyardhas as follows:-There are two Vedyardhas of Vidyādharas on the Himālayas, the northern and the southern, the former on the upper side of the Kailāsa and the latter on the lower side.[6] Thus, the two Vidyādhara brothers may be said to have come to Tagara or Terāpura from the southern range of the Himālayas. Kanakāmara tells us that they had to leave their ancestral home in the Vedyardha on account of the pressure of the enemies. On this point also the Kathā-sarit-sāgara throws some light. In lambaka fourteenth of that work we have an account of a protracted war between Naravāhanadatta, the king of the Vatsas, and the Vidyādharas of the Southern Vedyardha, in which the latter were completely vanquished and the former was crowned king. It might be this pressure of the enemies that drove away Nila and Mahānila to the south. We also find Jīmūtavāhana the ancestor of the Śilāhāras mentioned in the Kathā-sarit-sāgara, as the king of Vidyādharas who lost his suzerainty because he belauded his charity and sacrifice.[7] The existence of a ruling dynasty of Vidyādharas to the south of the Nerbudda is vouchsafed by Padmagupta in his Nava-sāhasāṅka-carita where his contemporary hero Sindhurāja is said to have been helped by Vidyādhara chief Śaśikhaṇḍa the son of Śikhaṇḍaketu, against the Asura king Vajrāṅkuśa of Ratnavati.[8]

All this evidence leads me to conclude that Nīla and Mahānīla the two Vidyādharas who migrated from the Himālayas to Terāpura were the ancestors of the Śilāhāra princes and that they or their early descendants, having become converts to Jainism, excavated the principal cave at Terāpura. I may appear to be making history out of fables and fairy tales but the pieces of information culled here fit in so well with what we know from epigraphical records and literary tradition, that the temptation to recognize a historical basis in them is irresistible.

Now, what can be the time of the Vidyādhara settlement at Terāpura and the excavation of the ancient cave and subsequently of three more caves there? As Sir Bhandarkar has said, we have not found out any trace of the Śilāhāra kingdom with Tagara as its capital, within any known historical period. And yet it cannot now be denied that the Śilāhāras once ruled at Tagara. If Naravāhanadatta of the Vatsas is to be assigned any place in history it can only be done in the pre-Śeśunāga dynasty. Karakaṇḍa who is said to have found the cave existing in his time, belongs to a hierarchy of saints sufficiently ancient to be claimed both by the Jainas as well as the Bauddhas and, amongst the former, by both the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara sects.[9] The Bauddhas say that he lived prior to their prophet Buddha,[10] in agreement with the Jainas who assign him to the *Tīrtha* of Pārśvanātha, that is, to the period following the Nirvāṇa of Pārśvanātha and preceding the advent of Mahāvira, which period falls approximately between 800 B.C. and 400 B.C. In the structure of the caves, particularly those portions of them which are ancient, there is nothing which may definitely point to a more recent date, while it is noteworthy that in all those cave temples no image of Mahāvira is to be found. The period of Śilāhāra ascendancy at Tagara, as said above, also seems to be very remote. Though much emphasis cannot, at present, be laid on these evidences, they seem to point to a time about five centuries preceding the Christian era for the Śilāhāra supremacy at Tagara and the excavation of the caves.

APPENDIX

Extracts from Karakaṇḍacariu of Kanakāmara throwing light on the origin of the Jaina caves at Terāpura-

1

Karakaṇḍa, king of Campā after unsuccessful negotiations, invades the South and reaches Terāpura.

करकंडइँ साहिवि महि सयल परिपुच्छिउ मइवरु विमलमइ।
भणु सम्मइ मइवरको विणरु जो अज्जु वि दुट्ठउ ण विणमइ।।
सो मइवरु पभणइ देवदेव। तुह महियलु सयलु विकरइ सेव।
परि दिविडदेसे णिव अत्थि धिट्ट। ते णमहिं ण कासु वि हियइं दुह।
सिरि चोडि पंडि णामेण चेर। णउ करहिं तुहारी देव केर।
आयण्णिवि तं चंपाहिवेण। संपेसिउ दूवउ तहो खणेण।
तँ जाइवि ते चोडाइराय। इउ भणिय णवहु करकंडपाय।
णिब्भत्थियउ दूवउ तेहि सो वि। जिणु मेल्लिवि अण्णु णणवहुँ कोवि।
करकंडहो आइवि कहिउ तेण। णउ कराहँ सब तुह किं परेण।
तं सुविणि वयणु करकंडु राउ। तइ देमि ण तहो सिरि णिययपाउ।
तो महियलपुत्तइंछियसुहासु। महो अत्थि णिवित्ति परिग्गहासु।
एह पइज करिवि करकंडएण। तहु दिण्णु पयाणउ कुद्धएण।
चंपाहिउ चल्लिउ तहो उवरि गय चडिवि णिविग्गउ पुरवरहो।
चउरंगइं सेण्णइं संजुयउ सो लीला धरइ सुरसेरहो।। ४, १।।

तहो जंतहो महि हयखुरहिं भिण्ण। गयणंगणि गय रय धूमवण्ण।
पसरंतज्झह तेहिं दिगाणणाहं। णं मुहबड्ड किउ दिसिवारणाहं।
महि हल्लिय चल्लियगिरिवरिंद। कंपंत पणट्ठा खे सुरिंद।
दक्खिणवहे, गउ तेरापुरम्मि। तहो तक्खिणदिसिहिं महावणम्मि।
आवासिउ तहिं बलु चाउरंगु। खणे सीहपुलिंदहँ हुयउ भंगु। संताडिय दूसय पंचवण्ण। णं अमरगेह भूमिहिं पवण्ण।
गय करिवर लेविणु जलहो मेट्ठ। रासहियहिं धाविय खर पहिट्ठ।
लोलाविय धय णिवणरवरेहिं। महि णज्वइ णं उब्भिकरेहिं।
आवासिउ अच्छइ जाव तहिं करकंडणराहिउ पउरवलु।
पडिहारु पराइउ तहो पुरउ दूराउ णमंतउ हरियमलु।। ४, २।।

2

Śiva, the ruler of Terāpura, waits upon Karakaṇḍa and tells him about the cave, which Karakaṇḍa then visits.

णिउ अत्थि देव तेरापुरम्मि। सिउ णामें रूढउ भूवलम्मि।
सो तुम्हहँ पेक्खहुँ एत्थु आउ। किं आवइ किं सो वलिवि जाउ।
करकंडे* वयणु सुणेवि तासु। पडिहारु भणिउ तेराहिवासु।
पइसारु खणद्धे तासु देहि। तुहुँ अप्पुणु जाएवि लेवि एहि।

पडिहारें सो णिउ आणिओ वि। करकंडएँ पुणु सम्माणिओ वि।
पुणु तेण पपुच्छिउ करिवि वाल। तुह कुसलु णरेसर सयलकाल।
तें भणिउ णरेसर कुसलु मज्झु। जं सिंचिउ करुणजलेण तुज्झु।
तहो वयणें करकंडहो णिवासु। तहो उवरि पयाड्ढिउ णेहु तासु।
अइपउरु पइण्णउ पुणु पसाउ। किउ दाणइँ वयणइँ साणुराउ।
पुणु पुच्छिउ सिउ करकंडएण महो भाइय अक्खु पयत्तएण।
जं दिट्ठउ किं पि मणोहरउ अच्छरिउ वणम्मि भमंतएण।। ४, ३।।

तं वयणु सुविणि तेराहिवेण। करकंडहो अक्खिउ पुणु सिवेण।
एत्थत्थि, देव पच्छिमदिसाहिं। अइणियडउ पव्वउ रम्मु ताहिं।
तहिं अत्थि लयणु णयणावहारि। थम्हाण सहासहिं जं पि धारि।
आयण्णिवि तं करकंडु राउ। गउ पव्वयसम्मुहुं सिवसहाउ।
महिमहिलहे थणु व मणोहरउ कीलाघरु देवहं जो भरेण।
करकंडइँ सो गिरि दिट्टु खणे कइलासु णाइं भरहेसरेण।। ४, ४।।

थोवंतरि तहिं सो चडइ जाम। करकंडइं दिट्ठउ लयणु ताम।
णं हरिणा अमरविमाणु दिट्टु। करकंडु णराहिउ तहिं पइट्टु।
सो धण्णु सलक्खणु हरियदंभु। जें लयणु कराविउ सहसखंभु।
पुणु दिट्ठउ तें जिणु वीयराउ। संथुणणहिं लग्गउ साणुराउ।। ४, ५।।

3

Karakaṇḍa finds out a knot which a sculptor tells him to be the mouth of a fountain which is then opened up.

ता तक्खणे तहो जिणे गइय दिट्ठि। हरिवीढहो उप्परि दिट्ठि गांठे।
णं फलिहसिलहे हरिमणि विहाइ। उड्डरायहो लग्गउ हरिणु णाइं।
सो पोक्खिवि मणे चिंततेइ राउ। गंठीए हयउ जिणबिंबराउ।
जो सयलकम्मपरिकरणकारि। कोकाविउ सो तें सुत्तधारि।
भो परममित्त अक्खहि पसत्थु। तुहुँ जाणहि सयलु वि कम्मसत्थु।
तं णिसुणिवि पभणइ पावहारि। पडिमागयरूवअणेयकारि।
जिणपडिम घडिय जइयहं णिवइ जलवाहिणि सिर तइयहो खणेण।
मइं णिसुअउ दिहु परपरए एह धरिय गंठि तें कारणेण।। ४, १२।।

जा राएं असुहाई गणिया। सिलवइणा टंकिएँ सा हणिया।
गुरुघायवडणें णिग्गेय फुलिंग। णं कोहवसइं अहिजलणलिंग।
तहे गंठिह वयणहो बहल फार। ता णिग्गय तक्खणि सलिलधार।
पवभउ भुंभुक्कइ णिग्गमेइ। णं मेइणि भीएँ उव्वमेइ।
णिग्गंती वाहिरि सा विहाइ। महि भिंदिवि फणिवइघरिणि णाइं।
परिसहइ सा वि भूमिहिं मिलंति। गंगाणइ णं खलखलखलंति।
पसरंतिएँ ताएँ खणेण भव्वु। तं भरियउ लयणु जलेण सव्वु।। ४, १४।।

4

On inquiry by Karakaṇḍa a Vidyādhara tells him how two Vidyādhara brothers Nīla and Mahānīla being oppressed by the enemy in their home in the Southern Vedyardha came to Terāpura, settled there, became converts to Jainism and excavated the cave.

करकंडे पुचिछउ सो अमरु, भणु केण कराविउ इहु लयणु।
वररयण विणिम्मिय कें पडिम, रंजियउ जाएँ महो तणउ मणु।।
तं सुणेवि वाउवेउ। ता फणीकुमारु एउ
पुच्छियं पिजं णिवेण। तं कहेइ तक्खणेण।
एत्थु जंबुदीवयम्मि। भारहम्मि खेत्तयम्मि।
तत्थ अत्थि सोहमाणु। विज्जयइढु अप्पमाणु।
खेयरेहिं रम्ममाणु। कुंजरेहिं गज्जमाणु।
तासु तुंग बे वि अग्ग। सायरस्स जाइ लग्ग।
जोयणदसहिं मि उप्परिण अत्थि सेणि दाहिणिय वर।
विज्जाणाहहिं परियरिय अहिलसहिं जा वि देक्खेवि सुर।। ५, १।।

तहिं अत्थि णयरु खेयरवमालु। णामें रहणेउरु चक्कवालु।
तहिं खेयर भायर अत्थि बे वि। णामेण णीलमहणील ते वि।
ते अच्छहिं रज्जु करंत जाव। पडिपेल्लिय दोण्णि वि अरिहिं ताव।
उद्दालिउ ताहँ वि विज्जयाउ। णिद्धाडिवि घल्लिय पट्टणाउ।
सिरिपासजिणिंदहो तणइँ काले। सुरखेयरकिण्णर-रव-वमाले।
अइदुम्मण दुक्खु वहंति भाय। महि लंघिवि तेराणयरु आय।
तहिं थाइवि कीयउ रज्जु भव्वु। उवसाहिउ महियलु तेहिं सव्वु।
कह पासजिणिंदहो दुरियणासि। सुय एकहिं दिणि मुणिवरहो पासि।
सा सुणिवि मणोहर दुहमहिय परिओसें ते कंटइयतण।
थिय णिच्चल धम्में दयसहिय जिणु झायहिं भत्तिए एयमणु।। ४, २।।

अणुराएं तेहिं मि भायरेहिं। पुणु लयणु कराविउ खेयरेहिं।
थंभाण सहासहिं णिम्मवीउ। अब्भंतरु सुंदरु कारवीउ।
मणिरयणहिं मणिणिम्मवियंयाहं। किउ ठाउ तेहिं जिणपडिमयाहं।
अणवरउ ण्हाणपूया करंत। थिय बहुयकाल जिणु अणुसरंत।
तहिं वड्ढिय अणुदिणु मणहरीय। णाणाविह महिमा खेयरीय।
एहु पव्वउ वेड्ढिउ खेयरेहिं। णं मेरु महागिरि सुरवरेहिं।
सा सोहा पेक्खिवि सुरगणेस। ठिय विंभियमण तहिं णिरवसेस।। ५, ३।।

5

The Vidyadhara advises Karakaṇḍa to excavate one more cave at which the latter excavated two more caves.

भो णरवइ जं पइँ पुच्छियउ। मइं सयलु वि तं तुह अक्खियउ।
पइँ सुंदरु कीयउ महो मणिउ। जं लयणु णरेसर पइं चिणिउ।
तम्हा तुहुं एवहिं इउ सरहि। लयणोवरि अवरु लयणु करहि।
इउ भणिवि पयत्तें णियघरहो। गउ सुरवरु लीलइँ णियघरहो।
लयणोवरि करकंडें लयणु। काराविउ जिणवर-वर-भवणु।
तहो उप्परि पुणु खुद्दयलयणु। अइमणहरु कारिउ हयमयणु।
तिहु लयणहो सोहा वहइ कह। सुरणाहघरहँ अणुरइँ जह।
णिउ करिवि ताइँ जिणमंदिरइँ। सइं पूजिवि अंचिवि मणहरइँ।
अइतोसु वहंतउ हियएँ बहु। आवासहो गउ पुणु धरिणि-पहु।। ५, १३।।

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Chavda Dynasty of Gujrat

The Chavda dynasty ruled over a part of Gujrat from about 746 A.D. when the city of Anahillapura was found by *Vanaraja*, to 961 A.D. when the kingdom was seized by *Mularaja*, the founder of the Solanki dynasty.[1] There is a great deal of uncertainty as to who this Vanaraja, the founder of the Chavda dynasty was. The only tradition which holds the field at present is what is recorded in the *Prabaudha-Chintamani* of Merutunga (composed in 1306 A.D. and *Sukrita-Samkirtana* of Arisimha (1228 A.D.). According to these works, there was a small chieftainship of the *Chapotkatas* or *Chapas* (Chavdas) with their capital at *Panchasar*. The last chief of the dynasty was killed by one *Bhuyada*, and the widowed queen, who was pregnant, wandered into the forest. She gave birth to a son who turned out to be very vigorous and strong. He was the famous Vanaraja. He came into contact with a tradesman by name *Jamba* who astonished him by his bowmanship. From him, probably, Vanaraja learnt archery and awarded his teacher by making him his minister later on. Vanaraja seized a large convoy of treasure which was on its way to the Imperial capital Kanauj, and with that fortune he built the capital. In this task he was assisted by a stranger whom he found sitting at ease under a Pippala tree on the bank of a tank, and whose name he commemorated by naming the new city as *Anahillapura*.

In this connection, I wish to draw the attention of historians to a reference in an Apabhramsa poem composed slightly earlier than 971 A.D. This is *Nayakumaracariu* (Sanskrit-nagakumaracarita) of Pushpadanta brought to light and edited by me for the first time.[2] In this work, the hero Nagakumara is said to have incurred the displeasure of his father who ruled at *Kanakapur* in Magadha, and was therefore banished from the realm. During his wanderings all over the country outside Magadha, he had many adventures, one of which is described in the sixth chapter (Sandhi) of the work. The hero secured the submission of an Asura in the *Ramyaka* forest. While returning therefrom after receiving valuable presents from the forest guardians, he was approached by a chieftain (Mandalika) who introduced himself as Vanaraja of *Girisikhara-nagara*. He offered to him the hand of his beautiful daughter Laxmimati, relying upon a prophecy. Nagakumara accepted the proposal and married the princess. While still staying with his father-in-law, an ascetic named *Srutidhara* happened to sojourn there during the course of his religious tour. Nagakumara waited upon him and being impressed by the wisdom of the sage, he put to him a question "*Was Vanaraja*

a man of the forest tribe (Chilau-Kirata) and not a Kshatriya (Nivai)?" In answer to this question of Nagakumara, the sage "Srutidhara" gave the following account of Vanaraja's parentage:

याउच्छिउ पुणु मयणेण जइ।
वणराउ चिलाउ किं ण णिवइ।।
किं णरवइ कहिं वि वसंति वणे।
णउ फिट्टइ वट्टइ भंति मणे।।
ता पभणइ मुणि सुणि विविहघरे।
सुपसिद्ध-पुंडवद्धण-णयरे।।
अवराइउ महिवइ छिण्णदुहु।
सो सोमवंसरुहु सोममुहु।।
देविउ सच्चवइ वसुंधरिउ।
णेहुज्जल सास-वसुंधरिउ।।
तहे एक्कहे अइबलु भीमबलु।
अण्णेक्कहे णंदणु दलियखलु।।
रिसि जायउ इंदिय-पसरु हिउ।
अवराइउ रज्जु मुएवि थिउ।।
भीमाबलि भुयबलि चालियउ।
अइबल हो रज्जु उद्दालियउ।।
अइबलु बलेण सहुं णीसरिउ।
एत्येत्य वप सो अवयरिउ।।
कुसुमिय-फलिय महावणु। रण्णफुल्ल विविहावणु।
बहु-ववहार-पवट्टणु। एउ तेण किउ पट्टणु।।
एत्तहिं सो राणउ भीमबलु।
जावच्छइ पालिय-धरणियलु।।
ता तासु महाभीमंकु हुउ।
तणुरुहु णं सुरवरु सग्गचुउ।।
तहो सोमप्पहु णं णवतरणि।
सो संपइ तहिं पालइ धरणि।।
तिहिं एत्थु वि रायहो अइबलहो।
सुउ जाउ महाबलु परबलहो।
तहो जायउ णंदणु गुणभरिउ।
वणराउ णाइं सुरु अवयरिउ।।
जिम तित्थु एत्थु रज्जंतरइं।
गय बप्प चयारि णिरंतरइं।।

(णायकु. ६, ११, ६, १२, १-६)

This may be translated as follows:

"Madana (Nagakumara) asked the sage 'Is Vanaraja a tribes man and not a Kshatriya? Do Kshatriyas (rulers) live in a forest? This doubt is not removed; it persists in my mind?' To this the sage replied-'Listen; in the famous town of *Pundravardhana* abounding in a variety of houses, there was king *Aparajita* of the lunar dynasty, with face like the moon and free from troubles. He had two queens, namely, *Satyavati* and *Vasundhara* who were very affectionate and ever affluent. Of them, the former had a son named *Atibala,* while the latter's son was *Bhimabala,* a terror to his foes. In course of time Aparajita renounced the pleasures of the senses, gave up the throne and became an ascetic. Bhimabala, being the stronger and more ambitious (of his two sons) appropriated the kingdom to himself, so that *Atibala* along with his followers had to leave the kingdom. He resorted to this forest and built this town (i.e. Girisikhara-nagara) abounding in extensive flower and fruit gardens, various shops and numerous business centres.

In the meantime, king Bhimbala continued to reign. He was succeeded by his son *Mahabhima* who was like a god descended from heaven. His son was *Somaprabha* who, like the morning sun, is now ruling the earth.

Similarly, on this side, *Atibala* got a son named *Mahabala* who in his turn had a son named *Vanaraja* who is so qualified as to resemble a god from heaven. In this way four continuous generations have passed on that side as well as this."

Having heard this account of *Vanaraja,* Nagakumara made an effort to retrieve the wrong of all the previous generations. He launched an attack against *Somaprabha* and succeeded in defeating him and installing his father-in law Vanaraja on the throne of Pundra-Vardhana. Somaprabha renounced the world in disgust and became an ascetic. This victory made a great impression upon the neighbouring rulers and two princes of *Supratishthapura* came of their own accord to pay homage to Nagakumara and acknowledge him as their sovereign. Subsequently, Nagakumara paid a religious visit to *Urjayanta* mountain and met the king of *Girinagara* who turned out to be his maternal uncle. This narrative is continued in the seventh chapter of the poem.

It appears to me that the account of Vanaraja found in Nayakumara-Cariu of Pushpadanta is an echo of the historical events of the middle of the 8th century when Vanaraja founded the Chavda dynasty of Gujrat. It is, thus, the earliest record so far available about the famous *Vanaraja,* as it was written just about a century and a quarter later than his coronation. The noteworthy feature of this account is the help received by Vanaraja from an adventurous youth, which is also mentioned in the stories of the 13th and 14th century recorded in the *Sukrita-sam-kirtana* and *Prabandha-Chintamani* mentioned above. In the latter works the stranger is said to have been found sitting under a *Pippala tree,* while according to the present work Nagakumara was camping at the *Nyagrodha* (banyan) tree at the outskirts of the forest when Vanaraja called upon him. It is also interesting to note the question about Vanaraja's parentage which has all through history been a matter of doubt and discussion. Name like the *Ramyaka* forest, the capital *Pundravardhana* and *Giri-Sikhara-nagara* as distinguished from *Girinagara,* raise some difficulty about their identification; but we should not be surprised if some

of the names in the story turn out to be fictitous. In this connection it must be remembered that the poet is incorporating in his narration what was told by a wandering ascetic, significantly named *Srutidhar* i.e., tradition-bearer. He is also foisting the events of the 8th century upon a period far anterior to it, and therefore he may have even deliberately changed some names. However, inspite of all this, the Vanaraja story and the location of the events are unmistakable.

Our poet's inrerest in the history of Gujrat is quite understandable. He was writing the poem at *Manyakheta* under the patronage of the *Rashtrakuta* king Krishna III who has been mentioned at the very beginning of the work as ruling from the capital with a strong sword.[3] In his other work the *Mahapurana* he has mentioned his patron as the vanquisher of the *Choda* king,[4] obviously referring to Krishna's war with Rajaditya Choda who was killed in battle in 949 A.D. The Rashtrakutas had acquired suzerainty in Gujrat right from the time of Amoghavarsha I, and Krishna III had extended it to northern Gujrat by defeating the local rulers, and thereby had acquired the title of the king of the Gujrat.[5] It was therefore natural for the poet to be inquistive about the history of Gujrat, and untilise the information for enriching his own narrative by further glorification of his hero, opportunity for which was afforded by a stranger figurine in the story of Vanaraja's rising to power. This account of the poet of Nayakumara-cariu establishes the fact that doubts existed in the public mind regarding the true lineage of Vanaraja, the founder of the Chavda dynasty, and that attempts were made quite early to link him up with a former ruling family.

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Jainism at the Court of the Chalukyas of Gujrat

However disturbing the political conditions might be Indian genius has always asserted itself in pursuing its cultural activities more or less uninterrupted in history. This has been the case particularly with Jainism.

Jaina influence at the court of Calukya kings of Gujrat is directly visible from the time of the very founder of the dynasty. A Jaina temple at the Chalukya capital Anhilwad known as Mulabastika is said to have been constructed by Mulraja himself. The panegyric attached to the Kathakosa of Sricandra mentions that Mulraja had for his legal adviser (Dharma-Sthanasya Gostikaha) one sajjana of the Pragraha family of Anahillapur and that Sricanorathe disciple of Sahasrabirte whose spiritual predecessors were Śrutakirti and Śrikirti in the line of Kundakunda, composed the work for the instruction of the family of Sajjana's son Krishna. The prestige that this line of spiritual teachers enjoyed in the political world of the period is indicated incidentally in the prasasti, where Sahasrabirti is described as 'the sinless teacher whose supreme lotus feet were worshipped by eminent kings like Gangeya, Bhojadeva and others. The reference is presumably to the Kalacuri king of Chedi (A.D. 1015 to 1040) and Parmar king of Malwa (A.D. 1018 to 1060).

Bhima I, succeeded to the Chalukya throne in A.D. 1022. His feudatory chief Dhundhuka at Alw became a rebel and fled away. Bhima appointed Vimala Shah to take the military command at Alw. Vimala Shah belonged to the same Pragreat Jaina family as Bhajjana the legal adviser of Mulraja, and he was faithful Jaina, utilised the opportunity afforded by his political power and favour with his monarch to built at Abu, the most magnificient Jaina temple-that of Adinatha. Indian craftsmanship of the age has found its best expression here, and temple for their architectural design, grace and beauty are considered to be unique of its kind in the world the temple was completed in A.D. 1031 i.e. within seven years of the demolition of Somanath by Mahmud Gazni. The Kharatara gaccha pattavali records that for the building of the temple thirteen shrines of Sultana were demolished. One might wonder whether there were any Muslim structures in the region at that time to be demolished, but the mention appears to suggest that the enthusiasm of Vimala Shah, which of course had the approval of his royal master Bhima, was probably a reaction to the Mohammadan vandalism exhibited at Somanath.

The power of Jainism became more dominant at the Calukya court during the reign of Siddharaja and his succesor Kumarapala who actually became a convert to Jainism under the influence of "the most learned man of his time" the celebrated Hemacandracarya, (A.D. 1080 to 1172) under whose inspiration and guidance Gujrat was enriched with Jaina temples and to an enormous extent and became a stronghold of Jainism in the matter of followers as well as institutions for all time to come. The secret of this success was not any fanatic zeal, but the promotion for understanding between different faiths which is the corner stone of Jainism and which was particularly emphasised by Hemacandra in action as well as in speech. The continuity of the faith and the prosperity of the followers is attested by the temple of Neminath built in the vicinity of the Adinath temple at Abu.

Jainism had already spread into South India under two strong currents from the North, during the Age of the Imperial Unity. The first of these was a band of ascetics led from Malwa by Bhadrabahu and his eminent disciple Chandragupta, both of whom are commemorated at Śavana Belgola in the Hasan district of Mysore, by the Chandragiri Hill, its Chandragupta basti and the Bhadrabahu cave. The continuity of the religious practices and the missionary zeal of the Jaina Monks culminated in the installation of the colossal image of Bahubali on the Vindhyagiri by Chamundaraya the minister of the Ganga King Rajmal just towards the close of the previous period of our history i.e. the 10th century. The other current started from Saurastra where at Girinagar Sage Dharasena staying in the Chandragupta, taught remnants of the Jain canon to his two disciples from the South, namely Puspadanta and Bhutavali who immediately after receiving their instruction returned to the South the former to the Karnataka country and the other to the Dravida Land and in close collaboartion with each other composed the Satkhandagama Sutras in Prakrit and thus inaugurated an era of Jaina literary activities in the South which culminated in the production of the monumental work the Dhavala Siddhanta by Virasena and Jinasena as well as the Mahapurana by Jinasena and Gunabhadra, during the Rashtrakuta period and of the Gommata Sara by Nemicandra Siddhanta Chakravarti under the patronage of Chamundaraya. At the beginning of the 11th century the political set up of south India underwent a complete change. The Cholas, the Gangas and the Rashtrakutas had waned in their power and influence and the western Chalukyas and the Hoysalas gained political ascendancy. Great as this Chalukyas political transformation was, it did not much effect the religious and cultural activities of the Jainas in the land, because both these royal dynasties already had very close affinities with Jainism and their emergency into power, instead of being a hindrance, proved a great boon for the propagation and glorification of the faith. It would, therefore, be convenient to follow the fortunes of Jainism along with the movement of roaylty from dynasty to dynasty and king to king.

The Western Chalukya king Tailapa Deva II, who crushed the power of the Rashtrakutas and gained political ascendency of his dynasty once more, was the patron of the great Jaina Kannada poet Rann upon whom he conferred the title of Kavicakravarti for the composition of his eminent poem the Ajitapurana in 993 A.D. His successor Satya Śraya Irivs Bedenga (A.D. 997 to 1000) had for his spiritual guidance

a Jaina teacher named Vimala Candra Pandita Deva of the Dravida Sangha, and he built a monument in honour of a Jaina Saint. Jayasimha III Jagadekamallo (A.D. 1018 to 1042) was a patron of the Jaina logician and poet Vadiraja on whom he conferred the title Jagadekamallo. Someśvara I Trailokyamalla, according to inscriptional evidence, made a gift of land to Cenna Parsva basati at Kogali, originally built by king Durvinita of the Ganga dynasty, and in A.D. 1056 made a donation to the Jaina sage Indrakirti. It was during the regime that the Jaina Pandit Śridharacarya wrote the first work on Astrology in Kannada-Jatakatilaka in A.D. 1049. His son and successor Someśvara II gave to the Jaina priest Kulacandradeva the disciple Paramananda Saidhantiki, of the Mulasangha and Kranura Gana certain lands in Magnrkhanda for the Santinatha basati, according to an inscription dated A.D. 1075. Vikramaditya VI Tribhuvanamalla, at the request of his Commander in Chief Barmandeva, donated a village in A.D. 1077, to the Jaina Guru Ramasena, the disciple of Bahasena Urati, for the service of the Chalukya-Ganga-permanandi Jaina temple at Balligava probably it was he who, according to a Śravana Belgola Inscription of about A.D. 1100, bestowed upon the Jaina ascetic Vasavacandra, the distinguished title of Balasaraswati.

According to a tradition recorded in several stone inscriptions, the Ganga dynasty rose to power by the inspiration of a Jaina Sage Simhanandi. A similar tradition exists with regard to the prosperity of the Hoysala dynasty. Angadi, the ancient Soserur or Sasakapur, in the Kadur district, Mysore State, was famous for its ancient Jaina temples and other monuments the ruins of which still exist. This is also the birth place of the Hoysalas, and it was here that a Hoysala chief, while paying his donations to a Jaina Saint, in the forest nearby, killed at his bidding a tiger which suddenly appeared on the scene. The words of the sage were 'Poy Sala' (Strike, Sala!), and this gave the name *to the person as well as the dynasty Poysala or Hoysala, whose fortune then rose to* prominence. A number of stone and copper plate inscriptions belonging to the 12th and the 13th century are found to have recorded this event with varying degrees of details. The Paravanktha Basati inscription of Saka 1050 (A.D. 1128) at Śravana Belgola mentions the name of this Jaina celebrity as Santideva. His death is commemorated by a stone inscription of A.D. 1062 found at Angadi itself. Therein he is called the guru of king Vinayaditya Poysala. The kings of the Hoysala dynasty have throughout exhibited their unflinching loyalty and devotion to the Jaina faith in all their fortunes. The Sagarkatte stone inscription mentions spiritual descendants of Śanti muni, Nandy Vardhamandeva, as foremost in management of the affairs of the Hoysalas (Sri Vardhamanadevaru Hoysala Karaliyadalu Agraganayaru), and the reference is interpreted to apply to king Vinayaditya's time. Vinayaditya's gift of land to the Jaina Guru Abhayacandra is recorded in the stone inscription at Tolalu (Hāsan district) dated 1062 A.D. The Parsvanatha Basati inscription of 1062 A.D. at Mattavera in Chickmagalur taluka describes in detail how the Vinayaditya came to pay his devotions to the Baiudi on the hill and how he subsequently built the new basati in the village itself which he renamed as Raihalli. His son Ereyanga Tribhuvanamalla made grants for the repairs of the Jaina temples on Chandragiri at Śravana Belgola. His guru was Gopanandi who is said to have caused the Jina Dharma which had for a long time been at standstill, to attain the prosperity and fame of the time of the Ganga Kings" (Hale Belgola Stone

inscription of A.D. 1094). The next king Ballala I (1100 to 1106 A.D.) had Carrkirti Pandit deva the disciple of Śrutakirtideva, as his teacher who not only administered to his spiritual needs, but also cured his royal disciple of a severe illness. His successor Vishnu Vardhan the most celebrated and glorious of the Hoysalas, is said to have changed his faith under the influence of the Vaishnava teacher Ramanujacharya, but there is ample evidence to prove that he continued to be benevolent and generous towards Jainism all through his regime. Even as late as 1125 A.D. he paid his devotions to the Jaina Saint Śripala Traividyadeva, and built the Jaina abode at Calya, and made suitable grants for repairs of the Jaina temples as well as for the maintenance of Jaina Rais. (Bairadeva temple stone inscription at Calya). According to another stone inscription at Belur (A.D. 1129) he made a gift to the Malli Jinalaya. In 1133 he granted a village to the Parsvanath temple in the capital itself Dorasamudra, and to commemorate his recent victories he named the God as Vijaya Parśvanath and his own son as Vijaya Marasimha. (Parsvanath basati inscription of Basatihalli). Here we have a clear indication how Vishnuvardhan tried to hold the balance even between his loyalties to his ancestral faith and to the faith of his newly made choice. His queen Sautala devi continued to be a staunch devotee of Jainism all through her life and made several donations to the Jaina temples. Her spiritual guide was Prabhacandra Siddhantadeva, the disciple of Meghacandra Traividyadeva. She died by the Jaina form of renunciation called Sallekhana in A.D. 1131. Some of the most outstanding ministers and commanders to whom Vishnuvardhana owed his great victories and conquests were also staunch devotees of the Jaina faith. Amongst them was Gangraj who in his service of Jainism is compared to Chamundraya the author of the Bahubali collossal at Śravana Belgola. Gangraj belonged to the Kaundinya Gotra and was thus, probably, a descendant of Minister Bharat and his son Nanna who patronised the Apabhramsa poet Puspadanta in the time of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III. He as well as his wife Lakkale or Lakshmimati as well as his son Echiraja who also become a general, were the disciples of Subhacandradeva. They built several Jaina temples, repaired many more and generously endowed numerous Jaina institutions. Lady Laksmimati died in accordance with the rules of Jaina Sallekhana, and her noble husband commemorated her by a epitaph at Śravana Belgola. Other commanders of Vishnuvardhan who subscribed to the Jaina faith and served it properly were Boppa, Punisa, Maniyane and Bharateśvara whose devotion to Jaina teachers and acts of piety are recorded in several inscriptions at Śravana Belgola and elsewhere. Vishnuvardhan's successor Narasimha I paid a visit to Śravana Belgola and endowed the Chaturvimsate basati built by his illustrious general Hulla, by the grant of a village. (Bhandara Basati inscription of A.D. 1159). His son and successor Ballal II or Vira Ballal had for his spiritual teacher Śripaldeva a disciple of Vasupujyavrati. He not only confirmed the village grant made by his father but also granted some more villages and tolls for the service of the temple called Vira-Ballal Jinalaya after his own name in A.D. 1176. In his time the capital Darasamudra was further enriched by the erection of a fine Jaina temple called Nagara Jinalaya in 1192 A.D. About king Narasimha III it is recorded in A.D. 1254 that he paid a visit to the Vijaya Parśva basati, made an offering to the God, saw the former Sasana read therein the genealogy of his line and repaired an enclosure. He

had for his spiritual guide Maghanandi Siddhanta of the Balatkara gana and to him he made a grant of fourteen villages for the maintenance of Trikuta-ratnatraya-Santinatha Jinalaya. (Halebid inscription of A.D. 1265 and Nagar Jinalaya inscription of 1282). The Hoysala power was on its decline and Narasimha's authority was challenged by his own brother Ramanatha who ruled till 1297 from his capital Kannanur i.e. Vikramapur. However his loyalty to Jainism is proved by two inscriptions recording his gifts of gold to Cenna Parśva temple at Kogali. It will, thus, be seen that the kings personally professed Jainism, and by their active support and patronage Jaina temples and other institutions grew and benefitted immensely in the South.

It was not only these predominent royal houses that patronised Jainism, but the faith was adopted by several feudatory chiefs and small rulers in the land as well. For example, the Santaras who ruled over that part of Karnataka which roughly corresponds with the modern Tirtha-halli Taluka and its surrounding country, were the followers of Jainism from their very start. Their southern line was founded by Jinadatta who according to a record of 950 A.D., granted a village for the anointing of the Jina. Bhujabala Santara erected a Jaina temple in his capital Pombucca and granted to his guru Kanakanandideva, a village for its maintenance. His brother Nanni Santara is described in a record of A.D. 1097 as as a 'Worthe feet of Jina'. He as well as his wife and relative made pious endowments. In A.D. 1081 Nagularasa the minister of Vira Santara is described as 'a fortress to the Jaina Dharma'. Tribhuvana Santara laid the foundation stone of a Jaina Temple in the capital itself in 1103 A.D. Barmmadeva in A.D. 1115 is said to have been a disciple of Munisendra Siddhanta. The latter also reconstructed numerous Jaina temples and shrines and endowed them suitably with lands and tolls. In 1173 Vira Santara is described as 'a bee at the louts feet of Jina.' Later on however the Santaras adopted the creed of Vira Śaivism, and this affected the progress of Jainism in that region to some extent. During the 13th century the capital of the Santaras was shifted first to Kalasa and later to Karkala in Tuluva, where they inspite of their new faith, continued to be benevolent towards Jainism.

The Kangalvas, who ruled over north Coorg and the Arkalgud taluka in the south of the Hasan district of Mysore, and emerged into prominence during the 11th century were great patrons of Jainism. In 1058 A.D. it was recorded that Rajendra Kongaiva donated some lands to the Jaina temple constructed by his father. The devotions of his mother on this occasion are also described. Her guru was Gunasena Pandit, the disciple of Puspasena who belonged to the Arungalammaya of the Nandi Samgha. The fact of his being a great grammarian is also recorded. He died in A.D. 1064 (R.C. IX p. 173). Candavimukta Siddhantadeva of the Mula Samgha, Kranur Gana and Tagaril Gaccha, and Prabhacandra Siddhantadeva of the Desiya gana and Pustaka Gaccha, are also mentioned as the spiritual guides of the Kongalva rulers who constructed Jaina temples and made grants for their maintenance till the beginning of the 12th century. When their fortunes declined consequent upon the expulsion of the Colas by the Hoysalas from the land.

Similarly, the Cangalvas of the Canganad (roughly corresponding with the Hansur taluka in Mysore State) although Śaivite by profession were benevolent towards Jainism as is clearly proved by epigraphic records of A.D. 1091 and 1100 which make mention

of their construction of Jaina temples and donations for the same, particularly to some of the 'Sixty four basatis in the city of Hanasoge or Panasoge (in the Yedatore taluka of Mysore) reputed to have been built by Rama the son of Dasaratha.' Records, dated and undated and belonging to A.D. 1000 to 1300, of solitary rulers, and noble men in addition to those of persons of the merchant class and others, who built temples, installed images, performed worships and made endowments for perpetual service of divinity and piety, and who even ended their life by the renunciation of all worldly attachments and by observing fasts in strict accordance with the Jaina faith, are too numerous to be mentioned here. Jaina temples, shrines, images, tombs and epitaphs found streven all over the South, in some cases there no Jainas now exist for hundreds of miles surrounding them, amply testify to the fact that during this period the Jaina religion was extremely popular and it constituted a living faith of large classes of people, men and women from royalty to peasantry, inspiring them to deeds of piety and philanthropy during their life and affording them solace and hope in their death.

A large number of inscriptions found at Śravana Belgola, record geneological list of pontifical succession for several centuries and affordation insight into the organisations of monks and their activities. The Siddhant Basati pillar inscription of Saka 1320 (A.D. 1398) records the tradition that Arhadbali acquired brilliance by his two pupils Puspadanta and Bhutavali, and that he split the Mula Sangha Kundakundanaya into four branches namely Sena, Nandi, Deva and Simha in order to assuage the jealousies arising out of the nature of the age. The earliest mention of the Kulasamgha and Kundakundamraya met with in the copperplate grants of the fifth century. Records of the subsequent period show that Samgha, Gana, Gaccha, Balis and Sukhas of monks had grown into a very large number by A.D. 1000, and during the period of the next three centuries we meet with references in the epigraphical records, to the following orders Mulasangha, Nandi Sangha, Namilur sangha or Mayur sangha, Kitture Sangha, Kollature Sangha, Nandigana, Desigana, Dramilagana, Kanuragana, Pustaka or Saraswati Gaccha, Vakragachha, Tugrilagaccha, Nanditalagaccha, Ingulcbali and Pannuoge bali etc. We have already seen with sons of the pontifs of these branches of the Digambara Jaina accomplished in the South during this period. We shall now see how the pontifical succession was recorded in the North during the same period.

According to the Śvetambara Pattavalie, the thirty-sixth pontif (Acarya) Sarvadeva Suri wielded the leadership in the line of succession after Mahavira, at the beginning of the 11th century. A few events of his time are recorded in the Pattavallie with dates. Dhanpala Pandit composed the Desinama-mala in A.D. 972 and in the same year Dhanpala the author of Śobhana Stuti, died. Dharmaghosa Suri converted the chief Vimala in A.D. 1011, and in A.D. 1039 Shanti Suri Vedielala the Thirspadra Gaccha who composed a commentary on the uttaradhyayana attained here in A.D. 1030. Suryadeo was followed by Devesōri, Sarma Jayaver Suri and Yasobhadra Suri successively. Of the last it has been recorded that in case Shri Abhayadeva Suri the author of the commentaries on nine Angas sent to heaven in A.D. 1096, or, according to another account in 1062. Yasobhadra's successor was Muniosudra who lived on sour gruel (Sauvira) only, was the foremost logician and was the author composed

Anekanta Jaya-Pataka Upadeshapada Vritti and other works. He attained heaven in A.D. 1121. During his leadership the Punaraga Gaccha was founded by his colleaque Candraprabha Suri in A.D. 1100, and for their guidance Municandre wrote the Parshila-saptati. The next in succession was Ajitadeva Suri. His disciple Vadideva Suri is said to have held a disputation with the Digambara teacher Kumudcandra at the court of Jayasimhadeva in Anhilpattana and vanquished him, and as a result of this the Digambaras were prevented from entering the capital any more. This claim is denied by the Digambara seat. Whatsoever, may be the truth the record is an evidence of the journey which had unfortunately developed between the two sister communities. The spirit of the incident is also reflected in the record of a series of splits within the Śvetambara seat itself. The foundation of the Kharetara Gachha by Jina Vallabha the pupil of Jineśvara Suri of the Kundapura Gaccha unity took place at Citrakuta in A.D. 1169. Nine years later the Lucluka Mata was founded. The year A.D. 1109 now the emergency 'Sardha Parsva Niyakmata a branch of the Punemiya root mentioned above, and in A.D. 1195 Agamiyaka Mata came into existence. In A.D. 1165 Minister Bahadadeva is said to have carried out some reconstruction work.

The pontifical period of Ajitadeva is also remarkable for the life of Hemacandra Suri the pupil of Deva Suri. It has been recorded about Hemacandra that he was born on the 15th of Karttika in S.S. 1145 (A.D. 1000) received initiation at the age of five, became Suri at twenty-one and attained heaven in S.S. 1229 (A.D. 1100). In A.D. 1057 he composed the 'Hema-nama-mala' (otherwise called the Desinama-Mala), converted king Kumarapala and founded the Purnatala gachha. The claim that he was the author of three crores of books (Trikoti-grantha karta) is difficult to accept. There is however, no doubt, that no other author has enriched literature in Volume and variety to the extent that Hemacandra has done.

Ajitadeva Suri was succeeded by Vijaya Sinha Suri, who in his turn was succeeded by Somaprabha Suri and Hemratna S uri jointly. This period was marked by the birth of Vastupala and Tajepala (A.D. 1205), their pilgrimage to Giddhapala, and creation of the temple on mount Abu at an expense of eighteen crores of silver coins. The next pontif in succession was Jagatendra Suri. He was devoted to another penances in recognition of which the Nahada Banas conferred on him the title of 'Tapa'. It was thus that the sixth schim 'Tapa Gaccha' was founded in A.D. 1222. The next in succession was Devendra Suri. He was much honoured by minister Vastupala. During his preaching tours he visited Prahaladapura where he nominated Vidyananda Suri as his successor in A.D. 1266. At Siristambha Tirth, (Khambat—Cambay) he found that Shri Vijayacandra Suri had been following his own ascetic practices for the last twelve years without any reference to the pontifical head, when he did not even now care to welcome and pay homage. Devendra Suri, therefore stayed separately from him, and his party, therefore, came to be designated as 'Laghu Salika' as distinguished from the party of Vijayacandra Suri which was an older resident of the place and hence called Vriddha—Salika. Devendra is said to have toured for a long time in Malwa. He died in A.D. 1270. He was the author of 'Karma Grantha' 'Siradhadina-brtya-Vritti' and other works.

Devendra Suri's nominee Vidyananda Suri also died just thirteen days after his predecessor, and so Dharmaghosa Suri succeeded to the pontifical seat. He blessed the merchant Pethadadeva who became the chief minister of the ruler of Nandaka, and proved his loyalty to the faith by building eighty-four Jaina temples and causing 'seven compending of knowledge' (Sapta-Jnanakosa) to be produced. He also installed the Indra mala at Satrunjaya and took the vow of celibacy at the age of thirty-two. His only son Jhanjhana-deva installed gold and silver flagstaff at Śatrujnaya and Urjayanta and celebrated the event of his spiritual teacher's arrival at Mandapacala at an enormous expense. Dharmaghosa Suri is also credited with great magic power and some of his magic deeds are also recorded. He died in V.S. 1375 i.e. A.D. 1300, and with him our period of history also comes to a close.

Literature

The literary activity of the Jaina during this period was very intense and the works produced are too numerous to be reviewed here. Only a few authors and their writings could be noticed. The study of the Jaina Ardhamagadhi canon was carried a step further by Abhayadeva (1064 A.D.) who wrote commentaries on the nine Angas, and by Shanti Suri and Devendra Gani (11th century) who both wrote exhaustive commentaries on the important and popular canonical work the Uttaradhyayana. The literary productions of Hemacandra constitute a library by themselves. No branch of literature was ignored by him. His Trisaathi-salaka purusa-carita deals thoroughly with the lives of all the sixty-three heros of Jainism as was done about two centuries earlier by the Mahapurana of Jinasena and Gunabhadra. The work exhibit fully his genious in the field of narrative. His special contribution here is the Parisista parva (a supplement to the above) in which lives of Saints subsequent to Mahavira are described and is therefore of a great historical interest for us. His Pramana Mimansa, Yogasastra and twenty virastuties are a substantial contribution to Jaina logic and spiritualism. His Grammar deals exhaustively not only with Sanskrit, but also the Prakrit and most important of all, the Apabhramsa. His Divyasraya Mahakavya is a monument of poetic skill describing as it does the Chalukya princes of Anhillapura including his own patron Kura Kumarapala with all the emblishments and charms of classical poetry, and also, at the same time, illustrating, in a continuous order, the rulers of his Grammar, the first twenty cantos being in Sanskrit, and the last eight, also called Kumarapala Carita, in Prakrit. The Abhidhana Chintamani is not merely a reproduction of the earlier works, but it makes an effort to collect Sanskrit Vocabulary upto date; while his Dasinama-mala enlarges the efforts of Dhanapala in the field of Prakrit lexicon, and is an indispensable guide to all scholars of Prakrits. His Chandonusasan deals exhaustively with Prakrit and Apabhramśa metres as well, and his Kavyanusasana and Alamkara Cudamani are not without a touch of originality in the field of poetics. Even if there was nothing else produced, Hemacandra's literary contribution were enough for the glory of the Age. As it is, however, there was a rich harvest of literary game besides.

Narrative poetry was mainly directed during the period towards the lives of the Tirthankaras. Shantinatha Carita was written by Devasuri and Manikyacandra each. Neminathacarita by Suracarya as well as Haldhari Hemacandra, and Parsvanathacarita

by Vadiraja Bhanudeva and Manikyacandra. The Nemidatta by Vikrama, son of Sangama (12th century) is interesting as the last line of each verse is here taken from Kalidasa's Meghaduta, and is thus a good example of Samasyapurti Kavya. Kaladhari Devaprabha wrote the Pandava Purana (about 1200 A.D.) in eighteen sargas, more or less corresponding to the eighteen parvas of Mahabharata. He wrote his Neminirvana Kavya under Jayasimhadeva Chalukya, to whom he pays a tribute in his 'Alankara' where in one of the versas illustrating the figure of speech called Samkara, he says there are only three gems in the world, namely Anhilapura city, Jayasimhadeva king and his Srikalasa elephant. The Mrigavati Carita of Maladhari Devaprabha (13th century) includes interesting legends about Udayava, Vasvadatta and Devati reminiscent of Bhasis Namas. For short religious stories the Kathakosa of Jineswara pupil of Vardhamana (1092 A.D.) may be mentioned. As examples of literary activity in Malwa we might mention Sricandra pupil of Srinandi who under Bhoja-deva of Dhara (A.D. 1025-1030) wrote Puranasara and commentaries on Padmacarita of Ravisena and Mahapurana (Apabhramsa) of Puspadanta. Another poet of Malwa namely Asadhara deserves a special mention. He is the author of more than twenty works, his Smamrita and Anangaradharmamrita being the most famous and popular. He wandered from place to place due to fear of harassment by the Muslim rulers, and he makes mention of five kings of his time Vindhyavarma Subhat Varma, Arjuna Varma, Devapala and Jaibigideva from A.D. 1160 to 1240. He was reputed as Kalidasa on account of his poetic attainments, and even Hemacandra became famous as 'Kalikalāsarvajna'. Mahasena wrote his Pradyumna cariu under Sindhuraj who died about 1010 A.D.

Mention is made of his being honoured by Munja. Amitagati claims to have been honoured by Bhoja, Munja and Sinhul and by him we have a beautiful literary satire Dharmaparikha a fine collection of gnomic and moral poetry 'Shubhassite-ratna -sangraha, a compedium of Jaina philosophy called Pancasamgraha'. At the court of the Western Chalukya king Jayasimha flourished the great logicians poet Vadiraja from whom besides his Parasvanatha Carita (A.D. 1025) mentioned already, we have another narrative Yasodharacariu, two works on duties of householders Upasanacara, and a lyrical poem Ekibhava stories, and three other works Aradhana, Samayikapatha and Adhyatmiki on meditation and spiritual practices.

Vadibhasimha's Gadyaeintgamni and Ksatracudamani (11th century) are also important for the literary wealth of this period.

Of a very importance are the contribution of two writers of drama, one of whom flourished in the north and the other in the south. Ramacandra was a successor of Hemacandra in Gujrat (1110 to 1273 A.D.) and he has given us no less than eleven dramas namely Raghuvilasa, Mulavilasa, Yaduvilasa, Satya Hariscandra, Nirbhaya BhimāVyayam, Mallikamekaranda, Rarhavabhyudya, Rohini-mrganga, Vanmala natika, Kaumudi-mitrananda and Yadavabhyudaya. He is also the author of a collection of verses called 'Sudhā Kalasa'. He in collaboration with Sunscandra, also wrote Natyadarpana, a work on dramatics and 'Dravyalaskar' a work on Jain logic. The other dramatic genieus of the age was Hastimalla who is the author of four plays of considerable value from the poetic as well as technical points of view. They are Vikranta

Kaurava, Maithili Kalyana, Anjana-puranajaya and Subhadra. The Serayana and the Mahabharata have been here, as every where else the chief sourdeen of themes with an original colouring suitable to the faith and the genius of the writer. Hastimalla date is not precicely determined, and all that could be said with certainty that he wrote later than 900 and earlier than 1300 A.D.

A few works of epic poetry written during this period are also worth mentioning. Gunacandra Gani as well as Devendragani alias Vaniandra wrote Sumatinatha cariu and Lakshmanagani wrote Suparshcariu during the 10th century. The Surasundaricariam of Dhaneshar pupil of sincere is a demise on a theme outside the Salaka-pururab. All these Prakrit narratives are of the Prabandha type and derive their inspiration from the earliest available Prakrit epic Paumarian of Vimala Suri written during the early part of the era.

Poetry in Apabhramsa was cultivated during the sixth and seventh and reached celebrity during the eighth, ninth and tenth when Buddhist and Jaina Sidhas and saints produced moral and mystic poetry in Doha form in the north, while Svayambhu and Puspadanta wrote epic poetry of the mature classical style.

Hemacandra gave an impure to the language and poetry by his grammar which accords a very special treatment to Apabhransa. The Bhavisyata Khaha of Dhanpala, the Karakandacariu of Kanakamara, and Sanakumara cariu. Haribhadra pupil of Sricandra, written during the 12th century have been critically edited and published. Nayanandi mentions that he completed his Samatkumarcariu in V.S. 1100 (A.D. 1043) the king Bhojadeva who ruling at Dhara. Sridhar completed his Hasanahacariu in A.D 1139 at Delhi when the Tomara King Anangapala was ruling having crushed some Muslim invaders. The patron of the poet Sahu Natiala had extensive business dealings extending from Nepal to Kerala, and Saratha to Anga and Banga. Siddha and Simha wrote Pajjunna kaha in the Jodhapur State about 1150 A.D. Sridhara wrote Subumalacariu in Gujrat in 1151 A.D. Jakashamana (lakhu) wrote Jinadatacariu at Vilarampur in U.P. in A.D. 1218. While Damodara completed his Neminathacariu in A.D. 1260. Apabhramsa poetry has also found very full expression through short stories meant for religious propaganda. As has already been stated, Sricandra wrote his Kathakosa in Gujrat about the time of the Chalukya king Mularaja.

His other work Ratna-Karanda Sravakacara also containing short stories completed at Sripalapur in A.D. 1190, While Lakhana wrote his Anuvaya-reyana-paiu probably during the latter part of the 13th century.

Linguistically, this period was very important because the Apabhramsa slowly but surely were emerging in a new form and the modern Languages of northern India namely, Hindi, Gujrati, Marathi and Bengali were taking their shape. Evidence of this will be found in the Apabhransh pieces of this period collected in the "Atihasika Jaina Kavya Samgraha" and Pracina-Gujara Kavya Samgraha which may profitably be studied in comparison with the earliest known works in Hindi or Gujrati by students of Indian linguistics.

Historical Research in Berar

The chief materials of historical research in India consist of literary and historical writings, old tradition and archaeological remains such as stone, copper plate and image inscriptions, coins and architectural monuments. I shall briefly survey here these materials as they exist in Berar.

My acquaintance with the historical materials existing in Berar began in the year 1924 when I examined the Jain manuscript stores at Karanja in the Akola District, in connection with the preparation of the Provincial Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. During the course of my examination of about two thousand Mss. existing there, I came upon statements of some historical importance. The results of labours there are embodied in the Catalogue published by the Government, supplemented by some independent articles contributed to various journals. I shall recount here a few points of historical importance from them in order to illustrate what sort of historical information can be gleaned even from works mainly dealing with an entirely different subject. Before doing so, however, I just wish to draw the attention of the readers to a momentious discovery which the search of the Karanja Mss. has led to. Up till very recently it was a great problem to the philologist as to how the North Indian vernaculars such as Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, and others originated. There is a vast difference between the construction of these languages and that of their remote ancestors, namely, Sanskrit and Prakrits. A link was missing between the two. From certain passages in Sanskrit and Prakrit works it was known that there was in use, at one time, a language which represented the stage between the modern vernaculars and the classical Sanskrit and Prakrits. On the authority of certain Prakrit grammars this language was given the name of Apabhramsha, but no work written entirely in this language could be brought to light for a long time. When the famous German professor of the University of Bonn, Dr. Hermann Jacobi visited India in 1914, he made a diligeut search for such a work. Fortunately for him and for Indian Philology, he at least succeeded in finding out a work of that language from a Jain Ms. store in Ahemdabad. This was the Bhavisadattakaha of Dhanapala written entirely in Apabhramsha. The Professor copied it out for himself, and, shortly after his return to Germany he published this work in Roman characters with a long introduction and copious notes in German. The same work, from another Ms., was subsequently published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series

of Baroda. This work remained practically alone in the field till my announcement of the existence of several works of this language in the Karanja temple stores. I have dealt with this subject in some detail in a paper on "Apabhramsha Literature" published in the Allahabad University Studies Vol. 1. The discovery of these works opens a new and a very promising line of philological research and it redounds chiefly to the credit of Berar.

I shall now proceed to describe briefly a few historical data elicited from the aforesaid works. The *Mahapurana of Pushpadanta* Kavi is a voluminous work completed in 102 chapters. This work is one of the new finds. In it we find frequent mention of a king variously called Shubhatungadeva, Bhairavanarendra, Vallabharaya or Krishnaraya. This king is said to have vanquished and slain a Chola King, the poet profusely sings the praises of his patron Bharat and his son Nanna, both of whom were ministers of this king in succession. From these praises much can be made out about the good government of the king. A very important statement is made by the poet at the beginning of the 87th chapter of his epic. In one beautiful verse he says "The city of Manyakheta which was a treasure-house to the needy and the helpless, which was always richly populated, which abounded in flower-gardens, which was, in short, a rival in beauty to the city of the king of gods, that same Manyakheta, so dear to the cultured, has been consumed by the fire of the wrath of the king of Dhara; where shall now the poet Pushpadanta reside?"

In this verse we find the poet clearly alluding to some acts of vandalism wrought by some contemporary king of Dhara. This is no place for me to go into a detailed discussion of these important mentions of Pushpadanta : I have already dealt with it in one of my articles. Therein I have succeeded in identifying this king with the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III who was reigning about 940 A.D. at Manyakheta, the modern Malkheda in the Nizam's dominions, and of whose kingdom Berar formed a part. The assertion that he vanquished and slew a Chola king is found to be amply borne out by epigraphical records. By a careful examination of all the data furnished by the work I have also succeeded in establishing beyond doubt that the epic of Pushpadanta was completed on Sunday the 11th June 965 A.D. and that in the verse above referred to the poet has alluded to the invasion of king Shri Harsha of Dhara. In the colophon of a previously well known Prakrit work the date of the invasion of Shri Harsha is found to be stated as 972 A.D. If this date is taken to be correct, the event could not possibly be referred to in a work completed seven years earlier. In my article just referred to. I tried to explain this incongruity by certain conjectures. It is however, also likely that the invasion of Manyakheta by Harsha took place in 962 A.D. and not in 972 A.D. as hither to supposed. I hope to discuss this question in an independent article.

Another statement of historical importance is found in the Jwalamalini kalpa of Indranandi. In the colophon of this work it is said that the author completed the work at Manyakheta in Saka year 861 equivalent to 930 A.D. when Krishnaraja was reigning. Obviously, this king has to be identified with the same Rashtrakuta king Krishna III. The importance of the statement lies in the fact that it furnishes us with the earliest

date so far discoverd for this king. Uptil now the earliest record for him was of the Saka year 862 furnished by the Deoli plates.

A third MS. tells us that the work was composed by the poet Shrichandra at the request of a Jaina layman of the family of Sajjana who was the story-teller of king Mularaja of Anhilwada. History tells us that there have been two kings of the name of Mularaja in the Chalukya dynasty of Anhilwada in Gujrat one of whom reigned from 1176 to 1178 A.D. I have reason to believe that our poet flourished in the reign of this king Mularaja I. The fact that he had a Jaina story-teller by his side is significant in determining the religious views of the king. The MS. in question contains a collection of stories in Apabhramsha language. Some of its stories may turn out to be of historical importance.

Yet another work named Sudarshana-charita tells us in its concluding remarks that the work was completed by Nayanandi in Vikrama samvat 1100 equivalent to 1043 A.D., when king Bhojadeva of Dhara was reigning. Incidentally, it also refers to a great palace called "Tribhuvana Narayana Shriniketa" built by Bhoja. The mention of the data is important in as much as it gives us the latest date hitherto discovered for the famous king Bhoja. The dates discovered before this went upto 1042 A.D. only.

At the end of another MS. it is stated that the MS. was completed by the scribe in Vikrama samvat 1468 when Vikramadeva was reigning at Gopachala (Gwaliar). Another MS. refers itself to the time of king Paramardideva ruling at Vilaspur. Historical research is gradually bringing to light many of the forgotten ruling dynasties of ancient India and the discovery of such names of kings and capital towns with dates can not but be of a very great help in clearing up many obscure points.

It is not the ancient Hindu kings alone that have found mention in these records. References are also found of the Muhammadan kings. In the works of poet Ashadhara we find it recorded that when the forces of the Mlechchha king Sahabuddin Gauri infested the poet's native land Sapadalaksha (the country around Nagaur and Ajmer in Rajputana) he, the poet, being molested, migrated with his whole family to Dhara in Central India under the protection of king Vindhyavarma about 1193 A.D. History tells us that this was exactly the time when Sahabuddin Gauri captured Delhi and Ajmer in quick succession and returned to Gazni the same year leaving his deputy to guard his dominions behind him in India.

Now in the village of Mohker 42 miles south-west of Euldana, in the temple of Balaji, there is a broken Jain statue with a short inscription, dated Samvat 1272 (A.D. 1215) recording that the statue was dedicated by one Padmavati wife of Ashadhara. Both the name and the date incline me to identify this Ashadhara with our fugitive poet of the same name. In the poet's own works the name of his wife is found to be Saraswati which is only another name for Padmavati. On the strength of this identification it may be supposed that the poet also resided for some time within the boundaries of Berar and, probably, it was here that he wrote his Mularadhana darpana, a manuscript of which has, so far, been found only at Karanja and no where else. I have given these details only to show how important even the mere mention of a name and a date in such a brief record as an image inscription might be for historical identification and proof.

Yet another MS. record that the copy was made in samvat 1599 equivalent to 1542 A.D., when Shershah was reigning. The terms in which the scribe mentions the king are significant. He says "सुरत्राणपठ्ठानान्यत्र-स्वभुजार्जितक्षितिमण्डलाधीश पतिसाहि शेरसाहिराज्ये प्रवर्तमाने......"

i.e. the MS. was completed during the reign of king Shershah of the Suratrana or Sura branch of the Pathan dynasty, who became the supreme lord of the whole earth by the valour of his own arms. This is quite a true statement of historical facts that are already so well known to us.

From what I have said so far, it is sufficiently clear what kind of historical materials can be gathered from ancient Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. that otherwise deal with subjects entirely different from history. I must confess here that I have in no way exhausted the possibilities of historical research at the manuscript stores at Karanja. My examination of them was after all very brief as is evident from the fact that for pressure of time I had to dispose off no less than 2000 MSS. in the course of about three weeks. There are, moreover, large bundles of Kanarese MSS. on palm leaves which I had to ignore entirely for obvious reasons. New works are being discovered almost every day. Of late a work has been reported narrating, in Sanskrit, the life of the great Mugal Emperor Akbar with whom the author is said to have been contemporaneous. Possibilities of historical light from ancient literature are thus immense.

For the remote periods of Indian History folklore and literary tradition are the chief existing materials. The celebrated kingdom of Vidarbha, the ancient name of Berar, finds frequent mention in old Sanskrit works. In the Bhagvat Purana it is said that Vidarbha was so called from its being once ruled by a prince named Vidarbha, one of the sons of Rishabhadeva who was the first apostle of the Jainas and who, according to Hindu Puranas, was the fifth in descent from Svayambhu-Manu, Many other derivations of the name of Vidarbha or Berar are suggested, but it remains for future research to show which of them is really true.

There is a village named Kaundinyapur some 20 miles north of Amraoti which tradition identifies with the capital of the name of the ancient kings of the Bhojakata dynasty who had frequent matrimonial alliances with the Suryavanshi and Chandravanshi kings of the north, the Raghu dynasty of Ayodhya being amongst them. Many sites such as the Ambadevi temple of Amraoti and the Dadhi and Bhatkuli villages of Amraoti Taluka are yet pointed out as the scenes of the various incidents connected with the elopement of Rukmini, the princes of Kaundinyapur, by Krishna the celebrated Yadava king. The surrounding hills of Salbardi village on the border of Berar are spoken of as the scene of the resembles of Sita during her exile from Ayodhya by her adorable husband Rama. Many similar traditions will be found current in various localities. They are not to be at once accepted as true, but they can be dismissed at first hand neither. It must always be borne in mind that there is no fiction without a background. It is the business of a researcher to reach the stratum of truth by penetrating through the thick mass of mythology and fiction. This he can do by a careful collaboration and sifting of all possible evidences on the point.

So much for the remote history of ancient India. When we come to more historical times we stand on surer grounds. There is a passage in Kalidasa's Malavikagnimitra which says that when Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra was ruling over Vidisha (Bhilsa?) as his father's viceory, he espoused the cause of one Madhavasena who was imprisoned by his cousin Yajnasena, King of Vidarbha (Berar) and, after defeating the latter, divided the kingdom of Vidarbha between the two cousins, each ruling over one side of the river Varada (Wardha). Agnimitra is also said to have appointed a certain Virasena, who was a man of inferior caste, but a brother of the king's consort, to the command of frontier fortress on the bank of the Narmada.

There are some sites in Berar which possess monuments of the Buddhist period. Patur is one of such villages. This village is situated 20 miles south of Akola. It contains two rockcut Buddhist caves. It is said that there was a Sanskrit inscription cut on the rock above the caves. But that portion of the rock has peeled off and the inscription is unfortunately not now forthcoming. There are, however short inscriptions cut upon the pillars and architraves of the caves in very old letters. These have not yet been read, but they appear to be names of pilgrims who visited the sacred place from time to time in the past. As I have said above, even the mention of a name in an ancient record may sometimes be helpful in solving a knotty point of history. It is very desirable therefore, that these ancient inscriptions be deciphered. A diligent exploration of the site is sure to prove fruitful.

We have another Buddhist rockcut temple at Salbardi a village 40 miles north-east of Amraoti on the border of Berar. This is a monument of great interest and wonder as the whole temple with its pillars and architraves is cut out of a single piece of rock. It contains an image of Buddha with two persons on either side carrying a whisk. Under the pedestal there is the representation of a Buddhist Jataka story. Unfortunately, somebody has broken off the head of Buddha. The hall and the verandah in front of the sanctum are well carved. A few yards away there is another monastery on a somewhat grander scale, also cut out of a single solid rock. For some reason or other, however, this monastery was not completed. It seems to have been abandoned when it was almost complete. The reason of this is yet to be investigated. There are evidences to prove that at one time Berar was more or less wholly under the sway of Buddhism. It was here that Nagarjuna, the celebrated founder of the Madhyamika school of Buddhist philosophy was born. When the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited India in the 7th century A.D., he found a Buddhist king ruling in these parts from Bhandak in the Chanda district. The monuments described above seem to date from this period. The unfinished temple must have been under the chisel of the sculptor when, about this time, with the ascendance of the Rashtrakuta dynasty and the influence of Shankaracharya's crusade, Buddhism in this country had perhaps a precipitate fall. The traditions which have grown up in regard to these places show how keen the persecution was. It could not tolerate the reminiscence of Buddhistic names, Stories were invented appropriating all the places as residences of Rama or Shiva or their retainers. The two monasteries are now known as 'Ghode ki bayaga' and 'Ghode ki lid' meaning stables of Mahadeva's horses. The entrances which have become disintegrated are stated to have been eaten off by the horses for want of sufficient fodder.

Another monument of this place may also be mentioned here. At a small distance from the Buddhist temples are the dilapidations of a fortress within which stands a hall known as 'Babu khan ki kacheri.' When we visited the place I drew the attention of my companions to a figure of Ganesh carved on the gate of this hall, from which it was evident that the gate was appropriated from some medieval Hindu temple. The whole structure, infact, seems to have been built with material of such demolished temples, Babukhan is said to have been a famous dacoit of the Mugal times.

During the period quickly following the departure of Hiuen Tsang, Berar came under the rule of a dynasty of kings known as Vakatakas. A geneology of these kings is found in a copperplate inscription discovered at Chammak, a village four miles from Ellichpur, in the Amraoti district. The Vakatakas were succeeded by the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas successively. Two very important copperplate inscriptions of the Rashtrakutas have been discovered, though not within the present-day boundaries of Berar but still quite close to its present-day boundaries. One of these was discovered at Deoli, a village eleven miles from Wardha. It refers itself to the time of king Krishnaraya III. The geneology of the Rashtrakuta kings given in this inscription has solved many difficulties concerning this dynasty. The contents of this grant helped me much in identifying the king mentioned by Pushpadanta kavi in his Mahapurana, with this same Krishna III as said above. There are many other historical facts for which the grant under discussion is remarkable. It proves, beyond doubt, that the main branch of the Rashtrakuta family, namely that of Malkhed, sprang from the Satyaki line of the Yadava race and that it was known by the name of Tunga. Dantidurga, who is the first king in this record, is said to have established his sovereignty over the whole of Maharashtra extending from the Narmada in the north to the Tungabhadra in the south. His successor Krishna I excavated the famous temple of Kailash at Ellora. Nripa Tunga, the sixth king of this line founded the city of Manyakheta. His son Krishna II, also known as Akalavarsha, frightened the Gurjar, destroyed the pride of Lata and taught humility to the Gaudas, and his command was obeyed by the Anga, the Kalinga, the Ganga and the Magadha.

The other inscription is that of Krishna I, discovered at Bhandak in the Chanda District. In it are recorded names of some villages which were, uptil now, variously identified. Very recently, however, Mr. Dikshit on the data furnished by Mr. Y.K. Deshpande has found out their correct identifications. According to him the inscription, being a grant of a village by Krishnaraj, was, in fact, issued when the king was encamping in the Yeotmal district. Nandipuradvati of the inscription where king Krishnaraj had his encampment is identified with the modern Nandur. The position of this village also makes it very suitable for camping ground for which it is even now utilized. The scarcity of water in Berar, which must have made itself felt than as now, makes it incumbent upon armies to choose convenient sites on the banks of rivers. It was natural, therefore that Krishnaraja touring in the height of summar, the time recorded being the month of June, should encamp by the side of a perennial river such as the river Bembla flowing by the side of Nandur, is. The village Nagauapuri of the inscription is identified with the modern Gauapuri or Ganori. The revenues of this village were granted by Krishnaraja to a temple of Aditya or Sun God at

Udambaramanti which is identified with the modern Umraoti or Rani Umraoti. The prefix Rani was added to the name of this village some three centuries ago when it came into the possession of the Rana Rajputs from Udaipur the present descendants of which family, though converted to Muhammadanism, are still the Deshmukhs of the village. Incidentally, the mention of a temple of the Sun and of an endowment of a village to it by the sovereign ruler of the kingdom, in a record of the 7th century, shows the prevalence and popularity of Sun-worship during that period of Berar. This form of worship which was at one time very popular through out northern India, is now almost extinct here as elsewhere. We find no temples dedicated exclusively to Sun-worship now.

All the above mentions and identifications are significant in many ways and they invest Yeotmal with an importance hitherto unknown.

Of late, a discovery of 1800 silver coins is reported from Dhamori in Amraoti Taluka. The coins refer themselves to the time of the Rashtrakuta king Krishnaraja. On one side of these coins we have the bust representation of the king and on the reverse a short inscription which runs as follows:

परमाहेश्वरमहादित्यपादानुध्यात श्रीकृष्णराज

Even this brief inscription enables us to infer that the King was a Shaiva or the follower of Shiva and also a Sun-worshipper. The latter fact is corroborated by the grant of a village to the temple of the Sun-god as mentioned above.

There is a tradition with regard to the subversion of the native rule in Berar and the foundation of the Muhammadan rule. It is said that about the 11th century A.D. a Jaina king named Ila was reigning at Elichpur which he founded after his own name. On one occasion he maltreated a Musalman Fakir who called upon a prince of Ghazni, Shah Dalah Rahman for redress. The latter, abandoning his nuptials which he was then celebrating, immediately marched against Elichpur. A fierce contest took place between the two princes both of whom were slain in the battle. The Muhammadan forces ultimately triumphed and they established a Muhammadan rule in Berar for the first time. This tradition is found mentioned in the Persian work Tawarikhi-amzadi and it is supported by local tradition only. The point that the Jaina king Ila gave Elichpur its name is disputable. In old Sanskrit and Prakrit works this place is found mentioned under the name of Achalapura or Achchalapur. The famous grammarian Hemachandra has framed a particular rule of grammar to justify the change of Achalapur to Alachpur. In the Jaina image inscriptions of Muktagiri, a place of pilgrimage few miles from Elichpur, we find the place mentioned by its ancient name Achalpura. On the other hand there are fact which go to suggest that Ila and Shah Dulah Rahman were historical personages. Some temples of Muktagiri are reputed to have been built by king Ila and there are various mounments at Elichpur associated with the name of Shah Dulah Rahman. There is a Dargah of Shah Dulah Rahman containing his tomb and that of his mother. Unfortunately, there is no inscription on the tomb of either. Major Haig is of opinion that the shrine is probably a tomb erected to the memory of Shujatkhan, Dilawarkhan, Rustamkhan, and Bahadurkhan, generals of Firoz Shah Bahmani, who were slain in a battle at Kherla in 1400 A.D. There is also a gate called Dulah Rahman

Darwajah, and this has three inscriptions. But they are all of a much later date. One of them gives the name of the gate not as Dulah Rahman Darwaza, but as 'Dare Rahman' and states that it was constructed in the reign of Shah Alam in the Hijri year 1180 corresponding to 1766 A.D. The question of Shah Dulah Rahman and Ila's historicity, therefore, still remains controversial and calls for further research on the point. For this task there is ample scope at Ellichpur itself, which is full of antiquarian remains. It has, infact, been rightly said that the history of Ellichpur is the history of the whole province of Berar. More than 50 stone inscriptions have already been found out here. These, however, do not go far back in antiquity, the oldest of them being dated in Hijri 991 equivalent to A.D. 1583. Some of them are of very recent date and record either the date of somebody's death or the day on which the repairs of certain buildings were carried out. They are, never the less, all important in one way or another. We have seen the contents of one of the three inscriptions on Dulah Rahman Darwaza. The other two inscriptions record the names of the local administrators, namely Ismailkhan and his Naib or assistant Alafkhan and also the name of Asafedauran Nizamulmulk, the Imperial Governor of the Deccan. The two inscriptions of Adalpur Darwaza record the name of the gate as Babur Rahman, and state that it was constructed by Nawab Ismailkhan Pathan in A D. 1773, From similar other inscriptions we learn that Nagari Darwaza was constructed in A.D. 1768. Malipura gate in 1769, A.D. during the governorship of Nawab Nizamalikhan and the Hirapur gate in A.D. 1769. Similarly, from the inscriptions in Masjids we learn that the Jami Masjid was repaired by Alimardankhan in A.D. 1696 during the reign of Aurangzeb, the Chank Masjid was built by a Turanian Mirza beg khan in A.D. 1708 and that Gulam Husain's Masjid and Monastery were constructed in A.D. 1764.

Of the twenty three known inscriptions on tombs, the most important is that of Nawab Ismail khan who figured so often in the construction of the Ellichpur city gates. He died in A.D. 1775. He was an Afghan of Sulemanzai tribe and a Mahadavi. He was the local administrator of Ellichpur and his ancestors and descendants occupied important posts under the Nizam.

A number of inscribed tombs belong of Namdar's family being the most important family of Ellichpur. Some inscriptions are mere quotations from Kuran without the names of individuals whom they were intended to commemorate. Most of these records are in Persian and a few of them in Urdu.

One of the gates of the enclosure round the shrine of Shah Dulah Rahman was built by Maharaja Raghoji Bhonsla as is evident from an inscription on it dated A.D. 1781. The southern gate of the same enclosure was built by his brother Mudhoji in the same year as a thanks-giving for victory over his brother Raghuji Two other inscriptions on a smaller gate record the date of the construction of a mausoleum and a pillar by Mudhoji as a thanks giving for the fulfilment of his desires in A. D. 1776. Whatever may have been the purpose behind these pious deeds on the part of the orthodox Mahratta kings, they could not have failed to secure for their authors the best sympathies of their Muhammadan subjects.

The next place of importance in Amraoti district is the Gawilgarha fort near Chikalda and 60 miles from Amraoti. This place was formerly the fortress capital of

Berar. There are three inscriptions, the oldest being that of Fatah-ullah-Imad-ul-mulk, the first independent king of Berar. It is on the southwestern gate of the fort known as Pir Fatah Darwaza and is much weather-beaten and fragmentary. It records that Fatah-ullah Imadul-mulk repaired the Jami Masjid in the reign of Shahabuddin Muhammadshah Bahmani. The date given is 1488 A.D, We know from other sources that only two years after this date Fatahullah proclaimed his independence. According to Ferishta the Gawilgarha fort was built by Ahmad Shah Bahmani I in A.D. 1425. But no older inscriptions than the one we have just noticed have so far come to light.

On the bastion known as Burji Bahram, in the south-western face of the fort their is a grandeloquent record which runs as follows:-

> *"In Gawilgarh Bahram built a bastion.*
> *The like of which the eye of time has never seen;*
> *He carried it to such a height*
> *That the planet Saturn takes his ease in its shelter"*

Bahram appears to have been the Kiledar of Gawilgadh under Murtiza Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. The above mentioned record bears the date 1577 A.D. At this time it seems Murtiza Nizam Shah was apprehending that Akbar would march on Berar and this was probably the reason for spending money on the defence of Gawilgadh. On one of the battlements of the outer fort there is a long Sanskrit inscription in 22 lines each about 5 ft. long. The stone is rough and the engraving not very deep; hence it is difficult to read it. It, however, seems to record the birth of a child in the house of Burhan Imad Shah in the year 1557 A.D. The details of the date alone occupy 5 or 6 lines.

In the district of Akola, I have already mentioned Karanja as the possessor of two very important and ancient MS, stores. The town is also rich in ancient monumental buildings. The walls of the ancient citadel are now broken for the most part, but the gates are still preserved. One gate bears an inscription. There is an ancient and big tank known as Rishitalab or the tank of the sage. According to local tradition a sage named Karanja lived there and he gave the place the name that it now bears. When I was at Karanja examining the MS. stores I was told that there is in possession of an inhabitant of the place a Sanskrit work named Karanja-Mahatmya or panegyric of Karanja. I tried to get this work for perusal but I could not. It might contain something about the antiquity of the place. There are many ancient Hindu and Jaina temples at Karanja. The temples of Kamakshi devi, Ekakshi devi, Kholesvara Mahadeva are ancient and are reputed to have been built by Lord Ramchandra himself. It is probable however that they were really constructed by the Yadava king Ramchandra of Deogiri who was vanquished by Alauddin Tuglak in A.D. 1294. The temples of Siddhesvara Mahadeva, Kesavaraja and Balaji were constructed by an officer of the Nizam. There is a mosque which is said to have been built during the time of Aurangzeb with materials got from the demolition of an old Hemad Panthi Hindu temple. The most important Jaina temples are three and they are the seats of Pontifs of three different branches of the Digambara Jaina community. There are many things of architectural interest in these temples and the inscriptions on images that they contain are also important.

Akola itself has many inscriptions on slabs let into the walls of the town, and the citadel. They are in some cases at such a height from the ground that they can not be reached by the ordinary ladders. Many of these are weather-beaten and undecipherable. The Dahibhanda gate of the town bears the following inscriptions: In the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir the Ghazi, the Nawab Asadkhan, prime minister being Jagirdar and Khwaja Abdul Latif being manager of the Jagir, in the 46th year of his reign, corresponding to Hizri 1114 (or A.D. 1702) Asadgadh the fort of Asad was completed." Other inscriptions record the building of the different bastions and gates of the citadel under various emperors.

Forty miles from Akola is the fort of Narnala which was formerly almost equal to Gawilgadh in importance. According to Firishta, the Mughal chronicler, Narnala fort was repaired when Gawilgadh was built in 1425 A.D. by Aḥmad Shah Vali Bahmani. There are four inscriptions, all in Persian characters, two of which are cut over the beautiful Mahakali gate, one on a gun known as the Naugazi top or nine-yard-gun, and the fourth on a slab let into a wall of the small masjid inside the fort. It is said that there was formerly an inscription in the Jami masjid also recording the fact that it was built by Mahabatkhan in A.D. 1500 but the mosque is now in ruins and the inscription seems to be hopelessly lost. The upper inscription of the Mahakali gate opens with the date 1487 and the names of four successors of Muhammad, from which it becomes clear that the builder of the gate was a Sunni. The words of "on the date of the victory" at the beginning of the inscriptions probably refer to the slaughter of the Turki Amirs and troops at Bidar at the insligation of Nizam-ul-mulk Bahri, carried out under the orders of Falahullah Imadul-mulk. The second inscription records the genealogy of Bahmani kings from Muhammad Shah to Mahmud Shah. Major Haig has examined this genealogy and declared it to be inaccurate in some points. The gun inscription states that it was cast when the Dakkhnis or Southerners ruled and that Altubaig, the slave of the Imperial Court, having arrived at Narnala in A.D. 1680 mounted it on the knoll which nobody did before, although the gun had been captured 150 years ago. It is evident that Altubaig was proud of his achievement, The gun, according to the inscriptions, was captured in A.D. 1534. This cannot have been the date of its capture by the Mughals, for Akbar who was the first of that dynasty to invade Berar did not ascend the throne till 1556 A.D.

Other places in Akola district, where inscriptions of historical importance exist are as follows-

The village Patur, in addition to the ancient Buddhist caves which I have already referred to, has an inscription carved on a slab at the shrine of Sheikh Babu recording that the building was erected in A.D. 1606, in the time of Khan-i-Khana the son of Bairam Khan. In the interior of the shrine the chronogram gives the date of death as A.D. 1388.

At Balapur 16 miles from Akola there is an inscription over the principal gateway of the outer fort. It is not easily accessible and has become much weather-beaten. It is said to record that the fort was completed in A.D. 1757 by Ismail Khan, the first Nawab of Ellichpur under the Nizams. Another inscription at the Rauza masjid of the same

village records that the mosque was built in 1737 A.D. by Mirza Amas Sher Baig as a memorial to his father.

At Barsi Takli, 12 miles from Akola there is a long Sanskrit inscription which is very much damaged. It is dated in A.D. 1176 which is the date of the building of the Bhavani temple in which the inscription exists. It mentions many names of the Yadava kings of Devagiri and also records some historical events of their times. It probably gives a geneology of a collateral branch of the Yadava family which had Takli, called in the inscriptions Tekli, as their capital. This inscription deserves to be more carefully examined and studied.

At Panch gawan, about 40 miles from Akola there exists a number of tombs with Persian inscriptions. One of these is that of a saint Mir Muhammad Yusuf Neknam. He and his four sons were military officers. The inscription over his tomb records that during the reign of Jahangir, Neknam and his relatives had fought with the rebels in the Deccan. He himself fell in a battle in A.D. 1616, as did his son Mir Muhammad Husain who was a Fouzdar and Kiledar in the service of the Mughal Emperors.

At Akota 28 miles north of Akola there are two Persian inscriptions, one on the Jami Masjid and the other on Mir Nazar Khusro's Mausoleum. The former recites that during the reign of Alamgir (Aurangzeb) who surpassed the ocean in generosity, one Muhammad Ashraf destroyed a temple and built a mosque in its place in A.D. 1667. In the local Hindu temple there is an inscription which is illegible.

In the Buldana district, at Amarpur, there is a Sanskrit inscription in the temple of Bhavani which refers itself to the reign of Shrimat Pratap Chakravarti Simhanadeva. The date of the record is 1211 A. D. from other epigraphical records found in the Nizam's dominions we know that Simhana was one of the most powerful Yadava sovereigns of Deogiri. Some 50 records of this king are known which state that he defeated Jallaldeva, Ballala the Hoysala king and Bhoja of Kolhapur whose kingdom he annexed and that he humbled the sovereign of Malwa and won other victories.

Inscriptions are also known to exist at Malkapur, Rohankheda Shekarkhelda or Fateh Khelda, Mehkar, Satgaon, Lonar, and Tarapur in the Buldana district. Sirour and Pinjor in the Akola district, Amner and Dhanora in the Amraoti district, and Satephal and Wnn in the Yeotmal district.

Here I must bring to a close my brief survey of the many old materials useful for historical research in Berar. I have given many dates and facts in the hope that they will give some idea of the nature of information that may be gathered from these sources. Indian History is being constantly recasted in the light of new data discovered almost every day. Berar, as I have already pointed out, is a province of time-honoured antiquity and it has produced from time to time supreme rulers, valiant warriors and poets of wide and everlasting fame. It is natural, therefore, that it should possess vast materials of historical research. Unfortunately, a deligent search has not yet been made in this direction. The attention of the Archaeological department has not yet been drawn towards the many ancient sites of this province where exploration and excavation is bound to be fruitful. I know not how you will receive it if I suggest that with the assistance of the interested public, an Archaeological committee be formed to draw

out a plan for research on the lines at present imperfectly indicated here. We can be sure of the help of the Archaeological department in this matter, once the work is launched on definite lines. It is a pity that our own University, along with some other Universities of our country, has not yet been able to institute a chair for Ancient Indian History. This accounts, to a great extent, for want of interest and zeal in the young students for historical research. Folklore literary tradition, contemporary literature, ancient monuments and all the various kinds of inscriptions are fertile sources of history. Only they call for patient study, diligent sifting and impartial judgemen. Much can be done by carrying a camera and the necessary materials of taking the hand rubbing of inscriptions when one goes about on tours and trips for faithfully recording whatever one sees of historical interests to be studied at leisure.*

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* A paper read before the King Edward College Historical Society.

Prefabricated Houses in Ancient India

We all know how acute the housing problem has become these days. Neither government nor private agencies and individuals are able to cope with the demand for houses. It is under these conditions that our Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru announced the other day that the Government was planning to establish a factory for prefabricated houses to solve the problem. In this context, it would be interesting to note that factories for prefabricated houses existed in India more than two thousand years earlier. Very clear evidence on this point is furnished by the Jataka Stories in Pali Literature which are proved to have been written prior to the second century B.C. I would reproduce here a pertinent portion from Jataka No. 156 called AlnaCitta-Jataka:-

'अतीते बाराणसियं ब्रह्मदत्ते रज्जं कारेंते बाराणसितो अविदूरे वड्ढकिगामो अहोसि। तत्थ पंचसता वड्ढकी वसन्ति। ते नावाय उपरिसोतं गन्त्वा अरञ्जे गेहसम्भारदारूनि कोहेत्या तत्थेव एकभूमिक-द्विभूमिकाभेदे गेहे सज्जेत्वा थम्भतो पट्वाय सव्वदारुसु सञ्जं कत्वा नदीतीरं नेत्वा नावं आरोपेत्वा अनुसोतेन नगरं आगन्त्वा ये यादिसानि गेहानि आकंखन्ति तेसं तादिसानि कत्वा कहापणे गहेत्वा पुन तत्थेव गन्त्वा गेहसम्भारे आहरन्ति।'

This may be literally translated as follows:-

In the past when King Brahmadatta was ruling at Banaras, there was a colony of carpenters not far irom Banaras. Five hundred carpenters used to live there. They used to go up the river by boat, cut timber in the forest, suitable for building houses, prepare varieties of houses of single storey, double storey etc. put a distinguishing mark on every piece and part from pillar to all the rest, take them to the river bank, load them on boats, bring them down the river to the city, set up houses according to the requirements of different people for cash, and then return to the forest to bring again the house-building materials."

The story goes on to say that the carpenters trained up and elephant who used to help them in their operations by fetching their tools and logs of wood, by holding and turning the logs when they worked on them, and by holding the thread when they were sizing the logs. At meal-time each carpenter gave the elephant one lump of food, and in this way the elephant got 500 lumps.

From this account the following facts can easily be established:-

1. There used to be large settlement of carpenters close to big cities and towns.

2. They used to go to some nearby timber forest and fabricate complete wooden houses of different varieties, single-storey or double storey or higher still. Then every piece and part was carefully marked by a distinguishing sign. The carpenters used to work in close cooperation securing all the advantages of a factory and avoiding its bad features such as too much division of labour and loss of freedom, zeal and initiative.
3. These prefabricated wooden houses were then brought to the towns and cities. River boats were used for the transport.
4. The houses were finally set up by them in the city according to individual requirements for a stipulated amount of money. The legal tender mentioned is Kahapana (SK. Karsāpana.)

It may be argued that in this way the question of wood-work may have been solved. But what about the walls etc. Which require brick or stone work? It may, in this connection, be recalled that in those days dwelling houses were built entirely of wood. On this point I may quote here from the Imperial Gazetteer of India Vol. II on Indian Architecture, where James burgess says:-

"It is generally conceded that in the early architecture of India, as in that of Burma, China and Japan, wood was solely or chiefly employed; and, if brick or stone were in use, it was only as a building material for foundations and for engineering purposes. Even as later as the end of the fourth century B.C. we find Megasthenes stating that Pataliputra, the capital of Chandragupta, was "surrounded by a wooden wall pierced with loopholes for the discharge of arrows;' and if the capital were defended by such palisading, we may fairly infer that the architecture of the time was wholly wooden. And, for all religious and private structures in a tropical climate, wood has marked advantages over stone. On the Sanchi gateways, brick walls are represented, apparently, however, as fences or limits with serrated copings, but not in architectural structures. And at whatever date stone came to be introduced, the Hindus continued and repeated the forms they had employed in the earlier material, and preserved their own style so that it wore witness to the antecedent general use of wood."

This style of houses entirely made of wood has survived even to the present day in Burma, China and Japan. But in India it has long been replaced by brick and stone style, obviously, owing to the perishable nature of the former material and the ease with which the stronger material were available. In these days, however, of growing stringency of cement, brick and steel, could we not revive the prefabricated wooden house system, particularly when, on good authority, *"for all religious and private structures in a tropical climate, wood has marked advantages over stone."*

Section - III

Language and Literature

Paiśācī Traits in the Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions

The discovery of a very large number of inscriptions from the arid sands of Chinese Turkistan by Sir Aurel Stein early in the twentieth century was an event of first rate importance in the field of epigraphy. No less than seven hundred and sixty-four of these ancient documents have since been edited by Messrs. Boyer, Rapson and Senart, and published in one volume.[1] They have since received very close attention of some scholars and valuable information bearing upon the ancient history of the land has been brought to light. What has particularly interested the scholars is the language of those documents, and a series of articles has appeared on the subject.[2] The language has been dealt with more or less thoroughly by T. Burrow in his book, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkistan*.[3] The position that emerges from these treatments is that "The language of those documents was used for official purposes in the Shan-Shan kingdom. Its original home was North-West India, probably in the region of Peshawar. It agrees closely with the post-Aśokan Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from North-West-India, and slightly less closely with the Prākrit version of the *Dhammapada*. Further, it exhibits sufficient characteristics in common with the modern Dardic languages to be assigned definitely to that group. Among the Dardic languages it would seem to be most closely allied to Ṭorwali. At the same time it differs from all other varieties of Prākrit preserved in the degree to which its inflectional system has decayed and altered."[4]

In spite of the fact that the language shows a large number of foreign loan words, one can easily discern that the language of the documents is a variety of Prākrit. Now the question that engages our attention is whether we can locate the position of the language in the scheme of Prākrits as treated by ancient Prākrit grammarians. The habitat of the language as well as its obvious affinities with the Dardic languages suggests to a Prākritist the name of *Paiśācī*. Let us see how far the language confirms to the *Paiśācī* peculiarities. After making a very thorough survey of all that has been stated by Prākrit grammarians about *Paiśācī*, Dr. A.N. Upadhye summarised the *Paiśācī* tendencies as follows[5]:

"*Paiśācī* tendencies such as the hardening of the mutes, preference to dental nasal *n* and sibilant *s*, simplification of the conjuncts like *sn*, *st* etc., by anaptyxis, assimilating

jn, ny and *ṇy* in one and the same way, using *tūna* as the absolute termination and recording special words like *hitapaka*, noted by *Vararuci*, are, so to say, the bed-rock of *Paiśācī* dialect. These points are almost common with all the latter grammarians that have described *Paiśācī*, though some of them have handled the details in their own way."

Let us now see how far these tendencies are noticeable in the language of the Kharoṣṭhi documents. The strongest and the most distinguishing morphological feature of *Paiśāci* is that the third and fourth letters of a class are changed to the first and second respectively. Some grammarians make this rule universal,[6] others optional,[7] some confine it to intervocalic consonants only,[8] while yet others insist upon only the change of *d* to *t*.[9] In the language of the inscriptions we find the use of t in place of *d* as *a* well established usage, e.g., *yati (yadi), tivira (divira), vitita (vidita), taṃḍa (daṇḍa), tivya (divya), bhatra (bhadra), vivata (vivāda), Śarata (śarada), tura (dūra)*. Words like *yadi, tade (tadā), anada (anyadā)*, etc., are also found, and this might be taken to mean that the rule of option prevails here. An observation of T. Burrow[10] may, however, be noticed here. He says, "The natives of Shan-Shan pronounced everywhere *t* for both *d* and *t*. Further, the traditional system of writing was probably archaic, so that, for example, *dita* was written for what was pronounced *dida* by proper speakers of Prākrit and *tita* by the natives of Shan-Shan. As a result, we find *t* and *d* used indiscriminately for intervocalic *t* and *d*." He goes further and shows that the general native tendency to pronounce *d* etc., as *t* etc., gave rise to a confusion in writing *d* and *t* and as a result we find many cases of *d* being writing for *t*, e.g., *dumahu (tumahu), dena (tena), danu (tanu), daḍita (taḍita)' jinida (cinita), jorida (corita)* etc. These observations show clearly that hardening of the mutes was the rule with the people in their speech, but being conscious of the original letters they tried to bring them in, sometimes, in their writings, and this led to a confusion. The following examples of the hardening of the mutes are also noteworthy--*vithana (vidhāna), kilana (glāna), yokachema (yogakṣema), canma (janma), canati (janayati), saracidati (sṛjati), Pali*[11] *(bali), poka (bhoga), aphinaňu (abhijnaňa)*, etc.

The replacement of *ṇ* by *n* is another strong trait of *Paiśācī*. This is found to be invariably observed in the documents e.g., *śramana (śramaṇa), pramana (pramāṇa), guna (guṇa), kalyana (kalyāṇa), ganana (gaṇana), ginanae (grahaṇāya), suvarna (suvarṇa)* etc. In fact the existence of the linguial nasal in the documents has been thought to be doubtful and it is certain that this letter is not to be found in most of them. But this does not mean that there was no sign for *ṇ* in the script used, for, in the Buddhist records included in those inscriptions we find *ṇ* used at its proper place. It only means that popularly it was pronounced as *n*.

The third strong characteristic of *Paiśacī* is the replacement of *jn* and *nya* by *ň*. This tendency is also found in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, e.g. *viňati (vijnāpayati), sarvanaďartha (sarvajnātārtha), aṃňa (anya), puṃňa (puṇya)* etc.

According to Vararuci,[12] where Sauraseni substitutes *jja* in place of Sanskrit *ry*, *Paiśācī* substitutes *cc*. In the inscriptions we find a single *c* in such places, in accordance with the usual practice to avoid conjuncts, e.g., *kica (kijja-kṛtya), vyāvuca (vāvujja-*vyāvṛtya). Other morphological features of *Paiśāci* as mentioned by Vararuci and

Hemachandra are the use of *sana* in place of Sanskrit *sna*, of *ria* in place of *rya* and *ḷ* in place of *l*. Examples of these with slight modifications are found in the inscriptions, e.g., *ssāna (snāna), ssāpaka (snāpaka), ssātra (snātra), ari (ārya), kiḷa*[13] *(kila), gośaḷammil*[13] *(gośālāyām)*. Unlike any other *Prākrit Paiśācī* is said to retain the conjugational ti of the present tense. This we find as quite normal in the inscriptions e.g., *bhoti, bhonti, nasati, gachati, labhati, ramati, deti, śruyati, garahati*, etc. According to Nami-sādhu, intervocalic consonants are not dropped in *Paiśāci* as is done in all other Prākrits. This is fully confirmed by the *Kharoṣṭhī* inscriptions throughout. A few special net equivalents of *Paiśāci* are also found here, like *pisala* for *viśāla, ahuno* (*ahuṇi or ahuṇā* of grammarians) for *adhunā, tumahu* of *tume* for *tvam*, etc.

It will be seen from the above that most of the exclusive peculiarities of *Paiśāci* are traceable in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Chinese Turkistan. It is already agreed to by all the scholars who have devoted any attention to the language that it is a variety of Prākrit. If we now have to assign to the language a place amongst the varieties of Prākrit known to ancient grammarians, we can, in the light of the analysis set forth above, call in *Paiśācī* or a form of *Paiśācī* Prākrit. This conclusion throws some fresh light on the question of the original home of *Paiśāci*. Grierson[14] has strongly propounded the view that it was the North-Western parts of India where *paiśācī* Prākrit arose and flourished. Besides the close affinities between the Dardic languages of the North-West and the *Paiśācī* of the grammarians, there are the north-western versions of the Aśokan inscriptions[15] as well as many other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions[16] showing similar affinities. The inscriptions under discussion now lend strong support to the same view. Again, *Paiśācī* is said to have been the language of the *Piśācas*[17] and *Bhūtas*[18] who are now no longer held as merely unholy spirits and hobgoblins of the latterday literature, but men of flesh and blood belonging to the North-Western border tirbes.[19] The name *Piśāca* is still preserved in the modern language of that area called Paśto. Piśāt is still the name of a town situated in an area called Pasai Dir. "The name *Pasai*" according to Sir Aurel Stein,[20] "clearly refers to the kafirs among whom this tribal designation exists to this day". The habitat of the *Bhūtas* can similarly be located in the North-West area. Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataraṃginī* speaks of King Lalitāditya conquering in the north of Kashmir, first the Kambojas and Tukhāras, and then the *Bhauṭṭas*. Along with the Daradas and Mlecchas the Bhauṭṭas are again said to have invaded and harassed Kashmir in the time of Nagayin. Since Kalhaṇa describes them as naturally place-faced[21] so that their expression of anxiety was not discernable, it is obvious that he takes them to belong to the Mongolian stock.

In the Palai valley close to the southern foot of the Shahkot pass leading into the Swat, there is *Butān (Bhūtasthāna)* a large important Buddhist site. It was, according to Sir Aurel Stein, the scene where Sudāna (Vasantarāja) and his wife took refuge.[22] This area appears to have been one of the strongholds of the *Bhūtas or Bhauṭṭas*, and they must have been closely associated with the *Piśācas* ethnologically as well as by location. These were the people, then, who spoke the *Paiśāci* which, thus comes into line with other region where it prevailed. One old grammarian had already asserted that the *Paiśācī* language belonged to the *Pisāca country*.[23]

Hemacandra and other grammarians after him have mentioned and described a special variety of Paiśāci, which they call *Cūlikā Paiśācī*. None of the old grammarians, however, have explained what they mean by the word *Cūlikā*. But it was usually taken to mean *Cūllikā (Sk. Kṣudrikā)*, i.e., a minor variety of *Paiśāci*. Pargitar[24] first tried to connect it with people called *Cūlikā*. Later, Dṛ Bagchi[25] brought to light the Paurāṇic mentions of the name which appeared variously as *Culika, Cūlika, Cuḍika, Śulika, Sūlika* and *Jhallika*, along with Tukhāra, Yavana, Pahlava, Cīna and others. He further discovered that in a Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary[26] of the eighth century the word *Suri (Suli)* was explained as 'Hon' meaning 'barbarians', and applied by the Chinese only to the Sogdians of that period. On the strength of this and in view of the phonetic changes in the middle Indo-Aryan, Dr. Bagchi advanced the view that the "*Cūlikā-Paiśācī* may be considered to have been a variety of North-Western Prākrit spoken by the sogdians".

There is, however, another equation, perhaps slightly better than the above, possible, *Su-lig* is a well-known ancient designation of Kashgar,[27] and it occurs in the Tibetan accounts of Khotan.[28] The Tibetan documents in which the name occurs is a letter from a person named Bzu-ru, and speaks of going from *Su-lig or Sulig* (Kashgar) and arriving at Hute (Khotan). It is probably in this very sense that the word occurs in the Kharoṣṭhī document No. 661. It appears to me that it is this *Sulig* which reappears as *Śūlika* or *Culika* in our Purāṇas as well as in the name *Cūlika Paiśācī*. The two peculiarities of this language, as noticed by Hemacandra, were that in it the third and fourth letters of a class are changed to the first, and *r* is optionally changed to *l*. These rules are illustrated by the history of the name of one of the most important towns in that area. What Hsuan Tsang mentions as *Na-fu-po* and Marcopolo as *Lop*, and later by Tibetan influence came to be known as *Nob*, was the ancient town of *Kro-raimna*, probably the capital of *Caḍota*.[29] This name subsequently got changed into Loulan. Judging about the merits of the names *Lop* and *Nob*, Sir Aurel very modestly remarks "As I am neither a Sinologist nor a Tibetan scholar, I must hesitate to express any opinion as to whether the initial '*l*' of the mediaeval and modern name or the initial '*n*' of its Chinese and Tibetan representative indicates more correctly the original local pronounciation. But I may at least point out that whereas the change of initial Sanskrit and Prākrit *l* into *n* is common in a number of modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars, the opposite conversion of initial *n* into *l* is familiar to me in at least one dialectic pronounciation of the Chinese Mandarin language."

What, however, interests us here in particular is the interchange of *b* and *p* in the names *Nob* and *Lop*, and that of *r* and *l* in *Kro-raimna* and *lou-lan*. They illustrate fully the only two special rules of *Cūlikā Paiśācī*, namely, the substitution of the first consonat in place of the third, and the optional substitution of *l* in place or *r*. The latter tendency is also noticeable in such words from the inscriptions as *paraṃpulammi* and *kilme* which, in spite of the obscure explanations given by Thomas and Burrow,[31] are obviously equivalent to *Paramapure* and *grāma*. An example of even the fourth letter being changed to the first is *poka* which occurs for *bhoga*.

The name of the kingdom Loulan is said to have changed into ShanShan, according to Li-tao Yuan, in the year 77B.C. When the king of Loulan was caused to be murdered by the Han and a puppet king set up in his place.

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6. Caṇḍa: *Prākrit-Lakṣaṇa*, III. 39.
7. Puruṣottama : *Prakritānuśāsana.*
8. Vararuci : *Prākrit-Prakāśa*, X.3.
9. Nami-Sādhu : *Kāvyālaṃkāra-ṭīkā.*
10. *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents*, pp. 7-8.
11. "*L* was softened before *i* in the native language into what has been printed *lp'*, but what should be written *ly* or *ly'*, " *ibid.*, p. 11.
12. "*jjam cca*," Vararuci, 10, 11.
13. In the published version, the letter used is *ḍ'* and the editors have added a note that "It is possible that *ḍ'* may have been either a spirant like English *th* or a lingual ḷ". In the examples given here it is obviously nothing else but *ḷ*.
14. Z.D.M.G., LXVI, 1912, p. 49 ff.; *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, Poona, 1917, p. 120.
15. Hultzchs : *Inscriptions of Aśoka.*
16. Sten Konow : *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions of the North-Western India.*
17. 'पिशाचानां भाषा पैशाची'. Bhāmaha on *Var.*, 10, 1.
18. यद्भूतैरुच्यते किञ्चित् तद्भौतिकमिति स्मृतम्। Vāgbhaṭa : *Kāvyālaṁkāra, 3.*
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19. Pargitar, p. 290; *J.R.A.S.*, 1912, p. 711.
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Traces of an Old Metrical Prakrit Grammar

All the old Prakrit grammars that have become available upto the present are found composed in Sanskrit in the Sutra style of prose. Their commentaries are also in Sanskrit prose and the only Prakrit verses or parts of such verses that are found in them are quotations from earlier writers and are meant to illustrate the rules. Trivikrama's sutras, no doubt, when read continuously, are metrical in form and in the *Prakrita Manjari* we find an amplification of Vararuchi's sutras in verses. But these are all in Sanskrit and not in Prakrit.

For the last few years I have been editing the *Satkhandagama* of Puspadanta and Bhutabali who wrote the sutras on Jain philosophy about two millennia back. On these sutras we have a very thorough and exhaustive commentary called *Dhavala* written by Virasena and completed in 816 A.D. under the Rastrakutas. The extent of this commentary is about seventy thousand slokas. By the same author we have another commentary called *Jayadhavala* on the Kasaya-pahuda sutras of Gunadharacharya and the Chunnisutras of Yativrisabha. Of this work however only the first part equal to twenty thousand slokas was written by Virasena while the last portion equal to forty thousand slokas was added by his able disciple Jinasena. These works are mostly in Prakrit prose with a sprinkling of Sanskrit here and there by the *Manipravala-nyaya* as the author himself declares. Here thus we have the largest contributions to Prakrit literature by any single individuals. In the body of the prose of these works we find embedded a number of Prakrit verses quoted by the commentators from more ancient works. Thus we find in these commentaries three strata of Prakrit writings, namely (i) the old sutras of Puspadanta and Bhutabali on the one hand and of Gunadhara and Yativrsabha on the other composed about the beginning of the Christian era, (2) the verses quoted by the commentators and thus belonging to a period earlier than the 9th century and (3) the commentaries of Virasena and Jinasena belonging to the 9th century.

In all these three strata of literary composition, we find numerous points of interest and importance to the student of Prakrit language and when the whole work is properly edited and published many of our ideas about the phonetics, morphology and syntax of the languages will have to be revised. Amongst all the known Prakrit grammarians, it is only Trivikrama who claims to have made use of the writings of Virasena and Jinasena in his Prakrit grammar.[1] But it is evident that even if he had any direct access

to the works mentioned above he could utilize them to a very limited extent only. The purpose of the present paper however is only to draw attention to a few mentions in these works which throw light on the existence of Prakrit grammar in Prakrit verse at the time of the commentators.

The first place that interests us in this connection is where the commentator explains the fourth sutra of *Satprarupana* of Satkhandagama which runs as follows :

गइ इंदिए काए जोगे वेदे कसाए णाणे संजमे दंसणे लेस्सा भविय सम्मत्त सण्णि आहारए चेदि।

commenting upon the linguistic construction of this sutra, Virasena says-यत्र च गत्यादौ विभक्तिर्न श्रूयते तत्रापि आईमज्झंतवण्णसरलोवो इति लुप्ता विभिक्तिरित्यभ्यूह्यम्।। i.e. wherever in words like *gati* and others (*lessa* etc.) in the sutra the case termination is not audible, there also it should be inferred that the case termination is understood in accordance with the rule, namely, an initial, medial or final consonant or vowel may be dropped. Presumably the rule आईमज्झंत वण्णसरलोवो is a quotation and probably it is the second foot of a Prakrit verse as it contains eighteen metrically balanced matras.

The next spot that catches our attention is where the commentator explains the sixth sutra *Dravyapramananugama* in which the word अंतोमुहुत्त occurs-एदेहि पलिदोवममवहिरिज्जदि अंतोमुहुत्तेण। Explaining the formation of the word अंतोमुहुत्त the commentator says-मुहूर्तस्यान्तः अन्तर्मुहूर्तः। कुतः पूर्वनिपातः? राजदन्तादित्वात्। कुत ओत्वम्? ए छच्च समाणा इत्येतस्मात्। Here the commentator justifies the presence of ओ in अंतोमुहुत्त by quoting another rule which again appears to be the first or third quarter of a Prakrit verse as it consists of twelve metrically balanced matras. The same quotation recurs in the Jayadhavala also where the commentator explains the substitution of अ in place of इ in the term हदहद्समुप्पत्तिय णि equivalent to Sanskrit हतहतिसमुत्पत्तिकानि। He says : हतस्य हतिः हतहतिः ततः समुत्पत्तिर्येषां तानि हतहतिसमुत्पत्तिकानि। एए छच्च समाणा इति इकारस्य अकारः। Thus observing the application of the rule at the two places we might be able to say that the rule justifies the substitution of one vowel in place of another. But the meaning of the quoted formula is not quite clear because obviously it is only a portion of a fuller text and by quoting only the beginning of the rule, the commentator implies that it was well known to the Prakrit students of his time.

At another place in the Jayadhavala while justifying the forms अधाणिसेय in place of जहाणिसेय (sk यथातिषेक) the commentator quotes yet another rule as follows-कधं जहाणिसेयस्य अधाणिसेयवएणसेत्ति ण पच्चवट्ठेयं वच्चंति क-ग-त-द-वा लोवं अत्थसरा इदि यकारस्स लोवं काऊण णिछेसादो। In this quotation the first part, namely, वच्चंति कगदयवा is a metrical foot and the rule वच्चंति कगतदयवा लोवं clearly means that the letters क ग etc. are dropped. But the meaning of the last word अत्थसरा is unclear. After due consideration of the rule and its application in the context, it appears to me that there is an omission and a mistake in the quotation. The full line may have been something like this - वच्चंति क-ग-त-द-वा लोवं दिट्ंठति अट्ठसरा i.e. the consonants क ग etc. are dropped but their

constituent vowels which may be any of the eight vowels (अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ए, ओ) are retained. If this conjecture be right then we have here a second line of a Prakrit verse quoted.

Ever since I came across some of these fragmentary quotations in the Dhavala, one of which I could not understand at all. I was seeking hard for fuller light on the subject till at last very recently I discovered a few more complete quotations of a similar nature in the *Jayadhavala*. The point under discussion is the derivation of the word प्राभृत and its Prakrit equivalent पाहुड which forms part of the name of the sutra text *Kasya-pahuda*. Virasena first explains the Sanskrit word प्राभृत as follows-संपहि णिरुत्ती उच्चदे। प्रकृष्टेन तीर्थकरेण आभृतं प्रस्थापितं इति प्राभृतम्। प्रकृष्टैराचार्यैर्विधावित्तवद्भिराभृतं धारितं व्याख्यातमानीतमिति वा प्राभृतम्। अनेकार्थत्वाद्धातूनां नैतेष्वर्थेष्वस्य धातोर्वृत्तिर्विरुद्धा। उपसर्गसंपातेन वा अस्यानेकार्थता। अत्रोपयोगी श्लोकः-काश्चिद् द्रव्याति धोरर्थः कश्चित् तमनुवर्तते। तमेव विशिनष्टा (ष्टय) न्यो गीतां च त्रिविधा गतः (गतिः) ।। Having thus explained the derivation of the Sanskrit word प्राभृत the commentator proceeds on to explain the formation of its Prakrit equivalent Pahuḍa पाहुड as follows-संयहि जइवसहाइरियो णिरुत्तिसुत्तं भणइ-पाहुडेत्ति का णिरुत्ती? जम्हा पदेहि पुदं (फुडं) तम्हा पाहुडं। पदाणि त्ति भणिदे मज्झिमत्थपदाणं गहणं कायव्वं। एदेहि पदेहि पुदं (फुडं) वत्तं सुगममिदि पाहुडं।

कीरइ पयाण काण वि आईमज्झंतवण्णसरलोवो ।। 1 ।। त्ति दकारस्स लोवो कायव्वो। एए छच्च समाणा दोण्णि अ संझक्खरा सरा अट्ठ। अण्णोण्णस्सविरोहा उवेंति सव्वे समाएसं ।। 2 ।। ति दीहो पयारो कायव्वो। दीसंति दोण्णि वण्णा संजुत्ता अह व तिण्णि चत्तारि। ताणं दुब्बललोवं काऊण कमो पज्ज (जु) त्तव्वो ।। 3 ।। एदीए गाहाए सयारलोवो कायव्वो। वग्गे वग्गे आई अवट्ठिया दोण्णि जे वण्णा। ते णेयय णियवग्गे तइअत्तणयं उवणमंति ।। 4 ।। एदीय गाहाए पयारस्स (फयारस्स) भयारो, उयारस्स वयारो (टयारस्स डयारो) कायव्वो ।। 5 ।। ख-फ-ध-व (भ) साउण हत्तं एदीए गाहाए भयारस्स हयारे कए पाहुड त्ति सिद्ध

The available text is corrupt at various places and I have suggested my emendations in brackets. The following points emerge more or less clearly from the passage :–

Yativṛsabha is said to have composed one *Churni Sutra* on the etymology of the word पाहुड which he explains as पदेहि पुदं (फुडं) (पदैः स्फुटं व्यक्तं सुगमम्) पदेहि पुदं+स्फुट i.e. a text constituted by expression words. The phonetic changes involved in the formation of the word पाहुड from पद+स्फुट are explained in detail by Virasena as follows :

Firstly the medial द is dropped by the rule contained in the half verse कीरपयाण etc. Which means : In the case of some words the initial, medial or final consonant or vowel is dropped. This rule appears to be a further generation of the rule quoted above, namely, वच्चंति कगतद etc. and is a complete text of what was quoted at the fourth Sutra of Satprarupana.

Secondly, the constituent vowel of प is lengthened by the rule contained in the verse एए छच्च समाणा etc. which means these six simple vowels (i.e. अ ए इ and उ short and long) and the two conjuct vowels (i.e. ए and ओ) in all the eight vowels come in place of one another without any restraint?

Thus the mystery of the fragmentary quotation एए छच्च समाणा on अंतोमुहुत्त is solved. *Thirdly*, the initial letter of the conjuct is dropped in accordance with the rule contained in the verse दीसंति दोण्णि वण्णा etc. "Which means 'when there are seen two letters in close proximity or three or four the weak amongst them should be dropped and the process should be continued."

Fourthly, the medial फ is changed into भ and the final ट is changed into ड by the rule contained in the verse वग्गे वग्गे आई etc. Which may be translated as follows : "In every class of letters the two consonants that stand at the beginning get changed variously (णेयम=नैककं = बहुलम्?) into the third letter of its own class?"

Lastly, the commentator completes his etymological disquisition by changing the भ into ह in accordance with what the author calls a verse (गाहा) but of which only a quarter is quoted खफधभसाउण हत्तं which means 'the letters ख, फ, ध, भ, स are changed into ह."

This whole process of mutation involved in the formation of the world पाहुड may be summarised as follows :

पदेहि पुदं = पद + स्फुट

(i) = क + अ + स्फुट by कीरइ पयाण etc.

(ii) = पा + स्फुट by एए छच्च समाणा etc.

(iii) = पा + फुट by दीसंति दोण्णि वण्णा etc.

(iv) = पा + भुड by वग्गे वग्गे आई etc.

(v) = पाहुड by खफधभसाउण हत्तं

Those of us who are familiar with the derivation of the Sanskrit word Prābhṛta from the root भृ with the prepositions प्र and आ and the termination क्त in the sense of प्रकर्षेण अभ्रियते इति and are used to derive from it the Prakrit word Pāhuda by the application of the well-known rules of Prakrit grammar, namely, सर्वत्र लवराम् (Var. III 3), खघथधभाम (Hem. I 184), उद् ऋत्वादौ (Hem. I 131) and प्रत्यादौड (Hem. I 206) are sure to find these explanations and derivations of the same word in two very different ways interesting and fresh indeed. But what particularly concerns us here is that we have before us in all six different rules of Prakrit grammar. Three of these are contained in complete Prakrit verses, two consist of half a verse each and another is a quarter verse which is, nevertheless, called a verse (gāthā) by the author quoting it as an authority. It is quite clear from these mentions that the commentators Virasena and Jinasena, while writing their commentaries Dhawala and Jayadhawala during the early part of the 9th century, had before them a Prakrit grammar which was written in Prakrit verses. This work appears to have been regarded as authoritative and quite popular amongst the students of Prakrit, so that even a brief or abbreviated indication of its rules was sometimes considered enough.

Virasena and Jinasena are not the only ancient writers who are found to have made use of a metrical Prakrit grammar. *Haribhadra* (ab. 8th century) in his commentary

on Dasavaikalika sutra while discussing about a case termination remarks प्राकृतशैल्या चतुर्थ्यर्थे षष्ठी and then quotes the following rule-छटठी विभत्तीए भण्णइ चउत्थी. This same rule we find quoted more fully by *Malayagiri*, a contemporary of Hemachandra (12th century), in his commentary on *Nandisutra* as follows :

सूत्रे षष्ठी प्राकृतलक्षणात् चतुर्त्यर्थे वेदितव्या। उक्तं च-बहुवपणेण दुवयणं छट्ठी विभत्तीए भण्णइ चउत्थी। जह हत्था तह पाया नमोत्थु देवाहिदेवाणं।

In another context he quotes as follows :

मतुवत्थम्मि मुणिज्जाह आलं इल्लं मणं तह य।

These rules[2] composed in Prakrit metre may also be presumed to have been quoted from the same work as above which thus appears to have been popular with Prakrit writers at least from the 8th to the 12th century A.D. Let us hope that this very interesting and valuable old work on Prakrit grammar may still be in existence awaiting the eye and the hand of some lucky explorer.

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Prakrit of Karpuramanjari

The richness and variety of language and dialects current in North India are well known. Practically, they all belong to that great linguistic stream called the Indo-Aryan, which has flown over the land for a period of at least four millennia. The Indo-Aryan itself was not the original stream, but is now known to be a branch of a much older language family called the Indo-European which had given birth to all the numerous languages prevalent in the whole of Europe as well as Persia and Afganistan and also over the rest the world by the process of emigration of people. No other archaelogical or anthropological link is available to prove so effectively the basic unity of so many nations and cultures as the linguistic palaeo-antology which originated from a comparative study of the Indian classical languages on the one hand and the European classics such as Greek and Latin on the other. And in furtherence of these studies and the consequential strengthening of the human bonds the Indo-Aryan still plays, and is bound to continue to play, the most important central part. Milleniums of years have passed since the speakers of the Indo-European got split up in to groups and spread over widely separated lands with no mutual contact. Under these circumstances it is no wonder that their speech forms developed along different lines. The wonder, however, is that their fundamental characteristics remain unchanged and convincingly prove their basic unity. For example, just compare a simple English sentence 'He is my brother' with its Sanskrit counter-part 'स अस्ति मे भ्राता' and no one who has undergone some linguistic discipline could fail to find the same basic sounds in all the four words of the two sentences. Not only this some forms of words in the two languages could be explained only in the light of each other. The apostraphe s in the expression, say "Rama's mother." When we compare it with its Sanskrit equivalent रामस्य माता and discover that the English's' and Sanskrit स्य are basically the same possessive termination. Similarly compare the Sanskrit vocables तार and पश्य with the English 'star' and 'spy' respectively, and it will not take much time to find out that the words in these two languages have the same sense and the same root which had a sibilant at the beginning which is still preserved in English but in Sanskrit it was lost long ago. The purpose of these introductory remarks is to emphasise the supreme importance of comparative philology not only for understanding the development of our own languages, but also for

discovering the international bonds of unity and kinship. And so far as the advancement of knowledge is concerned, the advantage is not one way only, but equally balanced amongst them all. This knowledge also in some measure might contribute towards better understanding and peace in the world.

1. The diversification of the Indo-Aryan in India itself is represented in the modern age by the spoken languages like Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali and Assami which have acquired their present shape and form both by internal development as well as external accretions supplied by the pre-Aryan such as the Austric and the Dravidian and subsequently by the elements of these languages–Arabic, Persian and English. The main fountain-head was, however, the Vedic and the Sanskrit which stand at the earliest stage, and the Pali, Prakrit and Apabhramsa which constitute the middle stage. A linguist therefore who wants to trace out the full course of the evolution of the Neo-Indo-Aryan has to take account of the pertinent linguistic tendencies of the early as well as the middle Indo-Aryan. For this historic process the Karapuramanjari provides very useful material, because its author Rajasekhara stands right on the threshold between the Middle and the Neo-Aryan, having lived about 900 A.D.

2. There are a few other considerations which give this work of Rajasekhara and its language some special significance. Belonging traditionally to a roaming (Yayavara) family, he had himself wandered from Maharashtra to Uttar Pradesh (Kanauja) and Madhya Pradesa (Tripuri) and having started his career as a poet from boyhood he came to be known as a Balakavi, with maturity in age he grew to acquire the title of a poet-king (Kaviraja), and was elevated to the position of preceptor of the ruling monarch of Kanauja, namely Mehendrapala. These facts indicate that he was a Brahmana by caste. But he had no hesitation in marrying to a girl of the Ksatriya Cauhana family, Avanti Sundari. May be that this name of his wife was not purely a proper noun but indicative of her personal charm and her parental home in Avanti i.e. Ujjain town or Malwa region of Madhya Pradesh. It is on record that she had her own opinions on poetics, and that she was instrumental in staging the play. It is also possible that it was she who inspired her husband to compose the lyrical drama and may have her self taken the opportunity to exhibit her own artistic talents by playing the role of the heroine. At any rate, the liberal social outlook of the husband and the wife is fully reflected in the literary field as well.

3. Karpuramanjari is not a drama of the conventional type. In matter, spirit and form it marks a revolution in our ancient dramaturgy. Bharata has nothing to say about Sattaka and Dhananjaya gives it no recognition in his ten types of stage representations. We have no evidence of any composition of this kind prior to Rajasekhara for whom it secured that unique distinction, everlasting glory and wide fame which none of his many other dramatic works could win for him although he claimed to be an incarnation of Valmiki and Bhavabhuti. Once his work came before the public, it seized their imagination, and the type was copied right upto the 18th century, when Ghanashyam the author of the Anandasundari is found expressing his

opinion that a drama without Prakrit is as ridiculous as a poet who has no Sattaka to his credit (p. 44). It is however suprising two conclusions. Firstly, Sauraseni and Maharastri are not originally collateral, but they are connected with each other chronologically, the latter representing only a later stage of development of the former. Secondly, the author of Karpuramanjari has not used the two different varieties of Prakrit, but only one in his prose as well as in verse, and that is the standard Prakrit of the midland which is characterised as Sauraseni. And this conclusion is fully supported by Dr. Upadhye in his editions of the later Sattakas namely Candralekha and Anandasundari.

4. What is generally forgotten or ignored even by the writers of Prakrit language and grammar is the fact that no old Prakrit grammarians including Bharata, Canda, Vararuci and Hemacandra (12th century) describe mainly one Prakrit only (Atha Prakritam) and give briefly the chief characteristics of the regional dialects namely Sauraseni, Magadhi, Paisaci and Apabhramsa, making no mention of Maharastri. Their treatment of Prakrit has also got its own peculiarity. The language is explained on the basis of its variations from Sanskrit which they call its Prakriti and call the language as originating from it (tadbhava). The Sattaka-writers specifically state that this category of drama is wholly composed in one language only, and that language is Prakrit. On hearing only the name Sattaka the Sutradhara in KPM. puts the question why the poet has started composing in Prakrit avoiding Sanskrit (Kim Sakka am paribaria Pauda-bandhe pau tto kai) to which the reply is that poetry lies in meaning not in words which may belong to any language. But between Sanskrit and Prakrit even the words are the same, though in a changed form, which however, brings so much difference in their hardness and sweetness as between man and woman. Not only this, but in his Kavya-Mimamsa (Chap 3) while describing the personification of Kavya-purana, the son of Saraswati, Rajsekhara characterises his body as consisting of word and until about quarter a century back, no Sattaka other than Karpuramanjari was published or even mentioned in any historical works. It goes to the credit of my esteemed friend Dr. A.N. Upadhye to have given us in quick succession two or three new Sattakas excellently edited and studied in detail. His contribution is not limited to this, but he has also drawn our attention to more works of this category still awaiting the hand of a discoverer and editor. He has also brought to light so many historical facts about this class of plays, that it can no longer be ignored by any writer on ancient Indian drama or dramaturgy if he claims any completeness.

5. Apart from what the theorists like Abhinave Gupta, the commentator of Bharata's Natya Sastra and many others say about the characteristics of a Sattaka, the writers of the plays have themselves specified that a Sattaka is very much like a Natika, but it has no prelude or interlude (Pravesaka and Viskambhaka), it is essentially a dance-drama (Naccitavvam) and it is entirely composed in Prakrit, unlike all the other categories of drama in which both Sanskrit and Prakrit are freely used. We are concerned here with this last feature of K.P.M. namely its Prakrit.

6. Although there are many editions of KPM current at present and being used as textbooks in the universities, they are found to present the text in a very uncritical manner. The only editions in which the text has been constituted by a critical and linguistic study of several old manuscripts of the work are two. Firstly Dr. Sten Konoe's edition published by the Harvard University in 1901., and secondly Dr. Manmohan Ghosh's edition published by Calcutta University in 1939. Both these editions separated from each other by a distance of thirty-eight years and both of them away from us by another thirty-one years, remain for us the most authoritative versions of the work. There is, however, a great difference in the self-imposed editorial discipline under which the two scholars have worked. Dr. Konow consulted no less than 17 old MSS. of the work. But in the selection he was justified.

म वच्छामी तह...माअही फुरठ णो
शौ सा किं च पंचालि आ।
म सा किं पंचालि आ।
शौ रीदीओ विलिहतुं कव्व कुसला
म रीईओ विलिहतुं कव्व कुसला
शौ जोण्हां चगोरा विअ
म. जोण्हां चओरा विअ।

It will be seen from these readings that the only difference between the two forms or styles of Prakrit consists of certain consonantal changes, the chief of them being the elopement of intervocalic vowels such as द्, क् and ग् as well as the substitution of the aspirate ह in place of a mahaprana such as घ।

7. These consonantal changes and droppings, it may be remembered are not like the other collateral regional Prakrits such as Magadhi and Paisaci but only chronological, representing the second revolutionary stage of the Middle-Indo-Aryan. This stage started about the second or third century A.D. More than a thousand epigraphic records in Prakrit from the time of Buddha and Mahavira down to the beginning of the Gupta Age, exhibit practically no signs of such consonantal mutations. In the field of literature also the Pali books and the dramas of Asvaghosa exhibit no such tendency. The plays of Bhasa, however, present a transitional stage, as the Prakrit portions in them show the retention of the intervocalic consonats and their elision in approximately equal ratio. But in the dramas of Kalidasa the new practice is found more or less fully developed. This universally recognised linguistic chronology, incidentally, enables us to determine the age of these three great authors, apart from the other evidence. On linguistic grounds they are assignable to the first, third and fourth century A.D. respectively.

8. In what has been called the best example of Maharastri Prakrit. (महाराष्ट्राश्रयां भाषां प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः।) by Dandi, namely Setubandha, we find the rule of dropping and aspirating the intervocalic consonants and retaining their constituent vowels only as well as cerebralizing the dental न् into ण् without option applied almost without exception. So also is the case with Gahasattasai and Gaudavaho, the two other well-

known examples of Maharastri Prakrit. It is however doubtful whether this strict rule is found observed in the old MSS of those works or it has been adopted as a discipline by their editors on the authority of Vararuci's Prakrit grammar which grammarians like Hemachandra who are found more in touch with the living Prakrit or Prakrits do not agree. The Jain literature which, in its variety, represents all regional and chronological trends, treats the rules as optional and this is fully in accordance with the nature and spirit of the popular tongues. And for this very reason of making no hard and fast distinction between the two, western scholars like Jacobi and Pischel have christened their language as Jaina Maharastri and Jaina Sauraseni.

At any rate, the Sattaka Karpura-Manjari presents before us the real and true Prakrit as adopted by 'Literaterus of Mid-Land' and to distinguish two different trends in its prose and verse is unjustifiable.

Apabhraṃśa Language and Literature

(I) Origin of Apabhraṃśa

The last stage of the Prakrit is represented by the Apabhraṃśa, the importance of which is specially great on account of the fact that the modern Aryan languages such as Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi and Bengali have all evolved from them. The earliest mention of Apabhraṃśa in relation to language is found in the Mahabhasya of Patanjali when he says each pure word has several corrupt forms -Apabhraṃśas. Such as gāvi, goṇi, gotā, gopotalikā etc and others for a single word go. It is obvious from this that Apabhraṃśa was not yet the name of any particular language or dialect, but all derivations from the normal Sanskrit were called Apabhraṃśa. As such even Pali and Prakrit were probably known as Apabhraṃśa about 150 B.C.

In the *Naṭyasastra* of Bharata we find a good deal of information about the languages of the time. Here we are told that languages are of two kinds, namely, Sanskrit and Prakrit, the later being only the corrupted and unrefined form of the former. Prakrit again, has expressions of three kinds, namely, similar, corrupt and local (Samana, Vithraṣṭa and Desi). We have then a scheme of the distribution of Sanskrit and various Prakrits or Desi Bhāṣas amongst the actors of a play. The Deśī Bhāsas that are mentioned are seven namely Magadhī, Āvanti, Prācyā, Śauraseni, Ardha-Māgadhi, Bālhīkā and Dākṣiṇātyā. In addition to these, we are told, there are languages used by the Śabaras, Ābhīras, Cāṇḍālas, Sacaras, Dravidas, Oḍras and Vanacaras which are of an inferior type and are known as *Vibhāṣās*. The distribution of their languages in a drama according to profession and regions is interesting. Pulkasar, charcoal makers, hunters and wood or grass sellers use Pāncāli with the sibilant ś. Those who trade in elephants, horses, goats, camels etc. and those who dwell in cowherd settlements use the Śabara language. The countries situated between the Vindhyas and the sea have in language abounding in the nasal sound. Abhiras speak Śalient and Drāviḍas. The countries situated between the Ganges and the sea have a language abounding in e (इ) Saurāṣṭra, Avanti and the regions situated on the Vetravati have their language abounding in C (च). People belonging to Himavat, Sindhu, Sauvira and others always use language abounding in u (उ).

The comprehensive view of the language presented by Bharata is very useful and important for linguistic studies of India. What however, interests us particularly in conclusion with our investigation of the Apabhraṃśas is that the Himālayas, Indus region is said to possess a language in which the u (उ) sound was predominant. It is well-known that amongst all the Prakrits it is the Apabhraṃśas alone that have their nominative and accurative termination u and in several positions o (ओ) is reduced to u (उ) and therefore abound in this Sound, North-western India appears threfore to be original habibtant of the Apbhraṃśas.

But the Apabhraṃśas known to the author of Nāṭya Śāstra, Bharata, as Vibhraṣṭa or Vibhāṣā was only a dialect, it had not yet developed a literary standard. The exact data of the Nāṭyaśastra is yet undertermined, but, there is no doubt that it belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era. By the sixth century we know the Apabhraṃśa had developed to such an extant that rhetoricians like Bhāmaha and Dandin had to recognise it as a vehicle of poetic literature as exalted as Sanskrit and Prakrit in which both prose and verse compositions were produced. Dandin throws some welcome light upon the position of Apabhraṃśa in his time. According to him, theorists continued to call all linguistic forms other than Sanskrit by the name of Apabhraṃśa; while, in actual practice of poetry, the languages of the Ābhiras and others were known as Apabhraṃśa. There is no doubt that Dandin had in his mind the view of Patanjali when he called all non-Sanskrit forms Apabhraṃśa. The view of Bharata about the language of the Abhiras has already been noticed alone. It is this language which, amongst others, according to Dandin, came to be utilised for poetic compositions. The history of the Abhiras is important but it is not yet fully and properly explored. The general outlines of it are, however, clear. Abhiras are mentioned in the Mahabhārata as a people in the west of India on the Indus. Arjuna while returning from Dwarka is encountered by them when they entered Pancanada. In an inscription dated 18 A.D. we find Rudrabhuti the general of Kṣatrapa Rudrasiṃha, called an Abhīra.

A Nasik Cave inscription of about 300 A.D. mentions an Abhira prince called Iswarsena, son of Sivadatta. The Abhiras are mentioned along with the Mālwas in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (about 360 A.D.) as rulers laid under tribute by the emperor. The tract of land between Parnoti and Betwa in central India is called Ahirwar which approach to be a corruption of Ābhirawāṭa. It is here that Vincet Smith locates the Abhiras at the time of Samudragupta. Their mentions are enough to enable us to understand the spread of Abhiras from the north-west and Punjab town to central India and further south, from the 1st to the 4th centuries A.D. The language of these Abhiras must have developed in importance along with their political power and influence.

Besides the testimony of Bhāmaha and Dandin we find a Copper plate inscription praising the proficiency of King Guhasen of Valabhi (559-569 A.D.) in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa poetry. Udyotanasuri writing his Kuvalayamālā in AD 778 speaks of Apabhraṃśa composition as enriched with Sanskrit and Prakrit expressions in their pure as well as corrupt forms, making its way on evenly and unevenly like river flooded by rains and sweet like the utterances of a beloved annoyed in love.'

Rajsekhara (880-920 AD) in his Kāvya Mimaṃsā calls Sanskrit the mouth, Prakrit the arm and *Apabhraṃśa* the middle part and Paiśāca the feet of his poetry. He says Sanskrit poets should sit to the north, the Prakrit poets to the east, Apabhraṃśa poets to the west and Paiśāca poets to south of the king in an assembly.

According to him, Maru (Marwad), Ṭakka (Punjab) and Bhādānaka (Bhadravati of Jhelam district) writers mix their compositions with Apabhraṃśa usages. He also mentions that people in Surāstra and Travaṇa read even Sanskrit in an Apabhraṃśa style with proficiency and relish. Travaṇa could not be identified with Travancore for the writer himself locates it to the west along with Deva sabha, Surāṣṭra, Daśaraka and Bhṛgukaccha. Devasakha may be identified with Dewas in Central India and Travaṇa with Trigarta or modern Jalandhar in Punjab.

Rudrata in his Kāvyālankara (9th cent.) not only includes Apabhraṃśa in his six languages of poetry but also says that Apabhraṃśa has several varieties, according to countries. Commenting upon this statement of Rudrata, Namisādhu (11th cent.) states that Apabhraṃśa is itself a Prakrit and its three varieties that are recognised by other Nagara Abhira and Grāmya but Rudrata refuters this restriction of Apabhramśa varieties to three, because they are several, according to countries. It is clear from this that at least three varieties of literary Apabhraṃśa had been recognised by writers before the 9th-10th century.

(2) Nature of Apabhraṃśa

Amongst the known Prakrit grammar Vararucī's Prakṛtā Prakāśa is considered to be the oldest. But it deals with Prakrit in general which is usually identified with Maharaṣtri and Paiśāci, Magadhi and Sauraseni only. It contains no mention of Apabhraṃśa Caṇḍās, Prakrit Lakṣaṇa besides Prakrit in general, deals with Paisāci and Śauraseni and also Apabhraṃśa. The characteristic feature of Apabhraṃśa is stated to be that it does not drop repressed by a consonant. In the general treatment of Prakrit, however, we notice some features which are peculiar to or predominantly found in Apabhraṃśa only, as for example, hauṃ (हौं) of the nominative singular from 'Asmad' (अस्मद) (1,25) and the termination ha (ह) for the possessive case in singular.....(1,5) and the termination for past passive participle. Then he come to Hemacandra's Prakrit Vyākarana which is the most comprehensive for Apabhramśa. The most important and welcome feature of Hemacandra's treatment of Apabhraṃśa is that he has illustrated his rules in most cases by verses or their parts, which enable us to realise what a wealth of Apabhraṃśa literature was then in existence. Hemacandra, however, does not mention any varieties of Apabhraṃśa. Still Varieties of the language can be noticed from the optional forms recognised by him and the different forms that occur in his examples. One feature that at once attracts attention is that the normal r ( ) is sometimes retained as in gṛhepkinu (8,4,393) and r (र) when second in a conjucnt is optionally retained (8,4, 398) as in *priyeṇa* ( ). Not only this but r (र) is added sometimes when it is not in the original word as in urāsu () for uyāsa. It is probably this tendency which Caṇḍa has marked out as a speciality of Apabhraṃśa.

The other peculiarity worthnoting in Hemacandra's Apabhraṃśa is that intervocalic k, kh, t; th, p and ph are softened into g, gh, d, dh, h and bh respectively.

The rule is amply illustrated (8,4,396). It is only in the commentary that attention has been drawn to the optional nature of the rule so that they are also optionally dropped and only their accompanying Vowel is retained with or without the emphonic y (याई). It is this tendency which has particularly developed in later literary Apabhraṃśa.

Prakrit grammarian that followed Hemachandra such as Kramadiśwara, Markaṇḍeya and Ramatarkawagiśa have mentioned three varieties of Apabhraṃśa, namely Vracaḍa, Nāgara and Upanāgara. Markaṇḍeya in his Prakrit Sarvasva characterises Vrācaḍa chiefly by (i) the retention and ṛ and r. (ii) c and j pronounced with an emphonic y preceeding them (iii) all sibilants represented by the palatal ś; and (iv) the lingualisation of t and d in ṭ and ḍ respectively. ṛ and r are also retained in the Nāgara variety. But here the intervocalic k kh are softened into g and gh d and dh respectively and the termination da and ḍi are frequently added without change of meaning. In the Upanāgara is found a mixture of the tendencies of the other two varieties.

One of the oldest poets of Apabhraṃśa namely Swayambhu has inserted in his 'Harivaṃsa Purāṇa' a passage which he according to the authors own statement is composed in Ḍhakka Bhāsā. The linguistic peculiarities of this passage are : (i) Nominative singular ending in u; (ii) Possessive singular ending in ss a; (iii) Intervocalic ṭ softened into d and (iv) Present third person singular verbal forms ending in di. The habitat of this language is obviously not Decca of Bengal but Thakka i.e. Punjab.

The above discussion leads us to the conclusion that Apabhraṃśa that prevailed in the early centuries of the Christian era in the Himalaya-Indus region possessed the following characteristics :

1. Retention of ṛ
2. Retention of r when second member of a conjunct.
3. Retention of the inter-vocalic consonants in their original or softened form.
4. Nominative singular termination u and possessive ssa.
5. Use of rhymed metre.

This language we may call ancient Thakki. As the language spread towards south to Sindh with the expansion of its speakers the Ābhiras, it developed the tendency of c and j being indistinctly pronounced with y sound preceeding them as laid by grammarians for Vracada.

Another current of the language reached Gujarat where Nagar (modern Badnagar) in Ahmedabad district became its centre and the tendencies peculiar to the Nagara Apabhraṃśa were developed here. The Nagar Brahmaṇas are also associated with the same place. They had probably migrated along with the Valabhi Kings, from the north where they had their home in Nagarkot in the Kangra district of the Punjab, which was the habitat of the Abhiras from time of the Mahabharata. Hence Namisādhu mentions Nagara as Abhira, Brācada as grāmya or vulgar in comparison to it and their mixed form came to be known as Upanāgara.

The tendency to soften consonants once begun was carried to its extreme in the Apabhraṃśa. Apart from the grammarians rules for Apabharaṃśa as we know it from the literature available to us, generally speaking, exhibits the following characteristics:

1. The vowel sounds are preserved with spordic changes, but ai and au are altogether lost being resplaced by then components ai and au and r being replaced by a, i, or ri.
2. Intervocalic k, y, c, j, t, td and p u are lost leaving behind their accompanying vowels with or without the euphomic y or v; while kh, gh, th, dh, ph and uh are replaced by h.
3. Reduction of the declenstional forms nominative and accusative singular have u; instrumental singular in addition to ena has iṇa, eṁ or ĭ; while the rest have ha, hi, hu, he, ho with or without a nasal sound irregularly.
4. Amongst pronouns hau for first person singular and paî for second person are noticeable.
5. In verbs the present first person singular ù and third person singular i are added to the base which is generally made to end in a.
6. Past participle absolute terminations are ŭja, ivi, evi, eviṇu, eppiṇu and ūṇa.
7. Nouns have a tendency to be used with terminations alla, illa, ulla, āla, ira, ya and da without change of meaning.
8. Increase of the use of onomato poetic words.
9. Versification invariably characterised by rhyme.

Apabhraṃśa and Desi

Apabhraṃśa had attained the literary form as characterised above before the time of Hemacandra as proved by the illustrations in his Prakrit grammar, and by all the literature that has become available so far and is known to be of earlier date. It is probably for this reason that Hemacandra has not noticed the varieties which have been enumerated by the grammarians that followed him and who went by the connectional dialect distinctions rather than by the actual literary form that held the field.

The word Apabhraṃśa literally means corrupt. The grammarians regarded the language as such. But the poets themselves never admitted this and they have called their language, not Apabhraṃśa but Desi i.e. belongs to the land.

Dr. Hermann Jacobi was of the opinion that the retention of vowel r as the second member of a conjunet represents an older feature of the language. But Dr. Upadhye has questioned this and tried to show that from the time of Aśoka (3rd cent. B.C.) down to the 16th cent. the evidence of the linguistic phenomena goes to prove that the tendencies in question are not an indication of chronology but of locality. There are however, a few characteristics which do indicate age. Dr. S.K. Chatterjee has shown that intervocalic k and t were first replaced by g and d respectively and then before

they were altogether dropped. They passed through a stage when they were indistinctly pronounced. He fixes the period of the indistinct pronunciation approximately from 2000 BC to 200 AD (Indo-Aryan and Hindi, pp. 84-85). Bharata in his Natyasāstra refers to this indistinct pronunciation of d in place of k in his characterisation of Prakrit (N.S 18, 11). In the verses of *Natyasastra* the reading of which as available is very, corrupt. The dropping of t and d seem to be provided for (N S 18, 6-8). From this it may be inferred that Bharata belongs to the end of the period mentioned above. Bharata has not mentioned Apabhraṃśa but he makes mention of language prevalent in the North-Western India which abounded in u sound. This combined with other facts known about Apabhraṃśa, reveals a stage prior to the development of Apabhraṃśa literature. Dr. Chatterjee's opinion of the making of a suffix into u took place about the third century A.D. appears to be sound. If the Apabhraṃśa portions found in the Vikramorvasiyam of Kalidasa prove to be genuine then it could safely be asserted that composition in Apabhraṃśa became prevalent in the 4th century. Apabhraṃśa poetry had acquired a status comparable to Sanskrit and Prakrit. We shall now trace the phenomenal development of this poetry during the subsequent period.

Apabhraṃśa in Sanskrit Dramas

We know that the sixth case ending +'ho' is a peculiarity of Apabhraṃśa. In the Sariputra Prakaraṇa of Aśvaghosa (2nd century BC) we come across a form 'makkadaho' SK. markatasya. In the Pancarātra of Bhāsa (4th century) the Māgadhi put in the mouth of the cowherds contains the nominative and accurative suffix ū which is well-known to be the characteristic of Apabhraṃśa e.g. Ṣadananḍalu Surjayo SK. Satamaṇḍalah Sūryah; Ṣauvaṃ Ghoṣum Vidavanti Cota. S.K. Sarvām ghosam vidravanti caurah. If scholars doubt the genuineness of these readings it is only because they hesitate to accept such an ancient age for Apabhraṃśa. But history of the language as biased, above shows beyond doubt that the occurrence of Apabhraṃśa forms in dramas during that period is not at all surprising. The language used by Māthura in the second act of Mṛcchakatika abounds in u and so it may be called the Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa. The Māthur is presumably a person hailing from Mathura, the centre of the Western part of the country, and he has obviously imported the tendency of his homeland into the eastern language. The commentators have called the language ḍhakki which is probably a mistake for thakki. Mārkandeya calls it 'Tākki' and remarks that 'Hariscandra likes to call this language Apabhıaṃśa which the dramatists use in their dramas and other compositions (P.S. 16, 2). There are sixteen verses of Apabhraṃśa in Kalidāsa's Vikramorvasiya which may now safely be accepted as early examples of Apabhraṃśa lyrics.

Apabhraṃśa Dohas

The earliest poetry in pure Apabhraṃśa appears to have been produced in the Doha metre couplets of varying measure. The examples cited by Hemacandra and other grammarians are mostly in these couplets. The tendencies which are discussed above indicate comparatively an earlier stage are mostly found in the couplets. In the available

Apabhraṃśa poetry the Doha verses are more universal and less grammatically regulated than the other forms of poetic compositions. This metre has been adopted by almost all the modern languages of North India, where the medieval saints adopted it as their favourite vehicle of expression. The doha compositions fall into classes according to their subject matter the romanatic and the ascetic. The former is represented by single verses picturing the sentiment of love, pathos or heroism. They appear to be mostly the compositions of words. Examples of these occur in the grammar of Hemacandra. The later class is represented by a large number of works, composed by Jaina and Buddhist saints. Paramakayasu and Jogasāru' of Joindu (6th cent.), Pāhuda doha of Rāmasing Muni and Sāvaya-dhamma-doha of Desena (10th cent.) and Vairagyasāra of Suprabhācārya are some of the best examples of Dohā works in Jaina literature. The theme is the spiritual unity of the universe which discountenances all differences of caste and cread. In Devasena's 'Nayacahra' a Prakrit work on logic we are told that the work was originally composed in the Doha·metre was subsequently transformed in to gathas by Māilla dhavala because a critic remarked that doha metre was unsuitable for the serious subject matter. The date of Devasena as recorded in one of his works is V.S. 990=933 A.D. It appears that up to his time the learned Pandits had not reconciled themselves to the use of the Doha form of composition.

The Buddhist saints who wrote doha verses are *Tillopāda, Sarahapāda, Kanhopāda* and others. These works are found collected in the Dohakosha first compiled by Pt. Harprasad Shastri and later re-edited by Dr. Shahidulla and Dr. P.C. Bagchi. Many more examples have been brought to light by Rahula Saṃhṛtyayana. Their subject matter may be called mysticism showing the same traits as the Jaina Doha mentioned above as well as the compositions of the later saints like *Kabir, Dadu* and *Nānak*. The traditional name for the language of their works is *Sandhyā Bhāṣā* twilight tongue. Which is very significant when we remember that Apabhraṃśa forms a kind between the older classics Sanskrit and Prakrit on the one hand and the modern languages on the other. The period of these Doha compositions may be presumed from the sixth to the twelfth centuries A.D.

Apabhraṃśa Lyrics

A good deal of Apabhraṃśa poetry consists of spiritual reflections eulogies, allegorical descriptions and dialogues, ballads and stories. Some examples of these are found in the *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* of Soma Prabha (12th cent.) from which the *Jaina mannah-Karana-saṃtapa Katha Sthulbhadra Katha, and Duvadasa-bhāvana-Swarūpa* deserve mention.

A number of lyrical poems are found collected in the *Prācēna-gurjara Kāvya-Saṃgraha, Apabhraṃśa Kāvya-trayi* and *Aitihāsika-Jaina Kavya Śaṃgraha*. In the first of these collections, besides fourteen poems there are seven prose compositions of the 13th and 14th centuries which are very important from the point of view of the development of Hindi and Gujarati, which, there is no doubt, grew from a common heritage. In this connection, a very valuable collection is the *Prācīna Gujarati Gadya-Saṃsdarbha*, which contains about a hundred short compositions illustrating the latest phrase of Apabhraṃśa and the earliest phase of Gujrati and Hindi.

Doha-Lakkhaṇa-Jayamala and Solah Karan Jaimala of Raidhu (15th cent.) are beautiful poems on Jaina morals and are used for recital in temples. The 'cuniḍi' of Vinayacandra is a poem of thirty-one verses preaching good conduct as a substitute for the painted garment liked by women. The Sandeha Rāsak of Addahaema (Abdul Rahman) is a unique work in Apabhraṃśa literature being the composition of a Muslim poet. It is a lyrical poem of 216 verses composed on the model of Kalidasa's *Meghadūta*.

There are only a few of the popular and religious works in Apabrahṃśa a large volume of which exists in Mss.

Epic Poems

Epic form is a very important, well developed and voluminous part of ancient literature. The same is true of the Apabhraṃśa literature as well. In form and style the epic poems are as higly polished and conventionalised as the Sanskrit and Prakrit Mahakavyas. But they possess some very characteristic features. The *Kaḍavaka* consistently Allillaha or Pajjhatika followed by a ghatta or Dupadi verse is the normal unit of this poetry. This style could easily be recognised as the fore runner of the chaupai-doha style of Hindi poems like the *Padmavat* of Jayasi and the *Ramacarita-Mānas* of Tulsidasa. A number of kadwakas, normally ten to fifteen, constitute a *Sandhi* or Canto which opens with a Dhruvaka verse. The metre and style frequently change in accordance with the movement of the narrative so as to harmonise with the sentiments desired to be expressed. The historical qualities of the Sanskrit and Prakrit poetry are fully reproduced here as well.

The subject matter of the epic poems so far discovered is mostly the life of one of the 63 supermen called Salaka puraṣas i.e. remarkably great-men) in Jainism, the purpose being amusement as well as social and religious instruction.

The earliest epics available in Apabhraṃśa are the Paumacariu and Harivaṃsa Purāna of Svayamabhudeva which are the Jaina versions of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahabhārata, respectively. The PC. contains 90 Sandhis arranged in five Kāṇḍas, the total number of Kaḍavakas being about 1300 calculated to the equal to 12000 ślokas. The H.P. contains 112 sandhis and about 2000 Kaḍwakas, being equal to 18000 ślokas. In the introductory part of the Harivamsapurāṇa, the poet tells us that he was indebted to Indra, Bharata, Vyāsa, Pingala, Bhāmaha and Danḍin, Bāṇa, Harṣa, and Chaumuha for the various requisites of excellent poetry. This debt to Chaumuha is of particular interest to us here since it was from him that the poet derived his style of *'Paddhaḍia'* metre with *Duwai* and *Dhruvakas*. Obviously either Chamuha was the originator of this Apabhraṃśa style of poetry or he was the first to make a profuse use of it. In a few old verses found prefixed to the *Paumacariu* we meet with the praise of Chaumuha for his excellent diction. Dante for wise charming meaning and Svayambhu excellency in both. We also find Chaumuha extolled for his Goggaliakahā. Bhadda for his Gogagahana and Macchaveha. It appears that the three were the predecessors of Svayambhu and they probably wrote the Mahabhārata story in Apabhraṃśa poetry. Unfortunately, their works have not yet been discovered. Swayambhu is also credited with works on Apabhraṃśa prosody, rhetoric and grammar. Of these his work on

prosody called Swayamciher chandas has now come to light since Swayambhu makes mention of Harsa (707 to 748 A.D.) and Ravisena and is himself mentioned by Puṣpadanta (887 saka = 965 AD), Swayambhu may be presumed to have lived during the intervening period.

Perhaps the greatest poet of Apabhraṃśa so far come to light is Puṣpadanta who wrote his *Maha purāna*, *Jasahara cariu* and *Nāyakumara cariu* at Manyakheta under the patronage of the minister of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III and his successor. Puṣpadanta carries to perfection the possibilities of Apabhraṃśa as a vehicle of poetry. His charming style stricking figures of speech, and occasional double intendres remind me one of the best traditions of classical Sanskrit poetry. In his Mahapurana he has beautifully narrated the lives of the 63 great men, while in the other two works he has described the lives of two other religious heroes. The poet himself tells us that his parents were originally Brahmins and belonged to the Saiva faith, but later on they got to Jainism. The poet spent his early carrier at the court of some prince but some calamity befell him there which compelled him to undertake the long journey to Mānyakheta, where his poetic genius was rekindled by Bharata the minister of king Krishna. In one of the verses prefixed to various sandhis of his Mahapurana, the poet makes mentions of the ravages of Mānyakheta by the king of Dhārā. Obviously, this event is no other than the invasion by Harṣā Deva of Dhara led against the Rastrakuta king Khottigadeva the successor of Kriṣṇa III. This event, according to the author of *Paialacchī-nāma-mālā*, took place in V.S. 1029 = Śaka 894, and the mention of it by Puṣpadanta proves that his literary activity continued for at least seven years after the completion of his Mahāpuraṇa in Śaka 887.

The *Karakanda cariu* of Muni Kanakāmara is composed in comparatively easy Apabhraṃśa in ten sandhis. The hero of the poem Karakaṇḍu is recognised as a Pratyekabuddha both by the Buddhists as well as Jainas. The description of the here's campaign in the south gives occasion to the description of the Jain caves at Terapur identical with the Dharasiva in the vicinity of Osmanabad. The main events of the earlier part of the story are identical with those narrated by Devendra, in his commentary on Uttarādhyayana, but the hero's campaign of the south is peculiar to the Digambara story. The author has introduced himself as a Brahmin of the Chandraṛshi gotra who had adopted the Digambara faith due to a feeling of renunciation. His teacher was Mangaldeva and he was patronised by Vijavala, Bhuval and Karṇa who are not definitely identified. The work was written at Āsāiya, which may be identical with Asayee.

The *Bhavisayattakaha* of Dhanapāla is a poem completed in twenty-two sandhis, and narrates the life of a merchant who suffered immensely on account of the jealousy of his stepbrother. The poet makes mention of his family as *Dhakkaḍa* which is obviously identical with subcaste named Dhākaḍ included in the Digambara Jaina community and is found scattered in Rajputana, Gujarat and Berar. Though no evidence for the age, of the composition exists Dr. Herman Jacobi assigns the work to the 10th century A.D.

Neminaha Cariu of Haribhadra is an Apabhraṃśa poem of high order. The prominent metre here is Raddḍa as distinguished from the normal Paḍḍhadia. Only a

portion of this work called *Saṇakumāra-cariu* has been edited and published. It contains 343 Raḍḍā verses which form verses 443 to 785 of the original.The total extent of the work is more than 8000 ślokas. The hero of the poem is one of the twelve *Cakravartins* and the poet names his teacher as Candra and mentions date of the completion of his work as V.S. 1216.

Pāsanāhacariu or Pāsapuraṇu of Padmakirti deals with the life of the 23rd Tirthaṃkara in eighteen saṇdhis equal to 3300 ślokas. The spiritual genealogy of the poet was Chandrasena, Mādhavasena, Jinasena and Padmakirti of the *seṇa saṃgha*. He completed the poem, according to his own statement, on new moon day of Karttika in V.S. 999.

Another work of the same name Pāsanāhapuraṇu was composed by Raidhu who has already been mentioned as the author of *Dahalakkhaṇa jayamala*. The poem is completed in six sandhis which contain in all 128 kaḍavakas. The poet mentions his line of teachers as Sahasrakirti, Guṇakirti and Jasakirti, the later being the preceptor of the poet's patron Kḥen Sāḥu to whom the work was dedicated. The composition workplace at Gopacala (modern Gwalior) at the time of the Tomar King Dungarendra for whom the known dates are about V.S. 1500.

Yet a third work of the same name Pasanāha Cariu was composed by a poet named Asavāla who dedicates the work to *Soniga* community. This work is completed in thirteen Sandhis equal in extent to 2500 ślokas. The work was completed in V.S. 1479.

Dharma parikṣā of Hariṣena is composed in eleven sandhis comprising in all 238 kaḍavakas equal to more than 2000 ślokas. According to his own statement, the poet was originally a resident of Chittor in Mewad and belonged to the Dhakkaḍa family. He migrated to Acalapura (probably modern Ellichpur in the Amraoti district of Berar, where he studied metrics and rhetorics and wrote the present work in V.S 1044. As his predecessors in the field of Apabhraṃśa poetry he mentions Caturmukh, Swayambhu and Puṣpadanta. The subject-matter of the poem is didactic with a number of stories and fables intervening, being almost identical with the Dharma Pariksa of Amitagati in Sanskrit composed in V.S. 1071. This later work is known to bear in its language marked traces of Prakritism. It can now be demonstrably proved that Amitagati, when writing his work had before him the present poem composed a quarter of a century earlier.

Kathakosa of Sricandra is a voluminous work in fifty-three sandhis, written for the purpose of illustrating, by means of stories, the morals and ascetic practices preached in the Mularādhanā of Sivārya, one of the most ancient works on Jaina ethics. The tales are so narrated that they serve for popular entertainment as well as religious precept. This style of religious propaganda was very popular as is evident from a large number of works in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa. The author was a disciple of Virycandra of the Kundakunda line, and he composed the work for a resident of Anahilwar belonging to the Pragvāḷa family about the time of King Mularāja who may be identified with the Chalukya Prince Mularaj I (A.D. 941-996) or Mularaj II (A.D. 1176).

Raidhu is again the author of Sirivālakahā (Śrīpalakathā) or Siddha-chakka-mahappa kaha- (Siddha-cakra-māhtya Kathā). In its ten sandhis is described the life of King Śrīpala who suffered from very virulent form of leprosy but was restored to full health and vigour by religious observances. The work was composed at Gwalior under king Kirtipāla, the son of Dungarendra (about 1500 A.D.), and is dedicated to Harasingh Sāhu of the Agrawal family.

Harivaṃsapuraṇu of Jasakitti contains thirteen sandhis, and describes the Mahābharata story beginning with the birth of Narayan Krisṇa and ending with the Nirvāṇa of Neminatha and Yudhiṣthira. The author was the pupil of Guṇabhadra of the Kaṣthāsaṃgha. He composed the work under the patronage of *Sahu Diudha* a resident of Joginipura situated on the Jamna and belonging to the Agrawal family. The date of the work is V.S. 1520.

Another work of Jasakitti is Chandappaha-cariu (Candraprabha caritra) in eleven sandhis, describing the life of the eight Tirthaṃkara. This composition was inspired by one Siddhapāla, the son of Kumāra Singh of the Humvaḍa family.

Jambuswami cariu of Vira is composed in fifteen sandhis. The hero of the poem is the third pontiff in succession from Tirthankar Mahāvira and is recognised by both the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara Jains as the last *Kevalin*, who attained salvation 62 years after Mahavira. The language and style are of a high order. The poet belonged to the Lad family of Gulakheda. He mentions with pride the literary contributions of his father Devadatta, namely *Varānga Cariu Suddaya vira kahā*, a *Caccārika* and *Amadevi Rāsa*, presumably all in Apabhraṃśa. Unfortunately none of their works are otherwise known to us, and the loss is serious particularly when in one of the verses prefixed to the Sandhis, Vira places his father by the side of Svayambhu and Puṣpadanta in poetic merit. The work was written at the request of Tarakaḍu sethi the son of Madhusudana, who belonged to the Dhakkaḍa family and resident of Sindhu Karisi in Malwa.

Vaddhamana Kavvu (Vardhamaṇa Kāvya) of Jayamitra Halla is composed in eleven Sandhis and deals with the life of the last Tirthaṃkara Mahāvīra and includes the life of his princely disciple Śrenika (Bimbisāra) King of Magadha to whom no less than the last six sandhis are devoted. The poets' father was Sahadeva, and teacher Padmanandi. He wrote the work at the instance of Holivarma, the son of Devaraya. The date of the composition is unknown.

Mayaṇaparajaya of Harideva is a poem in two sandhis. It is an allegory of the type of Rilgrim's progress in English, its subject-matter is the warfare between virtue and vice resulting in the ultimate victory of the former. This same work rendered into Sanskrit by a descendant of Harideva, namely, Nāgadeva, who has amplified the story in prose and verse and arranged it in five chapters. No direct evidence about the date of Harideva or his descendant Nāgadeva is available. But the earliest known manuscript of the Sanskrit Madanparājaya is dated in V.S. 1573, and our poet flourished six generations earlier than Nāgadeva. He could therefore not be assigned to any date later than the 14th century, though he may be much earlier.

Pajjuṇakahā (Prodyumna kathā) of Siddha and Siṃha is composed in fifteen Sandhis. It narrates the life of Pradyumna, the son of Lord Krishna, being recognised

in the Jaina hierarchy amongst the 24 Kāmadevas. This theme was suggested to Siddha by an ascetic Amṛtacandra, pupil of Mādhavacandra, when he visited Bambhaṇavāḍā which was governed by Guhilaputra Bhullaṇa a dependant of Ballala, the son of Raṇadhoriya. The town is identifiable with Bāmanwad in Sirohi state of Jodhpur, and Ballala may be the King of Malwa who is claimed to have been killed by Yasodhavala the Parmar ruler of Abu and a feudatory of King Kumarapala of Gujarat, for whom the known date is V.S. 1202. On this basis our poet may be assigned to the 12th century A.D. The last few Sandhis, according to the Ms. available to me, were composed by another poet named Siṃha, the son of Ralhaṇa, his wife Jainamati, while the parents of Siddha were Pampāiya and Devaṇa.

Sukumāla Cariu of Śridhara contains six sandhis and narrates the life of a pious merchant prince who becomes a saint. The poet was induced by Kumara Sahu of the Pauravāḍa family at Valad ruled over by King Govindacandra. The town is identifiable with the modern Valad in the Ahmedabad district of Gujarat. The work was completed in V.S. 1208.

Chhakkammovaesa (Ṣatkarmopadeśa) of Amarakirti Gani is a poem in fourteen Sandhis devoted to the exposition of the moral and religious duties of householders with illustrative stories. The poet belonged to the Mathura Samgha and was sixth in spiritual descent from Amitagati, the illustrious author of Sanskrit Dharmaparikṣā and Subhāṣita-ratna-sandoha, who flourished at the time of King Munja (V.S. 1050). The poem was completed by our author in V.S. 1247, under the patronage of Ambaprasad of the Nagara family who was by birth the poet's younger brother. The composition was carried out at Godahaya in the Mahiyaḍa desa of Gujjar Visaya which may be identified with Godhra in the Mahikantha agency of Gujarat. The ruler of the place is said to have been Kampha (Krisna) the son of Vandiggadeva of the Chalukya family. Other works composed by our poet and mentioned in the poem are Neminahacariu, Mahāviracariu, Jasāharacariu, Dhammacariu-tippaṇa, Suhāsia-rayaṇa-nita Dhammovaesa cūḍāmani and Jhaṇapani, which remain so far untraced.

Anuvaya-rayaṇa paiu (Aṃuvrata ratna pradipa) of Lakkhaṇa (Lakṣmaṇa) is a poem in eight Sandhis. It deals with the religious vows of the Jaina householders. The poet was the son of Sāhula of the Jāyasa family and was patronised by Kanhaḍa Sādhu of the Sāhula of the Jāyasa family and was patronised by Kanhaḍa Sādhu of the *Lamba-Kanchupa* family, who was the minister of King Ahavamalla Chauhān ruling at Rāyavaḍḍiya on the Jamna. The ancestors of Āhavamalla ruled at Candavāda. Rayavaddiya and Candavāda may be identified with Raibhā and Chandwar near Firozabad in the Agra district of Uttar Pradesh. Ahavamalla is said to have fought heroically against the *mlechas* and helped Hammiraviradeva who may be no other than the Hammira Deva of Raṇathambhor who lost his life in battle in A.D. 1299 in 43 years later than the composition of poem in V.S. 1313 = 1256 A.D.

Neminahacariu of Lakhamadeo (Lakṣmaṇa Deva) is a poem in four Sandhis containing 83 kaḍavakas, describing the life of the 22nd Tirthaṃkara. The poet was the son of Rayaṇa (Ratna-Deva) of the Pauravāḍa family of Gonanda in Malwa "where was produced that essence of grammar which became an ornament in the mouth of the learned". The poem was completed in V.S. 1510.

Harisenakahā by an anonymous author is a short poem in simple verses on the life of one of the twelve Cakravartins. The MSS of the work seen by me was dated V.S. 1551.

Another work of Sricandra is Ratna karaṇḍa Sravakacāra in twenty-one sandhis dealing with the religious vows and practices of Jaina laymen, being based upon the Sanskrit work of the same name which is popularly attributed to Samantabhadra, but is assigned to the authorship of a different writer named *Yogindṛa* by Vadiraja in his Parśvanāthacarita which is the earliest mention of the work. This work of Śricandra completed at Sripālapura in V.S. 1123 when king Karṇa was ruling .

Sudaṃsaṇa Cariu (Sudarsáṇa Caritra) of Nayanandi is completed in twelve sandhis devoted to the description of the merchant prince who successfully withstood the allurements and temptations offered by the queen who in her disappointment and wrath brought about his condemnation to death by the king. He was however miraculously saved on account of his steadfast devotion to righteousness. The poet was the pupil of Manikyanandi of the Kundakunda line and wrote his work in V.S. 1100 when King Bhojadeva was ruling at Dhara in the Avantidesa. He is also probably the author of another stupendous work *Ārādhanā*.

Harivaṃsa Puraṇu of Dhavala is a large poem of 122 Sandhis equal in extent to 18000 ślokas. The subject-matter is the same as that of the Sanskrit Harivaṃsa Puraṇa of Jinasena on which the author has expressly based his composition. According to the author's mention of his own name it appears that Dhavala was a family name and the full name of the author was *Dhannuya Dhavala*. He makes mention of no less than twenty-four writers and poets who had preceded him. But amongst these we do not find mention of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra, the illustrious authors of the Adipurāṇa and Uttarapuraṇa in Sanskrit, nor of Puṣpadantā, the author of Apabhraṃśa Mahāpuraṇu. Though silence is no evidence, still in the absence of anything to the contrary it may be presumed that the author may have flourished slightly earlier.

Sāntiṇāha Cariu (Santinātha Caritra) of Mahindu in thirteen sandhis narrates the life of the 16th Tirthaṃkara and 5th Chakravartī. The poet was the son of Illarāja and he was induced to compose the work by Jnānacandra, the son of Bhojarāja of the Ganga gotra of Agrawal family who resided at Yoginipura on the Jamna and whose preceptor was Guṇabhadra Suri of the Puṣkara Gaṇa of Kasthā Samgha. The work was completed in V.S. 1587 when Baliar was ruling.

Jinadatta Cariu of Lakhu-Lakhana(Lakṣamaṇa) is a poem in six sandhis devoted to the pious life of a merchant. The author was the son of Sāhula Setthi of the Jayasa family of Tribhuvanagiri which is said to have been flourishing town before it was beseized and ravanged by the Mleccha king who is not named. This compelled the poet to have his ancestral home and seek shelter at Vilarampur which may be identified with the place of the same name in Etah district of Uttar Pradesh. There he was induced by Seth Śridhara of Pauravada family to compose the poem which was completed in V.S. 1275.

Sukosalacariu is yet another poem of Raidhu composed in four Sandhis. In this work the poet has made mention of his earlier compositions, namely, Nemi cariu

(Harivaṃsapurāṇa); Pāsacariu and Balabhadrapurāṇa. It narrates the story of a prince who renounced the throne and became a monk who was subsequently eaten up by a tigress. The later was no other than his own mother who had gone into that lower form of life owing to her blind affection for the son. The story was composed for Sahu Raṇamalla in V.S. 1496.

Mehesara Cariu of Raidhu is a poem in thirteen Sandhis. Megheswara was a disciple of the first Ṛṣabha whose life penances preachings as well as other episodes associated with his life form the bulk of the poem and it is only incidentally than Meghaśasa comes in for the poetic attention. But the poem has been named after him 9 times to relieve the usual momentous of the title such as Adipurana. The poet introduce himself as the son of Harsingh Singhani of Gopacala. He was requested by Khema Singh Sahu of the Agrawal family to compose the work when Kirtisingh, the son of Dungarendu was ruling.

Balahaddapuraṇu (Balabhadra Puraṇa) of Raidhu is completed in eleven sandhis and narrates the lives of the nine Baladevas or Balabhadras included amongst the sixty-three supermen, of whom Rāma and Balarāma the elder brother of Kṛṣna are the last two.

Vaddhamāṇa Cariu (Vardhamāna Charita) of Sridhara is completed in ten Sandhis and narrates the life of the last Tirthaṃkara. The poem was written for Sāhu Nemicandra of the Jāyasa family. The poet in the introductory part makes mention of his earlier compositions namely *Candappala Cariu* and *Santināhacariu*.

Another *Dhamma Parikkha* with the same theme was composed by Śrutakirti, pupil of Tribhuvana Kirthi in seven Sandhis. The only MSS of the work which had come to light and inspected by me had a few leaves at the beginning and the end missing and therefore it is not yet possible to say anything about its date.

Pāsanahacariu of Sridhara contains twelve sandhis and describes the life of the Twenty-third Tirthamkara. The poets father was *Buha Golha* of the Agrawal family. He wrote the work for Sahu Naṭṭala who had an extensive trade extending from Nepal to Kerala and Soraṭha to Anga and Vanga and was a resident of Ḍhilli (Delhi). At that time Delhi was the capital of the Tomara King Anangapāla. Who is said to have crushed the hero Hammira. The work was completed in V.S. 1189 i.e. six decades earlier than the death of Prithviraj Chauhan at the hands of Muhammad Gauri, and as such it throws some welcome light upon the social conditions and political arena immediately preceeding the fateful event in Indian history.

Short Stories

Another important and interesting branch of Apabhraṃśa literature consists of short stories meant for amusement as well as moral and religious instruction. We know how the Pali literature is dominated by tales and legends such as the Jatakas, and the Avadānas intended to illustrate some virtue. The Jaina literature from the earliest time is steeped with parables and ancedotes exemplifying religious principles. Ethical works, in particular make, frequent mention of persons who observed the rules in spite of great suffering and they reaped the reward in this life or the next. The ethical principle

laid down for the monks is that they must observe non-violence and perfect equanimity of body and mind even at the court of their life. The householders are recommended to observe the same in a less rigorous form, but to discipline and train themselves gradually for the same form of higher spiritual life. The religious instruction was imparted in two ways who were adherents of a different faith were sought to be converted by stories which revealed the absurdities and incongruities of the other creeds, while those who belonged to the true faith had to be strengthened in the same and attracted to observe the religious vows and practices by inspiring examples from the past.

The earliest literature of the first kind in Apabhraṃśa is the *Dhamma parikkhā* of Hariṣena who acknowledges his debt for the same to the work of his predecessor Jayarama in gatha metre. Evidently Jayarama's Dharma Parikṣā was written in Prakrit verses and it became the source of similar works in Apabhraṃśa and Sanskrit. The work is satirical and of the same kind as the *Dhurtakhyāna* of Haribhadra Suri written in Maharastri Prakrit during the 8th century. But until Jayarāma's work in gāthās is brought to light and its date is determined, it is difficult to say who was the originator and who the imitator of this style.

There is a very large number of independant short stories by different writers illustrating the observance and reward of various fasts and ceremonies on particular days of the year. Their literary merit and poetic beauty both are of varying degrees. Some noteworthy examples of these are the following:

The Pannasanakahā of Raidhu composed for Sahu Nemidāsa in thirteen sandhis contains a large number of moral stories identical with those of the Sanskrit Punyassna Kathakosa of Rāmacandra Mumukṣua.

Guṇabhadra, pupil of Malayakirti of Māthura Sangh wrote a number of Vrata Pathās at the request of various pious residents of Gwalior, during the later part of the 16th century, the known date for Gunabhadra being V.S. 1521. These stories are *Ananta-vaya, Savaṇa Vārasi, Pabbhavai, Neha Pancami, Candāyaṇa, Candana-chatthi, Maṇḍasattami, Pupphanjatī, Rayaṇattaya-rihāna, Narayautari, Niddaha Sattami, Dahalakkhaṇa, Laddhivayavihāna, Solaha-kāraṇavihi* and *Suyandha-dahami*. Yet other works of this kind are : Parandara-Vihāna Kahā of Amarakirti, Candana chathi-kahā of Lakhū Niddah-sattamikaha and *Naraya-ulārikaha* of Balcandra pupil of Muni Udayacandra of Bhattaraka of Mathura Sangh, *Nijjhara-pancami-kahā* of Vinayacandra pupil of Balcandra, *Jinaratti Kahā* and *Ravi-van-Kaha* of Jasakitti, *Aṇathamikaha* of Haricandra and of Raidhu, *Sobbhavai-vihāna-kaha* of Vimalakirti, *Ravi-van-kahā* and *Anantāvaya-kahā* of Nemicandra of Mathura Saṃgh, *Rohini cariu* of Devanandi, *Jina ratti-kahā napasm* of Narasena and *Kavala-Candāyaṇakaha* of Subhacandra Muni. There is yet a large number of similar short stories of anonymous authors.

The style adopted for preaching morals and religious practices was to narrate short stories illustrating the observances by illustrious persons in the past. The earliest book of stories of this kind in Sanskrit is Bṛhat Kathā Kosā of Harisena completed in V.S. 989. It was followed in Sanskrit by the Kathakoṣas of Prabhacandra during the 11th century and Nemidatta in the 16th century.

The earliest known works of this kind in Apabhraṃśa are :

1. Historical grammar of Apabhraṃśa by G.V. Tagare, Poona, 1948.
2. Jaina Siddhanta Bhāskara, a quarterly publication from Arrah.
3. Anekanta, a monthly, rule from Virasewa Mandira, Sarsawa, U.P.
4. Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in CP & Berar, Nagpur, 1926.
5. Apabhraṃśa literature by H.L. Jain, Allahabad University Journal, Vol. I, 1925. Apabhraṃśa Bhasā Aur Sahitya.
6. H.L. Jain, Nagari Pracāriṇi Patrika, Vol. 50, V.S. 2002. Annals of the Bhandarker Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
7. Some recently find Apabhraṃśa literature, Nagpur University Journal No. 8, 1942.
8. Nagpur University Journal
9. History of Sanskrit literature, A.B. Keith, Oxford, 1928.
10. Sanskrit Drama, A.B. Keith, Oxford
11. History of Indian Literature, Vol II, Calcutta, 1933.
12. Jina-Ratna-Koṣa, H.D. Velankar, Poona, 1944.
13. Āmera Sāstra Bhandar ki ganth suci by Kasliwal, Jaipur, 1949.
14. Purani Hindi, C. Guleri, Nagari Pracārini Patrika, vol. II, Benaras, V.S. 1978.
15. Jaina Sahityano. Saṃhsipa Itihása, M.D. Desai, Bombay, 1933
16. Die lehre Der jainas, W. Schubring, Berlin, 1935
17. Bharatiya Vidya, a quarterly journal of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavana, Bombay.
18. Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.
19. Jaina Gurjar Kavis, M.D. Desai, Part I, Bombay, 1925.

It will be noticed from all that has been said above that the Apabhraṃśa literature such as it is, deficient in more works and it has been exclusively cultivated by the Jainas with very few exceptions. Nevertheless its influence upon the succeeding literary age is very far reaching. Grierson's view was that each regional Prakrit-Magadhi, Sauraseni, Paisaci and Mahārāṣtri gave birth to a separate Apabhraṃśa which in its turn produced a modern language. This theory still lacks full confirmation, because we have not yet been able to discover several Apabhraṃśas Mss. The language of the available poems is very much a standard type with predominance of the features of Maharastra. We cannot even point out a text which could be said to be Śauraseni Apabhraṃśa. Nevertheless, some compositions, do show a regional bias the Thakki Thashi of Swayambhu, for example, Magadhi is western and the Kītilatā of Vidyapati which is eastern. It may be possible with future explorations and critical studies to Grierson's view to some extent. Thus Apabhraṃśa has played a very important part in the development of the Mid-Indo-Aryan and Revolution of the Neo-Indo-Aryan. How the language was cultivated and the literature produced so earnestly on a vast scale right from an early period down to the 17th century. And then it was all forgotten

completely that there was no mention of it in history or scholarly circles till the other day. It was only Jacobis great labours that reviewed some literary interest in the Apabhraṃśa in 1918. But his Bhavisattakahā was the only one in the field until the manuscript stores at Karanja of Akola district in Berar were explored and a discovery of several Apabhraṃśa poems was announced through the catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. in CP. and Berar published in 1926. Since then the present writer as well as several other scholars devoted themselves to the discovery and publication of Apabhraṃśa texts, some of which have been very well studied and published but most of the literature described above still remains unpublished. The place of discovery has since increased and previously unknown works are being announced almost every day. Even while writing this survey a catalogue of MSS preserved at the Jaina Bhandars at Amer (Jaipur) has reached my hands and I find several new Apabhraṃśa works enlisted there. Unfortunately Apabhraṃśa studies are insufficiently advanced to keep pace with the discoveries which though now quickened are still sporadic and lack persistence accuracy and system. Once there are secured and the newly discovered works are all critically studied. Whether historical and linguistic would be much enriched and it will be found that the contribution of Apabhraṃśa has been as glorious as any other.

Some More Finds of Apabhraṁśa Literature

In an article on 'Apabhraṁśa Literature' contributed to the Allahabad University Studies, Vol. I, 1925, I had noticed in brief the works in Apabhraṁśa which had been discovered by me or had become known through other sources till then. I had since then continued my search for manuscripts of Apabhraṁśa works and I purpose to notice here some of the works which I have been able to discover.

1. *Pajjuṇṇa-Kahā,*[1] Sk. *Pradyumnakathā* of *Siṁha* is a poem in 15 *sandhis* containing in all 306 *kaḍavakas* of about 3050 *granthas.* It narrates the life of Pradyumna Kumāra who was the son of Kṛṣṇa and the 21st Kāmadeva out of the twenty-four recognised in the Jaina hierarchy of remarkable persons. In the introductory part of the work we are told that Siddha was inspired by the goddess of speech in dream to write a poem, and the actual theme of the poem was suggested to him by an ascetic named Amayacanda Sk. *Amṛtacandra,* the pupil of Maladhārideva *Mādhavacandra* who visited *Baṁbhaṇayāḍa* during his religious tour. At that time Baṁbhaṇavāḍa was governed by *Bhullaṇa* a Kṣatriya *Guhilaputra* and a dependent (lit. servant) of *Ballāla* the son of Raṇadhoriya (Raṇadhīra?).[2]

Further on we are told that the names of Siddha's parents were *Paṁpāiya* and *Devaṇa.*[3] From this description we learn that the poet belonged to the town of *Baṁbhaṇavāḍa* which was included in the kingdom of Ballāla. The town may be identified with *Bāmanwād* in Sirohi State of Jodhpur. But we are not sure about King Ballāla. He may, however, be the Mālava king of that name who is claimed to have been killed[4] by Yaśodhavala, the Parmāra Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara of Ābu, and a feudatory of king Kumārapāla of Gujarat, for who we have a dated inscription[5] of V.S. 1202 = A.D. 1146. If this be correct then our poet may be said to belong to the early part of the 12th century A.D.

Siddha, however, does not appear to be the anthor of the entire work as we have it. His name appears regularly in the colophons up to the end of the 8th sandhi. But in the colophon to the 9th sandhi *Siṁha* is mentioned in place of *Siddha.* At the 10th sandhi, again, there is the name Siddha.[6] It might be conjectured from this that Siṁha was another name or epithet of the same poet. But from the 11th Sindhi onwards in the colophons we get also the name of Siṁha's father as Buha Ralhaṇa[7] Then again the

praśasti at the end leaves us in no doubt about the separate personality of *Siṁha*, because here we are told that the poet Siṁha was the son of Ralhaṇa Pandit and his wife Jinamatī of Gurjar family. He had three younger brothers named Śubhaṁkara, Sādhāraṇa and Mahādeva. He was advised by his preceptor to complete the poem which had remained incomplete on account of the death of Siddha, while he was yet composing it, for "Blessed are they who bear up uninterruptedly the feats and poetry of others."[8]

The Siddha and Siṁha were different poets and the latter only completed what was left incomplete by the former is also suggested by the ending colophon of the MS. which mentions Siddha and Siṁha as the authors of the work.[9]

2. *Sukumāla Cariu*[10] of Sirihar Sk. Śrīdhara, is a poem in six sandhis and contains 124 kaḍavakas. It narrates the life of the pious Sukumāla who later on becomes a saint. The poet has given to us a good deal of information about himself and the circumstances that led to composition of the work.[11] One day in the Jīna temple at *Valad* which was ruled over by King Govindacandra, an ascetic named *Paumaeva* Sk. Padmadeva delivered a sermon during which he referred to the charming story of Sukumāla Swāmi. One of his listeners was Kumāra, the son of Pithe Sāhu, who felt interested to know more about the story of Sukumāla Swāmi. But the sage referred him to the good poet Śrīdhara to have his curiosity satisfied. Thus, Śrīdhara was induced by Kumāra Sāhu to compose the poem. This patron of learning is said to have belonged to the Pauravāḍa family and the poet has commemorated his name in the colophon to each sandhi[12] and has also praised him in several verses added at the beginning of the sandhis.[13] At the end of the work the poet has given a detailed genealogy of his patron. There was one Jaggu Sāhu and his wife Galhā. They had eight sons, Pithe being the eldest. The other seven brothers were Mahinda, Tikka, Jalhaṇa, Salakkhaṇa, Sampuṇṇa, Samudapāla and Ṇayap-la. Pithe's wife was Salakkhaṇā from whom he had two sons Kumra and Nānū. Kumāra had for his wife Paumā Sk. Padmā from whom he had four sons Pālhaṇa, Sālhaṇa, Bālhaṇa (?) and Sūpat.[14] The place Valad where the poet wrote may be identified with the modern Valad in the Ahmedabad district of Gujarat. Govindacandra appears to have been a local ruler. The poet has recorded the date of the completion of his work in detail[15]–as Monday, the 3rd of the dark fortnights of Agrahaṇa, in the year 1208, presumably of the Vikrama era (=1151 A.D.). The extent of the whole work is mentioned as equal to 1200 grantha (śloka).[16] The MS. of the work is dated Monday, the 13th of the dark fortnight of Aśvina, Samvat 1486 (1429 A.D.) when king Dungarasimhadeva was reigning at Gopācala (Gwalior). The copy was made for Yaśahkīrtideva, the pupil of Guṇakīrti the pupil of Sahasrakīrti, the successor of Ācārya Bhāvasenadeva of Māthurānvaya, Puṣkaragaṇa.[17]

3. *Chhakkammovaesa*[18] Sk. *Ṣaṭkarmopadeśa* of Amarakīrti Gaṇi is a poem. It has 14 *sandhis* containing 215 *kaḍavakas*. It deals with the sixfold duties of householders, namely worship of god, attendance on the teacher, study of the sacred texts, self-restraint, austerity and charity, with illustrative stories. The poet has given and account of himself both at the beginning as well as at the end of the work, from which we learn that he belonged to the illustrious line of teachers of the Māthura Saṅgha, the succession list of which starts with Amiyagai (Amitagati)[19] who was succeeded in order by Śāntisena,

Amarasena, Śrīsena, Candrakīrti, and Amarakīrti the author. The teacher Amitagati appears to be no other than the famous author of *Dharmaparīkṣā, Subhāṣitaratnasandoha* and various other works, who flourished at the time of King Munja (1050 V.S.). Amarakīrti calls him 'the delighter of the king's mind by his virtues', and the reference may be to King Munja himself. Similarly, he describes *Śāntisena,* the successor of Amitagati, as a teacher 'to whose feet the king bowed.' The poet tells us that his patron of letters was Ambāprasāda[20] of the Nāgara family and the son of Guṇapāla and Carciṇī. Ambāprasāda has also been called "the victorious banner of the Kṛṣṇapura family".[21] The poet dedicates his work to this Ambāprasāda whose name is mentioned at the end of each Sandhi.[23] The poet has also called Ambāprasāda as his younger brother,[24] from which it is clear that the poet himself belonged to this family before he renounced the world and joined the order.

The composition of the work is said to have taken place at Godahaya in the Mahiyaḍa Desa of Gujjar Visaya, [25] which may be identified with the present town of *Godhra* situated in the Mahikantha Agency in Gujarat. He has mentioned the time of his composition as Thursday, the 14th of the second fortnight of Bhādrapada in V.S. 1247 (A.D. 1190) and it took the poet one month of ceaseless activity to write out the work.[26] At that time the ruler of Godhra was Kanha (Kṛṣṇa) the son of Vandiggadeva of the Cālukya family. The names of these rulers are not traceable in the main Cālukya line of Anhilwaḍ. It may therefore, be presumed that there was some branch line of the Cālukyas ruling in Mahikantha at that time with their capital at Godhra.

Amarakīrti has mentioned[27] no less than seven other works composed by him, namely, *Nemināhacariu, Mahāvīracariu, Jasaharacariu, Dhammacaria-tippaṇa, Suhāsia-rayaṇa-ṇihi, Dhammovaesa-cuḍāmaṇi* and *Jhāṇapaīu.*

He tells us that he composed the *Jasaharacariu* in Paddhaḍia metre, and it may therefore, be presumed that the language of the work was Apabhraṁśa. *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* is said to have been a collection of Sanskrit verses. *Dhammacaria-tippaṇa* was so composed as to make it intelligible even to a dull person. It is not unlikely that this may be a commentary on *Dharma-parīkṣā* of Amitagati. In addition to these, the poet tells us that he composed many other works in Sanskrit and Prākrit. But, unfortunately, none of these have so far been discovered. Manuscript explorers, particularly in Gujarat, might very well keep an eye for these works of Amarakīrti.[28]

4. *Aṇuvaya-rayaṇa-paīu*[29] *Sk. Aṇuvrata-ratna-pradīpa* of *Lakkhaṇa,* Sk. *Lakṣmaṇa* is a peom in 8 *sandhis* containing 206 *kaḍavakas* equal to 3400 ślokas in extent.[30] It deals with the religious vows of the Jaina householders. The poet, according to his own statement, completed his work on Thursday, the 7th of the dark fortnight of Kartika in V.S. 1313 (A.D. 1256) after his labours of nine months.[31] He belonged to the Jāyasa (Jaiswal) family and the names of his parents were Sāhula and Jaitā.[32] The patron of the poet was Kaṇhaḍa Sādhu of the Lambakancuka family who had two sons Harideva and Dvijarāja and whose father, grandfather and great-grandfather were Soḍhū Sāhu, Amṛtapāla and Hallaṇa respectively.[33]

Kaṇha is said to have been the great minister of King Āhavamalla of the Chauhāna family ruling at *Rāyavaḍḍiya* situated on the river Jamna.[34] It was at this town that our poet also dwelt. Āhavamalla's father and other ancestors were Śriballāla, Jāhaḍa, Abhayapāla and Bharatapāla respectively. Bharatpāla had his capital at Chandavāḍa on the Jamna. Hallaṇa is said to have been the chief in the council of King *Bharatapāla*. His son Amṛtapāla was the minister of King *Abhayapāla*, while Soḍhu was the minister of King *Jāhaḍa* and after him of his successor Śrīballāla.[35] Āhavamalla is said to have behaved heroically in battle against the Mlecchas by which term is presumably meant here the Muhammadans. He is also said to have extricated the thorn from the mind of Hammīravīra. It is possible that we have here a reference to this king's help to Hammīradeva of Raṇathambhor against the onslaughts of the Muhammadans. Hammīradeva was killed in battle in A.D. 1299, i.e., 43 years later than the composition of the present work (1256 A.D.). Or, if we amend the available text a little, reading 'Naddha' in place of 'Naṭṭha' and take Hammīra as the Sanskrit and Prakrit equivalent of Amīra-a Muhammadan chief–the text may be taken to mean that Āhavamalla was a constant thorn to the Muslim ruler.

The Rāyavaḍḍiya and the Candavāḍa mentioned in the work may be identified with the modern Raibhā and Chandwār near Firozabad in the Agra district of the United Provinces. The present work is thus important, besides its language and other subject-matter, for bringing to light a whole line of the rulers of the Chauhāna family near Agra during the 13th century.

5. *Nemināhacariu*[36] of *Lakhamadeo Sk. Lakṣmaṇadeva* of a poem in four sandhis consisting of 83 kaḍavakas. It describes the life of Neminātha the 22nd Tīrthaṁkara. In the colophons[37] to the sandhis the poet mentions himself as the son of *Rayaṇa* (Ratnadeva). In the introductory part of the poem he gives a few more details about himself.[38] Here we are told that in the Mālava (Mālwa) country was situated a town called *Gananda* which was in a very flourishing condition. It was a great seat of Jainism and a resort for highly learned monks. One noteworthy point mentioned about the town is that "Here was produced that essence of grammar which became the ornament to the throats of the learned." Possibly it means that an important work on grammar was written there by some writer and the work became popular amongst scholars. It was in this town that Lakhamadeo was born to Ratnadeva in the *Purvāḍa* family. He turned out to be very pious and learned and decided to utilise his talents in composing the work. In the ending kaḍavaka of the work we again find mention of his Pauravāḍa family. He is here said to be well-to-do in wealth and family and possessing a charming personality.[39] In addition to this we are told here that the author began his work on the 13th of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha and completed it on the 13th of the dark fortnight of Caitra.[40] The composition of the work thus took eight months and a half. Unfortunately, we are not told the year in which this composition took place. The MS. of the work which I examined records[41] that it was a gift made on the 10th day of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśirṣa Samvat 1510 (A.D. 1453). The work may thus have been composed any time before that.

REFERENCES

1. The MS belongs to the Jain temple at Farrukhnagar, Merrut, U.P. Another MS deposited at the Chaubisi Jain Temple at Chanderi in Gwalior State has just come to my notice. It is dated V.S. 1550 Kartika Vadi 14 Wednesday when Sultan Gyasuddin was ruling over Malwa. *I have not yet had the opportunity of examining this work thoroughly.*

2. सरसइ सुसरा। महु होउ वरा।।
   इय कव्वरइ। फुडु सिद्ध कई।।
   हयचोर भए। णिसि भरिवि गए।।
   पहराद्धि ठिए। चिंततु हिए।।
   छत्ता-आ सुत्तउ अच्छइ ता तहिं पिच्छई।
   णारि एक्क मणहारिणी।
   सिय वत्थणियच्छिय कंजयहत्थिय।
   अक्खसुत्त सुयधारिणि।। 2 ।।
   सा चवेइं सिविणंति तक्खणे।
   काइं सिद्ध चिंतवहि णियमणे।
   तं सुणेवि कई सिद्धु जपंए।
   मज्झु माइ णिरु हियउ कंपए।
   कव्वबुद्धि चिंतंतु लज्जिओ।
   तक्कछंदलक्खणविवज्जिओ।
   तं सुणेवि जाजइ महासई।

   णिसुणि सिद्ध जंपइ सरासइ।
   छत्ता-आलसु संकिल्लहि हियउ म मिल्लहि
   मज्झु वयणु इउ दिढु धरई।
   हउ मुणिवरवेसिं कहिमि विसेसिं
   कव्वु किं पि तं तुहुं करहि ।। 3 ।।
   ता मलधारिदेउ मुणिपुंगमु तां पच्चक्खु धम्मु श्वसमु दमु।
   माहवचंदु आसि सुपसिद्धउ जो खम दम समणियमसमिद्धउ।
   तासु सीसु तवतेयदिवायरु वयतवणियमसीलरयणायरु।
   तक्कलहरिसंकोलियपरमउ वरवायरणपउरपसरियपउ।
   जासु भुवणि दूरंतरु वंकिवि थिउ पच्छण्णु मयणु आसंकिवि।
   अमयचंदु णामेण भडारउ सो विहरंतु पत्तु बुहसारउ।
   सरिसरणंदणवणसंछण्णउ मढविहरजिणभवणरवण्णउ।
   बंभणवाडउ णामिं पट्टणु आरिणरणाहसिल्लदलवट्टणु।
   जो भुंजइ अरिणरखयकालहो रणधोरियहो सुयहो बल्लालहो।
   जासु भिच्चु दुज्जणमणसल्लणु खत्तिउ गुहिलपुत्तु जहिं भुल्लणु।
   तहि संपत्तु मुणीसरु जावहि भव्वलोउ आणंदिउ तावहि।
   घत्ता-णियगुण अपसंसिवि मुणिहि णमंसिवि जो लोणहि अदुगुंछिउ।
   णयविणयसमिद्धि मुणु कइ सिद्धिं सो जइवरु आउच्छिउ ।। 4 ।।
   अहु अहु परमेसर बुहपहाण तवणियमसीलसंजमणिहाण।
   सुइणंतरि जो मइ कल्कि दिट्ठु सो हउ मणि मण्णउअइ-विसिट्ठु।
   तुम्हागमणे जाणियउ अज्जु ता मुणिणा जंपिउ अहमणोज्जु।

णाणाविहकोऊहलिहि भरिउ तुहु तुरिउ करहि पज्जुण्णचरिउ।

3. पुणु पंपाइयदेवणणंदणु भवियणजणमणणयणाणंदणु।
बुहयणजणपयपंकयछप्पउ भणइ सिद्ध पणमिय परमप्पउ।

4. तस्मान्मही...विदितान्यकलत्रगात्र
स्पर्शो यशोधवल इत्यवलम्बते स्म।
यो गुर्जरक्षितिपति प्रतिपक्षमाजौ
बल्लालमालभत मालवमेदिनीन्द्रम्।।
अचलेश्वर के मंदिर का लेख : भारत के प्राचीन राजवंश भाग-1, पृ. 76
यश्चालुक्यकुमारपालनृपतिप्रत्यर्थितामागतम्।
गत्वा सत्वरमेव मालवपतिं बल्लालमालब्धवान्।।
आबू प्रशस्ति *Ep. Ind.* VIII p. 2 ।।

5. रेऊ : भारत के प्राचीन राजवंश भा. 1, पृ. 76

6. इय पज्जुण्णकहाए पयडियधम्मत्थकाममुक्खाए कइ-सिद्धविरइयाए पढमो संधी।...इय पज्जुण्णकहाए पयडियधम्मत्थकाममुक्खाए कइसिद्धविरइयाए कुमारबहुविज्जालाभमातामिलासवण्णणं णाम अट्ठमो संधी समत्तो।...कइसीहविरइयाए णवमो संधी।...कइसिद्धविरइयाए दसमो संधी।

7. बुहरल्हणसुयकइसीहविरइयाए सच्चमहादेवीमाणभंगो णाम एकादसमो संधी समत्तो।

8. तह पयरउ णिरुवममइयमाणु
गुज्जरकुलणहउज्जोयभाणु।
जो उहयपवरवाणीविलासु
एवंविहविउसहो रल्हणासु।
तहो पणइणि जिणमइ सुद्धसील
सम्मत्तवंति णं धम्मलील।
कइसीहु ताहि गब्भंतरम्मि
संभविउ कमलु जिह सुरसरम्मि।
जणवच्छलु सज्जणजणियहरिसु
सुइवंतु तिविहवइरायसरिसु।
उप्पण्णु सहोयरु तासु अवरु
णामेण सुहंकरु गुणहं पवरु।
साहारणु लहुयउ तासु जाउ
धम्माणुरत्तु अइदिव्वकाउ।
तहो अणु वरु महाएउ दिसु सारु
सविणोउ विणंकुस णसरुधारु (?)।
जावच्छहिं चत्तारि वि सुभाय
पर उवयारिय जणजणियराय।
एक्कहि दिणि गुरुणा भ(णिउ व)च्छ
णिसुणहि छप्पय कइराय हच्छ।
भो बालसरासइ गुणसमीह
किं अविणोएं दिण गमहि सीह।
चउविहपुरिसत्थरसोहभरिउ
णिव्वाहहि जइ पज्जुण्णचरिउ।
कइसिद्धहो विरयंतहो विणासु
संपण्णउ कम्मवसेण णासु।

महु वयणु करहि किं तुव मणेण।
...तं (ते) जरा छत्ता (धण्णा)।
परकज्जं परकव्वं विहडंतं जेहिं उद्धरियं ॥

This praśasti is not found by me in the Farrukhnagar MS which is dated V.S. 1517 Sunday the 3rd of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa, but it was found in an incomplete MS utilised by Mr. Mohanlal Desai for his article कुमारपालना समयनुं एक अपभ्रंश काव्य contributed to the Atmananda Centenary Volume, Bombay 1936. This MS was dated V.S. 1532.

9. इति प्रद्युम्नचरित्रं सिद्ध तथा सिंहकवेः कृतं समाप्तं ॥
संवत् 1517 वर्षे मार्गशीर्ष सुदि 3 रविवारे। ग्रंथाग्रं 3050 ज्ञातव्यमिति॥

10. I have seen two MSS of this work one dated Samvat 1486 and the other Samvat 1629 both deposited in the Terāpanthī Baḍā Mandir at Jaipur.

11. एक्कहि दिणे भव्वयणपियारए
वलडइ णामे गामे मणहारए।
सिरिगोविंदचंदाणिवपालिए
जणवइ सुहयारयकरलालिए।
दुगुणियबारहजिणवरमंडिए
पवणुद्धय धयवडअवलंडिए।
जिणमंदिरेवक्खाणुकरंतें
भव्वयणहं चिरु दुरिउ हरंतें।
कलयाणीए बुहेण अणिंदें
पोमसेणणामेण मुणिंदें।
भासिउ संति अणेयइं सत्थइं
जिणसासणे अवराइं पसत्थइं।
पर सुकुमालसामिणामालहो
कररुहमुहविवरियवरवालहो।
चारुचरिउ महुं पडिहासइ तह
गोवरु बुहयणमणहरणु वि जह।
तं णिसुणेवि महियले विक्खाएं
पयडसाहुपीथेतणुजाएं।
सलखणजणणीगब्भुप्पण्णें।
पउमाभत्तारेण रवण्णें।
सहरसेण कुवरेण पउत्तउ
भो मुणिवर पइं पभणिउ जुत्तउ।
तं महु अग्गइ किण्ण समासहि
विवरेविणु माणसु उल्लासहि

12. इय सिरिसुकुसालसामिमणोहरचरिए सुंदरयररयण णियरभरिए विबुहसिरिसुकइसिरिहरविरइए साहु-पीथेपुत्तकुमरणामंकिए अग्गिभूइवाउभूइसूरमित्त-मेलावयवण्णणो णाम पढमो परिच्छेउ समत्तो ॥
ता मुणि भणइ वप्प जइ णिसुणहि
पुव्व जम्मकयदुरियइं विहुणहि।
घत्ता— अब्भत्थियवि णिरु सिरिहरु सुकइ
तच्चरिसु विरयावहि।

इह रति वि किंपि ण तवतणउ
  सुहु परत्थे पुणु पावहि।। 2 ।।
ता अण्णहि दिणि तेण कइल्लें
जिणमणिआगमसत्थरसिल्लें।
कइ सिरिहरु विणएण पउत्तउ
तुहु परियाणिय जुत्ताजुत्तउ।
तुहु बहुविहयसोक्खवित्थारणु
भवियणमणचिंतियसुहकारणु।
जइ सुकुमाल सामिकह अक्खहि
विरएविणु महु पुरउ ण रक्खहि।
ता महु मणहु सुक्खु जायइ लइ
तं णिसुणेवि भासइ सिरिहरु कइ।
...भो पुरवाडवंससिरिभूसण
धरियविमल सम्मत्तविहूसण।
एक्कचित्तु होएवि आयण्णहि
जं पइं पुच्छिउ मा अवगण्णहि।

13. यस्सर्ववित्पदपयोरुहजो द्विरेफः
सद्दृष्टिरुत्तममतिर्मदमानमुक्तः।
श्लाघ्यःसदैव हि सतां विदुषां च सोऽत्र
श्रीमत्कुमार इति नन्दतु भूतलेऽस्मिन्।।
  at the beginning of Sandhi 2

14. आसि पुरा परमेट्ठिहे भत्तउ
चउविहचारुदाणअणुरत्तउ
सिरिपुरवाडवंसमंडणयउ
णियगुणणियराणंदियबंधउ
गुरुभत्तिए परिणमियमुणीसरु
णामे साहुरजगु वणीसरु
तहो गल्हा णामेण पियारी
गेहिणी मणइच्छियसुहयारी
पविमलसीलाहरणविहूसिय
सुहिसज्जणबुहयणहं पसंसिय
ताहं तणूरुहु पीथे जायउ
जणसुहयरु महियले विक्खायउ
अवरु महिंदे वुच्चइ बीयउ
बुहयणमणहरु तिक्कउ तइयउ
जल्हणु णामें भणिउ चउत्थउ
पुणु वि सलक्खणु दाणसमत्थउ
छट्ठउ सुउ संपुण्णु हुअउ जह
समुदपालु सत्तमु आयउ तह
अट्ठमु सुउ णयपालु समासिउ
विणयाइय गुणगणहिं विहूसिउ
पउमहो पिय णामेण सलक्खण

लक्खणकलियसरीर वियक्खण
ताहे कुमरु णामेणं तणूरुहु
आयउ मुहपहपहयसरोरुहु
विणयविहूसण भूसियगत्तउ
मयमिच्छप्रमाणपरिचत्तउ
घत्ता—णाणु अवरु वीयउ पवरु
  कुमरहो हुअ वर गेहिणि।
पउमा भणिय सुअणहिं गणिय
  जिण मयव बहुणेहिणि।। 16 ।।
तहे पाल्हणु णामेण पहूअउ
पढमु पुत्तु णं मयणु सुरूवउ।
बीयउ साल्हणु जो जिणु पुज्जइ
जसु रूवेण ण मणहरु पुज्जइ।
तइयउ बालेमणि वाणिज्जइ
बंधवसुअणहिं सम्माणिज्जइ।
तुरियउ जायउ सूपट्टु णामें
जायइ णियसरु दरिसिउ कामें।
एयहं णीसेसहं कम्मक्खउ
जिणमयरमहं होउ दुक्खक्खउ।

15 बारह सयइं गयइं कयहरिसइं
अट्ठोत्तरइं महीयले वरिसइं।
कसणपक्खे अग्गहणे जायए
तिज्जदिवसे ससिवारि समायए।

16 बारहसयइं गंथह कयइं पद्धडिएहिं खण्णउ।
जणमणहरणु सुहवित्थरणु एउ सत्थु संपुण्णउ।।

17 संवत् 1486 वर्षे अश्वणि वदि 13 सोमदिने गोपाचलदुर्गे राजा डूंगरसीहदेवविजयराज्य प्रवर्तमाने श्रीकाष्ठासंघे माथुरान्वये पुष्करगणे आचार्य श्री भावसेनदेवास्तत्पट्टे श्रीसहस्रकीर्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे श्रीगुणकीर्तिदेवास्तत् शिष्येन श्रीयशःकीर्तिदेवेन निजज्ञानावरणीकर्मक्षयार्थं इदं सुकुमालसामिचरित्रं लिखापितं कायस्थ याजन पुत्र थलू लेखनीयं।

18 MS dated संवत् 1884 का भादवा माशे शुक्लपक्षे तिथौ 2, शक्रवासरे is deposited in the Digambara Jain Mandir, Agra. Another MS dated V.S. 1558 is deposited at the Chaubīsī Jain Temple at Chanderi in Gwalior State.

19 अमियगइ महामुणि मुणिचूडामणि
  आसि तित्थु सम सीलधणु।
विरइयबहुसत्थउ कित्तिसमत्थउ
  सगुणाणंदियणिवइमणु ।।
गणि संतिसेणु तहो जाउ सीसु
णियचरणकमलणामियमहीसु।
माहुरसंघाहिउ अमरसेणु
तहो हुउ विणेउ पुणु हयदुरेणु।
सिरिसेणसूरि पंडियपहाणु
तहो सीसु वाइकाणणहिसाणु।
पुणु दिक्खिउ तहो तवसिरिणिवासु

अत्थियणसंघबुहपूरियासु।
परवाइ कुंभिदारणमइंदु
सिरिचंदकित्ति जायउ मुणिंदु।
तहो अणुउ सहोयरु सीसु जाउ
गणि अमराकित्ति णिहणियपमाउ।

20. तामण्णहिं दिणिं विहियायरेण
णायरकुलगयणदिणेसरेण।
चच्चिणिगुणवालहं णंदणेण
अवदिण्णदाणपेरियमणेण।
घत्ता— भव्वयणपहाणें बुहगुणजाणें
  बंधवेण अणुजायइं।
सो सूरि पवित्तउ लहु विण्णत्तउ
  भत्तिए अंबपसायइं।। 6 ।। (संधि 1)

21. अंबपसायइं चच्चिणिपुत्तें
गिहछक्कम्मपवित्तपवित्तें।
गुणवालहु सुएण विरयाविउ
अवरेहिं मि णियमणि संभाविउ।
  (संधि 14 कडवक 18)

22. अमरसूरि तव्वयणाणंतरु
पयडइ गिहिछक्कम्महं वित्थरु।
सुणि कण्हपुरवंसविजयद्धय
णियकवोहामियमयरद्धय।

23. सो लोइ थुणिज्जइ साहु भणिज्जइ
  अमरकित्तिपयाणिहियमणु।
चज्जियकुवियप्पउ हयकंदप्पउ
  अंबपसाय सुसीलहणु।।
    (संधि 1 घत्ता 1)

णंदउ णिरु तावहिं सत्थु इहु
  अमरकित्तिमुणिविहिउ पयत्तें।
जावहिं महिमारुवमेरुगिरि
  णहयलु अंबपसायणिमित्तें।। 18 ।।

इय छक्कम्मोवएसे महाकइसिरि अमराकित्तिविरइए महाकव्वे महाभव्व अंबपसायाणुमण्णिए तवदाणवण्णणो णाम चउद्दसमो संधी परिच्छेओ समत्तो।।

24. णंदउ अंबपसाउ वियक्खणु
अमरसूरिलहुबंधु सुलक्खणु।

25. अह गुज्जरविसयहु मज्झि देसु
णामेण महीयडु बहुपएसु।
णयरायर वरगामहिं णिरुद्धु
णाणापयारसंपइसमिद्धु।
तहिं णयरु अत्थि गोदहयणामु
णं सग्गु विचित्तु सुरेसधामु।
...तं चालुक्कवंसि णयजाणउ
पालइ कण्हणरिंदु पहाणउ।

जो जम्मंतरारि विद्धंसणु
भत्तिए सम्माणिय छंदसणु।
णिवयंदिग्गदेवतणुजायउ
खत्तधम्मु णं दरिसियकायउ।

26. बारह सयई ससत्तचयालिहिं
विक्कमसंवच्छरहु विसालहिं।
गयहिं मि भद्दवयहु पक्खंतरि
गुरुवारम्मि चउद्दसि वासरि।
इक्कें मासें इहु सम्मत्तिउ
सई लिहियउ आलसु अवहत्थिउ।

27. घत्ता— भव्वयणपहाणें बुहगुणजाणें
बंधवेण अणुजजायई।
सो सूरि पढत्तउ लहु विण्णत्तउ
भत्तिए अंबपसाएं।। 6 ।।
परमेसरपइं णवरसभरिउ
विरइयउ णेमिणाहहो चरिउ।
अण्णु वि चिरतु जसहरणिवासु
पद्धडियाबंधें किउ पयासु।
टिप्पणउ धम्मचरियहो पयडु
तिह विरइउ जिह बुज्झेइ जडु।
सक्कयसिलोयविहि जणियदिहि
गुंफियउ सुहासियरयणाणिहि।
धम्मोवएसचूडामणि क्खु
तह झाणपईउ वि झाणसिक्खु।
छक्कम्मुवएसें सहु पबंध
किय अट्ठ संख सई सच्चसंध।
सक्कयपाइय कव्वय घणाई
अवराई कियई रंजियजणाई।

28. For more information about the MS of the work see हीरालाल जैन—अमरकीर्ति गणि और उनका षट्कर्मोपदेश जैन सिद्धान्त भास्कर भा. 2, कि. 3, पृ. 70 आदि and कि. 4, पृ. 120 आदि।

29. The MS dated संवत् 1585 वर्षे वइसाष सु. दुइज सोमवासरे is in possession of the writer. For its full description see जैन सिद्धान्त भास्कर भा. 6, कि. 3, पृ. 155।

30. सय दुण्णि छउत्तर अत्थसार
पद्धडिय छंद णाणापयार।
बुज्झहु तिसहस सय चारि गंथ
बत्तीसक्खर णिरु तिमिरमंथ।
चहु दुहय सग्ग पिहु पिहु पमाण
सावयमणबोहण सुद्धठाण।

31. तेरह सय तेरह उत्तराले
परिगलिय विक्कमाइच्चकाले।
संवेयरइह सव्वहं समक्खे
कत्तियमासम्मि असेयपक्खे

सत्तमिदिणे गुरुवारे समोए
अट्ठमि रिक्खे साहिज्जजोए।
णवमास रयंति पावखयत्थु
सम्मत्तउ कमे कमे एहु सत्थु।

32. साहुलहो घरिणि जइतासुएण
सुकइत्तणगुणविज्जाजुएण।
जायसकुलगयणदिवायरेण
अणसंजमीहिं विहियायरेण।
इह अणुवयरयणपईउ कव्वु
विरयउ ससत्ति परिहरिवि गव्वु।

33. जो साहु सोढु तहिं पुरपहाणु
जणमणपोसणु गुणमणिणिहाणु।
तहो पढमु पुत्तु सिरि रयणवालु
बीयउ कण्हहु अरिंदुभालु।
सो सुपसिद्धउ मल्हातणूउ
पिया तस्स सल्लक्खण लक्खणङ्का
गुरुणं पए भत्ति काउं पियङ्का।
...घत्ता—तासु सुलक्खण विहियकुलक्कम
अणुगामिणि तह जणमहिय।
तहि हुव वे णंदण णयणाणंदण
हरिदेउ वि दिट्ठउ हिय।। 9 ।।
...सिरिलंबकंचुकुलकुमुयचंदु
करुणावल्लीवणघवणकंदु।
...कण्हडु वणिवइ जणसुप्पसिद्ध
आहमल्लरायमइमंति रिद्धु।

34. इह जउणाणइ उत्तरतडत्थ
महणयरि रायभुअ पसत्थ।
...तहिं णरवइ आहवमल्लएउ
दारिद्दसमुद्दुत्तरणसेउ।
...दुप्पिच्छ मिच्छरणरंगमल्लु
हम्मीरवीरमणणट्ठसल्लु।
चउहाणवंसतामरसभाणु
मुणियइं ण जासु भुयबलपमाणु।
तहो पट्टमहाएवी पसिद्ध
ईसरदे पणयणि पणयविद्ध।
घत्ता—तहिं पुरे कइकुलमंडणु दुण्णयखंडणु
मिच्छत्तत्ति ण जित्तउ।
सुपसिद्धउ कइ लक्खणु बोहवियक्खणु
परमयराएं ण छित्तउ।। 4 ।।

35. इह चंदवाडु, जमुणातडत्थु
दंसियविसेसगुण विवहवत्थु।

...भूवालु तत्थ सिरिभरहवालु।
णियदेसगामणयरत्थपालु।
तहिं लंबकंचुकुलगयणभाणु
हल्लणु पुरवइ सव्वइं पहाणु।
णरणाहसहामंडणु वणि
जिणसासणपरिणइपुण्णसिद्धु।
तहो अमयपालु तणुरुहउ हूउ
वणिपर्दृदकियमालयलरूउ।
णरणहसमज्जसरायहंसु
महमंतधवियचउहाणवंसु।
सो अभयवालणरणाहरज्जे
सुपहाणु रायवावारकज्जे।
...देहल्लु तासु सिरि साहु सोहु
आहउणरिंद सह मंतपोहु।
घत्ता— संभूयउ तहो रायहो लच्छिसहायहो
पहमु जणमणाणंदणु।
सिरिवल्लालु णरेसरु एवं जियसरु
सुहासउ महणंदणु।। 7 ।।

36. The MS dated सं. 1590 वर्षे मार्गशीर्ष वदि 10 is deposited in the Terapanthi Bara Digambar Jain Mandir Bhandar at Jaipur.
37. इय णेमिणाहइचरिए अबुहकइरयणसुअ-लक्खणएवेण विरइए भव्वयणमणाणंदे णेमिकुमारसंभवो णाम पढमो परिच्छेउ समत्तो।
38. मालवयविसय अंतरि पहाणु
सुरहरिभूसिउ णं तियसठाणु।
णिवसइ पट्टणु णामइं महंतु
गोणंदु पसिद्धु बहुरिद्धिवंतु।
आरामगामपरमिउ घणेहिं
णं भूमंडणु किउ णियपदेहिं।
जहि सरिसरवर चउदिरि रवण्ण।
आणंदिय पहियण तहि णिसण्ण।
जहिं चेईहर मणहर विसाल।
णं मेरुजिणालय सहियसाल।
तिहुवणमंदिरगिह मणिविहार
फोडियएयंतणयंधयार।
जहिं पढमु जाउ वायरणसारु
जो बुहयणकंठाहरणु धारु।
सिद्धंतिय जइवर मुणइं तत्थ
जहिं भवियण लीहय मोक्खपंथ।
जहिं णिच्च महोच्छव जइजणेहिं
कय भवियइं भव आसंकिएहिं।
तहिं णिवसइ रयणागरहु भव्वु
परणारिसहोयरु गलियगव्वु।
लक्खमाणामइं तहिं वणउ पुत्तु

लक्खमएउ णामें विसयहिं विरत्तु।
पुरवाड महिसठरतिलउ णाणि
सो अहिणिसि लीणउ जइणवाणि।
घत्ता—तहिं जोयउ वइरायउ अवलोएविणु भवगइ।
तं किज्जइ हिउ अत्यु जेण जीउ न भइंगइ।।
...किं बहुबुद्धिए जिण रयमि गंथु
किह मुहरंअमि आणमि अणत्थु।

39. पउरवाडकुलकमलदिवायरु
विणयवंतु संवेहासायरु।
धणकणपुत्त अत्थसंपण्णउ
आइसरावहु रूवरवण्णउ।
तेण वि कियउ गंथु अकसायहु

40. आरंभिउ असाढसियतेरसि
भउ परिपुण्णु चइतवदितेरसि।
पढइ सुणइ जो लिहइ लिहावइ
मणवंछियउ सोक्खु सो पावइ।

41. सं. 1510 वर्षे मार्गशीर्ष वदि 10 श्रीमूल-संघे सरस्वतीगच्छे बलात्कारगणे भ. श्रीपद्मनंदिदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ. श्रीशुभचंद्रदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ. जिनचंद्रदेवाः श्रीपद्मनंदिशिष्य मुनिमदनकीर्ति तत्शिष्य ब्र. नरसिंह। गोराणियागोत्रे सं. ठवरण भार्या सं. हेमा अजमेरा पुत्री साध्वी कोडी इदं शास्त्रं पात्राय दत्तं।

Notice of Jain Literature in Central Provinces

The centre of India from the time immemorial has been the home of aborigines, whether they were autochthones or driven in to find a suitable shelter in its hills and forests by Aryans and other immigrants. In the central Provinces they still hold the majority, numbering as they do about four millions out of a population of about 16 millions. There are. no less than 40 different tribes in which they are divided, but the most predominant are the Gonds, numbering over two millions. They once dominated the province which was given the name of Gondwana after them. The term connoted a wilderness full of forests, tigers and Bandarvas or monkey-like people. The natural inference has been that this country was devoid of fine arts and has therefore been regarded as the most backward in India, but the fact is otherwise. Historical research has of late revealed the fact that this province once held its own against any other civilized provinces of India, and that one of its dynasties ruling at Tripuri near Jubbulpore aspired to bring the whole of India under "one umbrela" and succeeded so far as to extend its dominions of Nepal in the north, to the Karnatak in the south, and from sea to sea in the other two directions. In their days fine arts of all descriptions indigenous to the Indians flourished to the same extent, as they did in the other provinces of India. Kalachuri architecture claims a separate place of its own, and their court possessed poets like Saśidhara and Rājaśekhara, to whom other poets bowed low in their days.

Perhaps the oldest and greatest man that this province produced was Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Buddhist Mādhyamika philosophy. He was born in Berar and was at once a poet, philosopher, physician and author of great literary abilities. In fact Berar produced a galaxy of scholars which includes names like Bhavabhūti of Padmapur or Umarkheḍ, Bhāravi, Danḍin and king Pravarasena II of Achalapur (present Ellichpur), Bopanadeva of Sardha (on the Wardhā), Vidarbharāja, Bhoja, Guṇāḍhya (author of Bṛihat Kathā), Śarvavarmā (author of Kātantra Sūtra), Hāla (author of Saptaśati), Hemādri, Lakshmaṇa of Kuṇḍinapur, Trivikarmabhaṭṭa (author of Nalachampu) and his descendants Bhāskarabhaṭṭa, Maheśvarāchārya, Bhāskarāchārya, Lakshmīdhara and Chāngadeva, Jñānarāja of Pāthri and his son Sūrya, Paṇḍita Mallāri of Golegaon and his descendants Śivadaivajña and Kamalākara, Nārāyaṇa of Ṭāpargaon and his son Gaṅgādhara (author of Manoramā, a commentary on Graha-lāghava), Ananta of Dharmapur and his sons Rāma and Nīlakaṇṭha, Krishṇa, Rāma,

Nārāyaṇa and Muniśvara of Dahegaon, Rāmakṛishṇa of Amraoti (author of Bijaprabodha and Gaṇitāmṛita Laharī), Nāgeśa Daivajña of Pimpalgaon (author of Astrological and Vedantic works not yet published) and several others. The learned Chinese pilgrim Yuna Chwang records that when in the 7th century A.D. he visited Dakshiṇa Kosala (eastern part of the Central Provinces) he stayed for a month to learn logic from a renowned Brahman of that country. Here the Kalachuri rule lingered till the 18th century A.D., and poets and scholars continued to receive encouragement till a very late date. Paṇḍita Tejanātha Śāstrī of Ratanpur (capital of the Bilāspur branch of the Kalachuris) composed Rāmāyaṇa Sārasaṅgraha containing seven cantoes in Sanskrit in the year 1838 A.D.

It will thus be seen that this Daṇḍakāraṇya to give the country its oldest name, christened "rudely rustic", "where in some places a bamboo guitar is esteemed a treasure, and bows and arrows not to be despised," by an Inspector-General of Education so far back as 1876 A.D., has not been behind other provinces in literary productions and it is no wonder that more than 8 thousand manuscripts of Sanskrit and Prakrit works should have been available within a very short period of search, in spite of the blind dictum that "even Professor Kielhörn and Bühler's learning and activity would have failed to detect manuscripts of any value here". The present finds include a number of rare and valuable records, but since they could not be inspected within the short period of three months allotted for reasons stated in the foreword of the catalogue, except the Jain collection at Kārañjā, it would not be proper to add any special notes in regard to books not presonally seen.

With regard to the Kārañjā collection, which contains about three thousand manuscripts written in Sanskrit and Prakrit, Kanarese, Hindi and Gujarati, a month's time devoted to their inspection will certainly be regarded as insufficient, yet the inspection, howsoever hurried, has revealed matter of great importance, especially in respect of the Jain religion, a field which has been only partially explored till now. I therefore propose to give here a somewhat detailed account of Sanskrit and Prakrit works and their authors found there. These manuscripts are listed in Part II of the Catalogue as "Jaina works", which include only about 50 manuscripts not belonging to Kārañjā. The first part of the Catalogue is devoted to Brahmanical works, which include very few from the Kārañjā Bhaṇḍars for obvious reasons.

Kārañjā is an important cotton trade centre in the Akola district of Berār. There are three big temples, named *Balātkāragana*, *Senagana*, and *Kāshṭa-saṅgha*. They derive their names from three of the various sub-divisions into which the Digambara Jain community was split during the early centuries of the Christian era. Balātkāragaṅa is the most important branch of the Mūla Saṅgha, which is the original name of the Digambara section of the Jain community, and which was apparently given to it when the Svetāmbaras split off from the "Sky-clad" who formed the main and original body of the Jain religionists. As to the name "Balātkāragaṅa" a tradition explains how on the Śvetāmbaras claiming priority, Kundakundāchārya (1st century A.D.) by a miracle caused a stone image of Sarasvati to pronounce judgment in favour of the Digambaras. Since he made Sarasvati to speak by force (*Balāt*), his followers called themselves Balātkāragaṇa of the Sarasvatī gachchha.[1]

There is a paper sheet in the possession of the Balātkāragaṇa temple at Kārañjā on which an account is given of the establishment of the pontifical seats of this gaṇa at various places. From Bhadrabāhu to Mahīchandra there were fifty-one pontiffs who had their seat at Ujjain. Mahīchandra died at Bārā, and was succeeded by Mādhavachandra, from whom twelfth in succession was Gaṅgakīrtti who occupied the seat in V.S. 1197. Gaṅgakīrtti died at Gopāchala (Gwalior) and was succeeded by Siṁhakīrtti in V.S. 1206. From there in V.S. 1266, Abhayakīrtti went to Mārawāḍa and died at Ajmer. He was succeeded by Vasantakīrtti. Prabhāchandra of Ajmer paṭṭa went to Delhi in V.S. 1310. He had five disciples, three of whom established pontifical seats at various places. The first was Sakalakīrtti who established a seat at Gungarapur in Gujarāt in V.S. 1315. From him to Yaśaḥkīrtti, there were sixteen successions. After Yaśaḥkīrtti the seat was divided in twin by his two pupils Guṇachandra and Dharmabhūshaṇa. The second disciple of Prabhāchandra established a seat at Chittor and the third at Malayakheḍa in V.S. 1319. Ratnakīrtti of Malayakheḍapaṭṭa, while on a pilgrimage to Gommaṭeśvara, started a seat at Huṁvacha. The pontiffs of this seat are invariably named Devandrakīrtti. Dharmabhūshaṇa of Malayakheḍa went on pilgrimage to Muktāgiri in V.S. 1575 and established a seat at Kārañjā.

The Senagaṇa to which belongs the second temple at Kārañjā, is a branch of the famous Senagaṇa of the South which once produced Vīrasena, the author of Jayadhavala ṭīkā; Jinasena, the author of Adi-purāṇa, and his illustrious pupil Guṇabhadra, the author of Uttara-purāṇa. The circumstances and the time of the establishment of a branch of this gaṇa at Kārañjā are unknown. The third temple belongs to Kāshṭā saṅgha, which according to Dr. Höernle arose in the time of Umāsvāmi (A.D. 44). But the Jainas believe that it originated about the 8th century A.D.

All these three temples possess a fine collection of old manuscripts, the Balātkāragaṇa collection being the biggest. All the records are written on paper in Nāgari characters except a few on palm leaves in Kanarese characters. The manuscripts are well preserved. The oldest of them is that of Upāsakāchāra of Samantabhadra with a commentry by Prabhāchandra. It is dated in V.S. 1415, sunday, the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha corresponding to 6th June 1359 A.D. Another manuscript of Pañchāstikāya of Kundakundāchārya is dated in V.S. 1468, when Virammadeva was reigning at Gopāchala (Gwalior). A few more manuscripts are dated in the same century and hence are more or less five century old.

I tried to ascertain the dates of the oldest Sanskrit and Prakrit records in Indian libraries and addressed the keepers of about 75 collections but only four or five responded to the call. The following table shows some of the dates furnished by them

Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.	Bhagavadgītā dated Śaka 1611 corre-sponding to Friday, the 23rd October 1690 A.D.
Baroda Central library	Yājñavalkya Smṛiti-Vyākhyā Mitāksharā dated Samvat 1442=1385 A.D.
Bangiya Sahitya Parishada, Calcutta.	Mahābhārata-Ādi-parva dated Śaka 1322=1400 A.D.
Banga Bibudha Sabha Nawadwipa.	Mantra Mahodahi Samvat 1179-1122 A.D.
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.	Upamitibhavaprapañcha kathā of Samvat 962=905 A. D.

The last would appear to be the oldest manuscript, but details for verification were not furnished. This reminds me of what I saw in the Deccan College Library 14 years ago, when, I was shown the oldest manuscript said to be written in Samvat 1172, which on inspection I atonce pointed out to be a mistake for 1772, with which the officer in charge was fully satisfied. The second oldest in Bengali was found to belong to a still later date. It was dated in *San* 1136 which was interpreted to refer to the year 1136 of the Christian era, but Bengal has its own *San* of which the year 1136 was equivalent to 1730 A.D. The third oldest again showed a misreading of 1846 as 1246. So the 4th dated in Śaka 1329 corresponding to 1407 A.D. secured the first place. The Deccan College manuscripts are now deposited in the Bhandarkar Institute and the *Upmitibhavaprapañcha Katha* is referred to as No. 7 of 1880-81 which clearly refers to the records of the Deccan College Library as the Institute was not then founded. At my visit the claim of this manuscript to great antiquity was not brought to my notice nor was that of another manuscript named *Viśeshāvasyaka Bhāshyaṭīkā* reported to bear Samvat 1138=1081 A.D. It is a commentary written by Koṭāchārya on a Jaina work by Jinabhadragaṇi kshamāśramaṇa. In this case also no details for verification are available. Similarly the Nawadwīpa manuscript which claims to have been written in 1122 A.D. failed to furnish the necessary data for verification. The experience gained at the Deccan College Library prevents me from accepting these dates and it is on this account that I have had to omit dates furnished by various officers based as they were on the readings of ordinary clerks, especially when I came across a date reported by a Professor of Sanskrit going back to the 4th century A.D. In this particular case I sent for the original records and found a similar misreading as in the case of the Deccan College manuscript referred to above. In the case of Kārañjā records, however, the dates were not only carefully ascertained, but duly verified with the aid of the Indian Ephimeris in the case of the oldest records, and it is satisfactory to find that it possesses a manuscript in Sanskrit named *Upāskāchāra* bearing a date which tallies with the 6th June 1359 A.D. Among the dated records which stand verification this is the oldest in India so far known. It is possible there may be many other manuscripts older than it, but until they come forward to be put to a test Kārañjā would continue to be proud of its enviable possession.

I now proceed to give some account of a few important authors and their works. Jain literature divides itself into two branches—that produced by the Digambaras and that produced by the Śvetāmbaras. These are the two sections into which the Jain community got split according to the unanimous tradition of both, in the 1st century A.D. None of the known works in Jain literature are assignable with any amount of certainty to any date anterior to the split. Both the sections have a tradition that the teachings of Lord Mahāvīra were systematized into twelve books called "Aṅgas" by his immediate disciples. But as to the subsequent history of these books the traditions differ. The Digambaras say that those books have all been gradually forgotten and what has come down to us of the wisdom of the last Tīrthaṁkara is only through the brief summaries of the books made by later Āchāryas. The Śvetāmbaras, on the other hand, hold that only the twelfth "Aṅga" has been lost, while the other eleven have come down to us as they were though in a much curtailed and corrupted form.[2]

The Kārañja temples belong to the Digambara sect and therefore works by Digambara authors predominate. Of this sect the earliest known works are recognized to the those of Kundakundāchārya.[3] Tradition makes him an author of no less than eighty-four compendiums (Pāhuḍas or Prabandhas), but only seven works of his have so far come to light. These are-

(1) Pañchāstikāya,
(2) Pravachanasāra,
(3) Samayasāra,
(4) Ashṭa Pāhuḍa (Darśana, Sutta, Chāritta, Bodh Bhāva Mokkha, Liṅga and Sīla),
(5) Niyamasāra.
(6) Rayaṇasāra, and
(7) Bāraha Aṇuvekkhā.

Extracts from and analysis of most of these appeared in the Search Reports of Drs. Peterson and Bhāndārkar, and the works have all been published since. They are all in-Prākrit gāthās. Their language is not exactly Śaurasenī as defined in Prakrit Grammars, but very much akin to it. Their subject matter is Jain philosophy, particularly the philosophy of the soul. They form together the "Jain Vedānta" and are the highest authority on the subject.

The known works of Kundakundāchārya contain no data for the determination of the author's date, and the philological test has not so far been successfully applied to them. The paṭṭāvalīs, however, assign him to the 1st century A.D. (V.S. 49, *cf.* Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX, p. 341). This much is any way certain that he lived at a time when the Digambara and Śvetāmbara split had become marked and took part in the controversy at Mount Girnar. More than once in his works, Kundakundāchārya criticizes the Śvetāmbara view with regard to the salvation of women. In Pravachanasāra we read "चित्ते चिंता माया तम्हा तासिं ण णिव्वाणं" and in Shaṭpāhuḍa we have many gāthās which prohibit to a woman the adoption of the rigid course of conduct. He says :

णवि सिज्झई वच्छधरो जिणसासणे जइविहोइ तित्थयरो।
णग्गो विमोक्ख-मग्गो सेसा उम्मग्गया सव्वे।। २३ ।।
जइ दंसणेण सुद्धा उत्ता मग्गेण सावि संजुत्ता।
घोरं चरिय चरित्तं इच्छीसु ण पव्विया भणिया।। २४ ।।

"सुत्त पाहुड"

Another clue to the determination of Kundakundāchārya's date is furnished by his commentator Bālachandra who declares that the Āchārya composed the works for the instruction of his disciple, Śivakumāra Mahārāja. This king Mr. K.B. Pāṭhak identifies with the Kadamba king Śivamṛigeśa Varmā, whō ruled about the 5th century A.D. But Professor A. Chakravarttin identifies him for good reasons with an earlier Kadamba king Śrī Vijaya Sivamṛigeśa Varmā who is known to have reigned about the 1st century A.D. (*cf.* Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. III-Pañchāstikāya, Introduction).

Manuscripts of the first five works of Kundakundāchārya exist in Kārañjā Bhanḍārs. On the first three is to be found a commentary in mixed Prakrit and Kanarese by Bālachandra Munīndra, pupil of Nayakīrti (*cf. Extracts in Appendix of Catalogue*). Amṛitachandra Sūri has written good Sanskrit commentaries on the first four works. But in the Kārañjā collections we have his commentry on "Samayasāra" only. Amṛitachandra is also the author of two important works "Tattvārthasāra" and "Purushārtha-siddhyupaya". Manuscripts of the former exist in the Kārañjā collections. Both Kārañjā manuscripts also furnish us with commentaries on Samayasāra by Prabhāchandra and Rāyamalla, that by the latter being in Hindi.

The "Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra" of Umāsvāmi is the Jain Bible and is recognized as an authority by both the Digambaras as well as the Śvetāmbaras and both assign him to the 1st century A.D. According to Śvetāmbara Paṭṭāvalīs he lived for 48 years, 8 months and 6 days, and left the world in V.S. 142 or A.D. 85.

The Śvetāmbara recension of the "Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra" has the following praśasti at the end:-

न्यग्रोधिकाप्रसूतेन विहरता पुरवरे कुसुमनाम्नि।
कौभीषणिना स्वातितनयेन वात्सीसुतेनार्घ्यम्।। १।।
अर्हद्वचनं सम्यग्गुरुक्रमेणागतं समुपधार्य।
दुःखार्तञ्चदुरागमविहतमतिं लोकमवगम्य।। २।।
इदमुच्चैर्नागरवाचकेन सत्त्वानुकम्पया दृब्धम्।
तत्त्वार्थाधिगमाख्यं स्पष्टमुमास्वातिना शास्त्रम्।। ३।।

This tells us that the author "Umāsvāti" also known as "Nāgara Vāchaka" was born in "Nyagrodhikā" but resided in "Kusumpura". He was the son of Svāti and Vātsī, and belonged to the "Kaubhīshaṇa gotra" (*cf.* Peterson, IV Report, p. xvi).

Another Śvetāmbara account assigns him to centuries before Christ. Ārya Mahāgiri, the 10th pontiff after Mahāvīra, died 249 years after the latter. He had two pupils Bahula and Bahisseha. The pupil of the latter was the author Umāsvāti Vāchaka (*cf.* Epitome of Jainism, p. 662).

For the Digambara account of the Āchārya, see the Paṭṭāvalī of the Sarasvatī gachchha (Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX, p. 341) where he is mentioned as the sixty in succession from Bhadrabāhu, and as succeeding Kundakundāchārya. His date of death is given V.S. 142 or A.D. 85.

In the Digambara recension of the Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra we have only one verse by way of "praśasti" of the author. This verse is-

तत्त्वार्थसूत्र कर्त्तारं गृद्धपिच्छोपलाञ्छितम्।
वन्देगणीन्द्रसंजातमुमास्वामि मुनीश्वरम्।।

In the "Tīrtha Kalpa" of Jinaprabha Sūri it is stated that Umāsvāti was the author of 500 Sanskrit Prakaraṇas. But so far only the following works of his have been discovered:-

(1) Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra,

(2) Bhāshya on the above,

(3) Pūjāprakaraṇa,

(4) Praśamarati.

All these have been published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in one volume. Each of these works bears the following colophon:-

"कृतिः सिताम्बराचार्यस्य महाकवेरुमास्वातिवाचकस्यइति।"

The Digambaras, however recognize only the first of these works. It is a question why Umāsvāmi or Umāsvāti is claimed by both the sections of the Jains. The matter is sometimes explained by saying that he might have lived at a time when the two sections were still united and the division had not taken place. The solution may, however, lie in the fact that Umāsvāmi does not touch the principles under controversy between the two sections.

Commentaries on "Tattvārthādhigama sūtra" are many and big, and evince the importance and popularity that the work has long enjoyed. Among the Kārañjā collections we have manuscripts of the following commentaries:-

(1) Sarvārtha siddhi by Pūjyapāda.

(2) Rājavārttika by Akalaṅka.

(3) Ślokavārttika by Vidyānanda.

(4) Tattvārtha-ratna-prabhākara by Prabhāchandra.

(5) Sukhabodhinī-bhāshya or Śrutasāgari Ṭikā by Śruta sāgara.

Besides these there are many anonymous commentaries and glosses on the work. The latter has also been freely utilized in the composition of such works as Tattvārtha-sāra-dīpaka of Sakalakīrtti.

The next important author is Samantabhadra whose following works have so far come to light :-

(1) Āpta mīmāṁsā or Devāgama stotra,

(2) Ratnakaraṇḍa śrāvakāchāra or Upāsakādhyayana,

(3) Jinaśatakālaṅkāra,

(4) Svayambhū stotra, and

(5) Yuktyanuśāsana.

All of these are in Sanskrit. Manuscripts of the first four are among the Kārañjā collections. All the works have been published.

Samantabhadra is also supposed to have written a big "bhāshya" called Gandhahastimahābhāshya equivalent to 84,000 ślokas in extent on the Tattvārthādhigama sūtra of "Umāsvāmi". But nothing further is known about this work except the information that the "Āpta-mīmaṁsā" was only the introduction to it. The latter comprises 140 verses and is a good treatise complete in itself on the Jain system

of dialectics. It has been the subject of several commentaries, of which the Kārañjā manuscripts possess the following:-

(1) Ashṭaśatī by Akalaṅka.

(2) Ashṭashasrī by Vidyānanda.

(3) Devāgama vṛitti by Vasunandi.

Nothing for certain is known about the date and personality of the author. Dr. Satīśachandra Vidyābhūshaṇa in his "Mediaeval School of Indian Logic" assigns him to the 6th century A.D., but he gives no reason for adopting this date. The Jain paṭṭāvalīs place him in the 2nd century A.D.

A traditional account of the life of Samantabhadrāchārya is to be found in Prabhāchandra's "Book of Stories" (Ārādhanā Kathā Kosha) versified by Brahma Nemidatta. There, he is said to have been a resident of Kāñchī, a sage of might. Coming to suffer from an abdominal disease, he roamed all the way from Kāñchī to Paunḍrapura, Daśapura and Benares. At the latter place he performed a miracle, by manifesting an image of Pārśvanātha out of an image of Śiva, and he is said to have addressed the following two verses to king Śivakoṭi whom he converted:-

"काञ्च्यां नग्नाटकोऽहं मलमलिनतनुर्लाम्बुशेपाण्डु पिण्ड:
पुण्ड्रेण्डे शाक्यभिक्षुर्दशपुरनगरे मिष्टभोजी परिव्राट्।
वाराणस्यामभूवं शशधर धवल: पाण्डुराङ्गस्तपस्वी
राजन् यस्यास्ति शक्ति: स वदतु पुरतो जैननिर्ग्रन्थवादी।।१।।
पूर्वं पाटलिपुत्रमध्य नगरे भेरी मया ताड़िता।
पश्चान्मालव-सिन्धु-ढक्कविषये काञ्चीपुरेवैदिशे।
प्राप्तोऽहं करहाटकं बहुभटै विद्योत्कटै:सङ्कटं।
वादार्थी विचराम्यहंनरपेत शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्।।२।।'

The same account is given in an epigraphical record of the 12th century A.D. In the "Mallisheṇa praśasti" engraved on a rock at Śravaṇa Belgola in Mysore, and published in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, we have three verses referring to Samantabhadra (verses 6 to 8). The first of these are-

वन्द्यो भस्मक भस्मसात्कृतपटु: पद्मावतीदेवता
दत्तोदात्तपद: स्वमन्त्र-वचन व्याहूतचन्द्र-प्रभ:।
आचार्य:स समन्तभद्रगणभृद्येनेह काले कलौ।
जैनंवर्त्म समन्तभद्रमभवद्भद्रं समन्तान्मुहु:।।

चूर्णिका-यस्यैवं विद्यावादारम्भ संरम्भविजृम्भिताभिव्यक्तय: सूक्तय: Here the second of the above two verses is quoted, and then the following verses:-

अवटु तटमटति झटितिस्फुटचटुवाचाटधूर्जटेर्जिव्हा
वादिनि समन्तभद्रे स्थितवति सति का कथान्येषाम्।।

The author has also been eulogised by the authors of Harivaṁśa-purāṇa and Ādi-purāṇa :

जीवसिद्धि विधायीह कृतयुक्त्यनुशासनम्।
वचः समन्तभद्रस्य वीरस्येव विजृम्भते।।

हरिवंश-पुराण।

नमः समन्तभद्राय महते कविवेधसे।
यद्वचो वज्रपातेन निर्भिन्नाः कुमताद्रयः।। ४३।।
कवीनां गमकानाञ्च वादीनां वाग्मिनामपि।
यशः सामन्तभद्रीयं मूर्ध्निचूडामणीयते।। ४४।।

आदि-पुराण।

It is easy to multiply quotations from Jain literature, showing in what veneration the author has been held since the 8th century A.D. In the Śvetāmbara literature the most important reference to this author is that made by Haribhadra Sūri in his "Anekānta-jaya-patākā" where Samantabhadra is spoken of as "Vādi-mukhya" and two of his verses are quoted (*cf. Jain Sāhitya saṁśodhaka*, Vol. I, pp. 19-20). In the Vīra Vaṁśāvalī of the Svetāmbaras, Samantabhadra Sūri is entered as the 16th Pontiff, who lived in 889 after Nirvāṇa (A.D. 419).

It is reported, that a manuscript of Āptamīmāṁsā in possession of Daurbali Śāstrī of Śravaṇa Belgola, Mysore, bears the following colophon:- इतिफणिमण्डलालंकारस्योरगपुराधिपसूनोः श्री स्वामि समन्तभद्रमुनेः कृतौ आप्तमीमांसायाम्। Samantabhadra is here said to have been a prince of Uragapur (the ancient Chola capital). If this is a fact it is strange why it should not have been reported in literature elsewhere, though the author has otherwise been so much praised.

Another name of Samantabhadra was, Śāntivarmā as we know from the last verse of Jain Śatakālaṅkāra. Mr. Lewis Rice in the introduction to his Inscriptions at Sravaṇa Belgola quotes seven verses from"Ratnakaraṇḍa śrāvakāchāra" and assigns the work to the authorship of Āyitāvarmā. But further on he speaks of Samantabhadra as the author of the work. It is not known what is Mr. Rice's authority for his above statement. It is possible that the knowledge of Āyitāvarmā as the author of Ratnakaraṇḍa śrāvakāchāra came to him from some Kanarese record. If that be so, it may be conjectured that Śāntivarmā and Āyitāvarmā were Samantabhadra's names before his initiation as a Jain monk. These two names do not appear unsuitable for a prince of the Chola kingdom. In the Praśasti of Loka Vibhāga mention is found of a king of Kāñchi named Siṁhavarmā, who ruled in Śaka year 330 (*cf.* Jain Hitaishī, Vol. XIII, pp. 525-526).

Siddhasena Divākara, author of "Nyāyāvatāra", deserves mention along with Samantabhadra. It is a short handbook on Jain logic which Dr. Satīśāchandra Vidyābhūshaṇa considers to be the earliest work of the kind. It contains thirty-two ślokas. Siddhasena is said to have written thirty-two such works, dealing with Jain logic and philosophy. Twenty-one of these have already been published in the "Bhāvanagar Siddhasena Granthamālā". The Kāṛlānjā manuscripts include two works of this author, *viz.*, (1) Sammatitarka and (2) Kalyāṇa-mandira stotra. The first is in Prakrit—the only work of Siddhasena that is in Prakrit. The bare text of this work also

has appeared in the above-named series. The Kārañjā manuscript of it bears an extensive commentary in Sanskrit by Abhayadeva Sūri, pupil of Pradyumna Sūri (*cf.* extracts). His successor according to Śvetāmbara Paṭṭāvalīs, was Jineśvara Sūri, who was a contemporary of Muñja of Dhārā. Hence our commentator must have lived about A.D. 1000. He is also the author of another work "Vādamahārṇava" written with the express object of saving the right path from the flow of the "streams of various conflicting views". Kalyāṇamandira of Siddhasena is a very popular hymn in praise of Pārśvanātha. Among the Kārañjā manuscripts there are two commentaries on it, one by Guṇasāgara, pupil of Sāgarendra, pupil of Vādīśvaradeva, and the other by Tapāchārya. The latter prefaces his work by narrating the tradition about Siddhasena's parentage and conversion. A part of it might be quoted here :-

तत्रादौ कल्याणमन्दिरस्तवस्योत्पत्ति वंर्ण्यते। श्रीउज्जयिन्यां श्रीविक्रमस्य पुरोधसः पुत्रो देवसिकाकक्षिभूः सिद्धसेनो वादीन्द्रो वादार्थं भृगुच्छपुरंगतः। मुकुंदेति पूर्वनामानो वृद्धवादिगुरवः सन्मुखाः संजाताः। गोपसमक्षं वादे ससंस्कृत जल्पमकरोत्। नकिञ्चिदिति गोपैरुक्तं। गुरवः प्रोचिरे।।

The speech made by the "gurus" is half Prakrit, half vernacular. The text of it is unfortunately too corrupt for reproduction here. When it was ended the shepherds exclaimed victory in favour of "Vṛiddha Vādi". Siddhasena then became the former's disciple and was given the name of Kundachandra. Later on when he became a Sūri he assumed the name Siddhasena Divākara. Once he presumptuously declared in the presence of his "guru" that he would turn the whole sacred lore from Prakrit into Sanskrit. For the expiation of the sin committed by this sacrelegious utterance, he was administered by his guru the "Pārānhika Prāyaśchitta" which required him to remain dumb for twelve years and visit sacred places. In observance of this vow, he once went to Ujjain and lodged in the temple of Mahākāla. Here he incurred the displeasure of the priests for not making obeisance to the god Śiva. They called the king Vikramāditya who compelled Siddhasena to bow before the god. Siddhasena did this reciting the Kalyāṇa mandira ode which had the effect of splitting the image of Śiva in twain and manifesting out of it an image of a Jain Tīrthaṅkara. Being impressed with his power king Vikramāditya and many others became converted to Jainism (*cf.* this story with the one given by Peterson in his Report for 1882-83, pp. 60-67).

Thus, tradition makes Siddhasena a contemporary of Vikramāditya. Dr. S. C. Vidyābhūshaṇa identifies Siddhasena with "Kshapaṇaka" one of the nine poet jewels of Vikrama's court, and Vikramāditya with Yaśodharmā, the hero of Karur. Thus he brings Siddhasena down to A.D. 533. A difficulty, however, arises in accepting this date, in view of the fact that Siddhasena has been referred to by Siddhasenagaṇi in his Tattvārtha Sūtra Tīkā. This latter is known to have been a contemporary of Devārdhigaṇi Kshamāśramaṇa who redacted the Śvetāmbara canon in A.D. 453 (*cf.* Introduction to Uvāsagga dasāo edited by Dr. Höernle). Dr. Vidyābhūshaṇa's contention that Siddhasenagaṇi might have lived later-about A.D. 600, is not convincing. Again Siddhasena's "Sammati tarka" has been commented upon by Mallavādi who is assigned to the 5th century of the Vikrama era (*cf.* J. S. S., Vol. I, p. 82, footnote). In order to accommodate these objections and at the same time not disturb much the date established by Dr. Vidyābhūshaṇa it may be supposed that the Vikramāditya, of

Siddhasena's times was not Yasodharmā, but Chandra Gupta II, who is also thought to have been the centre of many of the Vikrama legends. By this supposition we carry Siddhasena nearly a century and a half back, as Chandra Gupta II reigned from 380 to 413 A.D. The possibility, however, of Vikramāditya reigning about B.C. 57, is not even yet completely overthrown. The Jain tradition regarding it is ancient and persistent.

Siddhasena, like Umāsvāmī, is claimed by both the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras, and this is often urged as a reason in favour of assigning him to the 1st century B.C., a date prior to the sectarian split. References to him in Śvetāmbara literature are ancient and many of those in Digambara literature are also ancient. Jinasena, the author of Harivaṁśa-purāṇa (finished A.D. 780) mentions him along with Samantabhadra and others of honoured memory in a verse which is as follows:

जगत्प्रसिद्धबोधस्य वृषभस्येवनिस्तुषाः।
बोधयन्ति सतां बुद्धिं सिद्धसेनस्य सूक्तयः।।

In the Ādi-purāṇa of Jinasena we read-

प्रवादिकरियूथानां केशरी नय केशरः।
सिद्धसेनकविर्जीयाद् विकल्पनखराङ्कुरः।।

Samantabhadra and Siddhasena Divākara are both recognized by the two sections of the Jains, both were great logicians, both lived probably in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the tradition of converting a king by manifesting an image of a Tīrthaṅkara out of an image of Śiva, is reported about both. These coincidences have led some to entertain a belief that the two persons were identical. But since they are separately mentioned by such early writers as Haribhadra Sūri and Jinasena, the theory is untenable.

There is absolutely no clue to the determination of the date of Svāmī Kārttikeya whose single work Kārttikeyānuprekshā enjoys a position all its own in the Jain literature. The "twelve Anuprekshās" are a part of Jain faith. Svāmī Kārttikeya seems to be the first who wrote on them. Other writers have only copied and repeated him. Even the "Dvādaśānuprekshā" of Kundakundāchārya seems to have been written on its model. No wonder, if Svāmi Kārttikeya preceded Kundakundāchārya. Any way, he is a very ancient writer. The work is in Prakrit gāthās similar to those of Kundakundāchārya's works. The Kārañjā manuscript of the work bears a commentary in Sanskrit by Śubhachandra who wrote in V.S. 1600. (For an extract from this work and the Praśasti of the author see Peterson's IV Report, pp. 143-144.)

Vaṭṭakera's two Prakrit works "Mūlāchāra" and "Trivarṇāchāra" are the earliest treatises on Jain conduct and ethics. Neither of the works, however, furnishes any information about the author. But his very name shows clearly that he was a Southerner. He is generally assigned to the 3rd century A.D. His commentator Vasunandi is probably the same as the author of Devāgama Vṛitti, Pratishṭhāsāra, Śrāvakāchāra and Tattva-vichāra, manuscripts of which all are in the Kārañjā collections. They have been all published.

Vasunandi in his Śrāvakāchāra gives the following genealogy of himself :

Kundakundāchārya
↓
Śrīnandi
↓
Nayandī
↓
Nemichandra
↓
Vasunandī.

In his "Āchāra vṛitti", the commentary on Mūlāchāra, Vasunandi quotes five verses from Amitagati's Upāsakāchāra, while on the other hand one gāthā from his Srāvakāchāra has been quoted by Aśādhara in his "Sāgāradharmāmṛita". The dates of Amitagati and Āśādhara are V.S. 1050 and 1256, respectively. Hence Vasunandī must have lived between these two dates.

This work has been noticed by Dr. Peterson in his IV Report, on page 150 from which an extract of 1 and 3 verses has been published. Dr. Peterson gives Śubhachandra as the name of the author, but it is not shown whence he got it. It is possible that the name was found in the colophon which Dr. Peterson omits to reproduce in full. If so, it might as well be the name of the scribe. The extract given by Dr. Peterson is very brief. Apparently he omitted the verse preceding the gāthā quoted by him चूणि सरूवं etc. But it is just possible that the verse did not occur in the manuscript examined by Dr. Peterson, for the gāthā चूणि सरूवं, etc, is numbered 80 in his extract while in the Kārañjā manuscript that verse is numbered 81. It is as follows:-

पणमहजिणवर वसहं गणहरवसहं तहेवगुणवसहं।
दट्टूण परिसवसहं जदिवसहं धम्मसुत्तपाढए वसहं।। ८१।।

This verse seems to imply that the author's name was "Jadi Vasaha" or "Yati Vrishabha," and the inference seems to be borne out by the following gāthā which refers to "Chūrṇi". Yativṛishabha is also known to be the author of "Chūrṇi sūtra" containing 6,000, ślokas which is included in the "Jayadhavala ṭīkā" of Śrīpāla. Trailokya Prajñapati is a Prakrit work of nine *adhikāras* or chapters all equal to 8,000 ślokas. It describes the mortal, stellar, infernal and other regions, and at places also touches on historical points. One of the most important mentions that it makes, is about "Kalkī" whose death is placed 1,000 years, after Nirvāṇa, Kalki's successor was Ajitañjaya, who is said to have ruled with justice for two years. The work proceeds to give an account of only a few years after Kalkī. This fact, combined with the fact that the author's name is associated with "Jayadhavala ṭīkā", leads us to the conclusion that the work is ancient. We would not be far wrong in assigning it to the latter part of the 5th century A.D. In a work so ancient, the mention of any dates and kings cannot but be of some importance. Hence, I reproduce here portions which bear on them :

वीरजिणं सिद्धिगदे चउसद इगिसट्ठिवासपरिमाणे।
कालंमि अदिक्कंते उप्पण्णो एत्थसगराओ।। ८६।।

अहवावीरे सिद्धे सहस्सणवकम्मि सगसयब्भहिये।
पणसीदिंमियतीदे पणमासे सगणिओजादो।। ८७।।

(पाठान्तरं)

चोद्दस सहस्स सग सय तेणउदी वासकालविच्छेदे।
वीरेसर सिद्धीदो उप्पण्णो सगणिओ अहवा।। ८८।।

(पाठान्तरं)

णिव्वाणे वीरजिणे छव्वास सदेसु पंचवरिसेसु।
पणमासेसु गदेसु संजादो सगणिओ अहवा।। ८९।।
णिव्वाणगदेवीरे चउसद इगिसट्ठि वासविच्छेदे।
जादो च सग णरिंदो रज्जं वस्ससस्स दुसय बादाला।। ९३।।
दोण्णिसदा पणवण्णा गुत्ताणं चउमुहस्सबादालं।
वस्सं होदिसहस्सं केईएवं परूवंति।। ९४।।
जं काले वीरजिणो णिस्सेयस संपयं समावण्णो।
तक्काले अभिसित्तो पालय णामो अंवतिसुदो।। ९५।।
पालयरज्जंसट्ठि इगिसय पणवण्ण विजयवंसभवा।
चालं मुरुदयवंसा तीसं वंसासु पुस्समित्तम्मि।। ९६।।
वसुमित्त अग्गिमित्ता सट्ठी गंधव्वया विसयमेक्कं।
णर वाहणो यचालं तत्तो भच्छट्ठणा जादा।। ९७।।
भच्छट्ठणण कालो दोण्णि सयाइं हवंति बादाला।
तत्तो गुत्ता ताणं रज्जे दोण्णिय सयामि इगितीसा।। ९८।।
तत्तो कक्की जादो इंदसुदो तस्स चउमुहो णामो।
सत्तरि वरिसा आऊ विगुणिय इगिवीस रज्जत्तो।। ९९।।

The foregoing quotations convey that king Śaka was born 461 years after Nirvāṇa of Vīra (according to some 9,785 years 5 months or 14,793 years or again 605 years 5 months after that event). The Śaka dynasty ruled for 242 years. Then followed the Guptas who ruled for 255 years after whom Chaturmukha (Kalkī) ruled for 42 years. This added to 461 years which intervened between the Nirvāṇa and the rise of Śakas makes 1,000 years. King Pālaka was consecrated king at Avanti simultaneously with the Nirvāṇa of Vīra. He ruled for 60 years. Then the kings of Vijaya dynasty ruled for 155 years, then Muruḍayas (muruṇḍas) for 40 years, Pushyamitra for 30 years, Vasumitra and Agnimitra for 60 years, Gandharvas for 100 years and Naravāhana for 40 years. The latter was followed by the Bhachchhaṭhaṇas (probably Bhrityāndhrās or Āndhrabhṛityas) who ruled for 242 years, then the Guptas ruled for 231 years. Then was born Kalkī, the son of Indra, who was also called Chaturmukha. He lived for 70 years, and ruled for 42 years. These figures also give us 1,000 years after Nirvāṇa for Kalkī's death. A thorough discussion of these dates would be of great importance, but it must be deferred for a future occasion. For the present the readers interested are referred to Professor Pāṭhak's "New light on Gupta era and the date of Mihirakula" in the Bhandārkar commemoration volume, in which from similar statements with reagrd

to Kalkī on other Jaina works of the 8th and 9th centuries, Mr. Pāṭhak identifies Kalkī with the tyrant Mihirakula. It is somewhat curious that we find no reference here to king Vikrama or his era.

This work deals with the description of different continents, countries and oceans. It comprises in all 2,427 gāthās, divided into 13 chapters. The work was noticed by Dr. Peterson and a short extract from it will be found in his IV Report on page 144. I quote below two important portions from the last part of the work:

परमेट्ठिभासिदत्थं उड्ढाधोतिरिय लोय संबंधं।
जंबूदीवणिबद्धं पुव्वावरदोसपरिहीणं।। १४० ।।

गणधरदेवेण पुणो अत्थं लद्धूण गंथिदं गंथं।
अक्खरपदसंखेज्जं अणंत सत्थेहि संजुत्तं।। १४१ ।।

आयरियपरंपरेण य गंथत्थं चेव आगयं सम्मं।
उवसंहरीय लिहियं समासदो हहय णायव्वं।। १४२ ।।

णाणाणरवइमहिदो विगयभठ संगभंगउम्मुक्को।
सम्मद्दंसणसुद्धो संजयतवसीलसंपुण्णो।। १४३ ।।

जिणवरवयणविणिग्गय परमागमदेसओ महासत्तो।
सिरिणिलओ गुणसहिओ रिसिविजय गुरुत्ति विक्खाओ।। १४४ ।।

सोऊण तस्स पासे जिणवयणविणिग्गयं अमदभूदं।
रइदं किंचुद्देसं अत्थपदं तह य लद्धूणं।। १४५ ।।

अहतिरिय-उड्ढलोएसु तेसु जे होंति बहु वियप्पादु।
सिरि विजयस्स महप्पा ते सव्वे वण्णिदा किंचि।। १५३ ।।

गयरायदोसमोहो सुदसायरपारओ मइपगब्भो।
तवसंजमसंपण्णो विक्खवाओ *माघनन्दि गुरू*।। १५४ ।।

तस्सेव य वरसिस्सो सिद्धंतमहोदहिम्मि धुयकलुसो।
णवणियमसीलकलिदो गुणउत्तो *सयलचंदगुरू*।। १५५ ।।

तस्सेव य वरसिस्सो णिम्मलवरणाणचरणसंजुत्तो।
सम्मद्दंसण-सुद्धो सिरि *णंदिगुरुत्ति* विक्खाओ।। १५६ ।।

तस्स णिमित्तं लिहियं जंबूदीवस्स तहय पण्णत्ति।
जो पढइ सुणइ एदं सोगच्छइ उत्तमं ठाणं।। १५७ ।।

पंचमहव्वयसुद्धो दंसणसुद्धो य णाणसंजुत्तो।
संजमतवगुणसहिदो रायादिविवज्जिदो धीरो।। १५८ ।।

पंचाचारसमग्गो छज्जीवदयायरो विगदमोहो।
हरिसविसायविहूणो णामेण य *वीरणंदित्ति*।। १५९।।

तस्सेवयथ वरसिस्सो सुत्तत्थवियक्खणो मइपगब्भो।
परपरिवादणियत्तो णिस्संगो सव्वसंगेसु।। १६०।।

सम्मत्त-अभिगदमणो णाणेण तहदंसणे चरित्ते य।
परतंतिणियत्तमणो *बलणंदि* गुरुत्ति विक्खाओ।। १६१।।

तस्स य गुणगणकलिदो तिदंडरहियो तिसल्लपरिसुद्धो।
तिण्णिविगारवरहियो सिस्सो सिद्धंतगयपारो।। १६२।।

तवणियमजोगजुत्तो उज्जुत्तो णाणदंसणचरित्ते।
आरंभकरणरहियो णामेण य पउमणंदीत्ति।। १६३।।

सिरि *गुरुविजयसयासे सोऊण आगमं* सुपरिसुद्धं।
मुणि *पउमणंदिणा* खलु लिहियं एयं समासेण।। १६४।।

सम्मद्दंसणसुद्धो कदवदकम्मो सुसीलसंपण्णो।
अणवरयदाणसीलो जिणसासणवच्छलो वीरो।। १६५।।

णाणागुणगणकलिओ णरवइसंपूजिओ कलाकुसलो।
वाराणयरस्स पहू णरुत्तमो सत्तिभूपालो।। १६६।।

पोक्खराणिवाविपउरे बहुभवणविहूसिपरसरम्मे।
णाणाजणसंकिण्णे धनधन्नसमाउले दिव्वे।। १६७।।

सम्मादिट्ठिजणोधे मुणिगणणिवहेहि मंडिएरम्मे।
देसम्मि *पारियत्ते* जिणभवणविहूसिए दिव्वे।। १६८।।

जंबू दीवस्स तहा पण्णत्ती बहुपयत्थसंजुत्तं।
लिहियं संखेवेण *वाराए* अच्छमाणेण।। १६९।।

छदमत्थेण विरइयं जंकिंपि हवेज्जणवयणविरुद्धं।
सोद्धंतु सुगीदत्था तं पवयणं वच्छलताए।। १७०।।

From the above extract we get the following genealogy of the author :

Viranandī

↓

Balanandī

↓

Padmanandī (the author).

We further learn that Padmanandī studied "the Āgama" from one "Vijayaguru" a saint (Ṛishi), and that he composed the work at "Bārā" for the use of one Nandīguru,

the disciple of Sakalachandra, the disciple of Māghanandī. If this Māghanandī is to be identified with the one mentioned by Indranandī in his "Srutāvatāra" as having followed "Arhatvalī" soon after 633 years of Nirvāṇa, we might safely assign the work to about 500 A.D. Bārā̄ is probably identical with the village of the same name in the Koṭā state of Rājputānā (*cf. Jain Sāhitya Samśodhaka*, Vol. I., pp. 144-150).

Nothing is known about the author of a very important Prakrit work "Mūlārādhanā" better known as "Bhagavatī ārādhana" beyond his name and that of his three preceptors. In Ādi-purāṇa Jinasena refers to him and his work in the following words :

शीतीभूतं जगद्यस्य वाचाराध्य चतुष्टयं।
मोक्षमार्गं स पायान्नः शिवकोटिमुनीश्वरः।।

In Brahma Nemidatta's "Kathā kosha" Samantabhadra is said to have converted a king of Benares, whose name was "Śivakoṭi". The tendency is to identify the author with this convert of Samantabhadra. But if this be a fact, it seems strange why Sivakoṭi should omit to mention Samantabhadra's name among his preceptors in the following verses :

अज्जजिणणंदिगणि सव्वगुत्तगणि अज्जमित्तणंदीणं।
आगमियपाय भूले सम्मंसुत्तं च अछंच।। १३६।।

पुव्वारियकयाणि य उवजीविता इमा ससत्तीए।
आराहणा सिवज्जेण पाणिदलभोइणा रइदा।। १३७।।

In these verses we have a mention of Jinanandī, Sarvagupta, Mitranandī and Śivārya (Śivakoṭi), the author.

The Kārañjā manuscript of Mūlārādhana bears an extensive commentary in Sanskrit, called 'Mūlārādhanā-darpanṇa" by a famous writer of the 13th century Āśādhara. It is a rare manuscript-none similar having been reported from anywhere else up to date, though Āśādhara refers to this work in his Praśasti which is found appended to almost all his works. We shall see more of Āśādhara later on.

Another work of Śivakoṭi that has recently come to light, is "Ratnamālā" published in the Māṇikachandra D. J. G. Series from a single manuscript. In this work there is a verse referring to Samantabhadra as follows:

स्वामी समन्तभद्रो मेऽहर्निशं मानसेऽनघः।
तिष्ठताज्जिनराजोद्यच्छाशनाम्बुधिचन्द्रमाः।।

Of this author, we have two works in this list, Sarvārthasiddhi and "Upāsakāchāra". The first is an extensive commentary equal to 5,500 ślokas, on the Tattvārtha sūtra of Umāsvāmī and the second is a short handbook of morals for the Jain laity. His other works, so far known, are Samādhitśatka, Ishṭopadeśa, and Jainendra Vyākaraṇa. It is for this last work that Pūjyapāda has been very famous as a writer of yore. Sometime before, this work was attributed to the authorship of Mahāvīra himself. Dr. Kielhörn was the first to identify the author Pūjyapāda with Devanandī, references to whom as a grammarian are numerous.[4]

On various evidences, Pūjyapāda has been assigned to about A.D. 500. One of the evidences is that in "Karnāṭaka kavicharita", Pūjyapāda is said to have been the preceptor of a Gaṅga prince Durvinīta who reigned from A.D. 483 to 512. For the predecessor and father of this prince, Avinīta, we have epigraphical mention of the Śaka year 383, A.D. 466.

We have in our Catalogue a work Shaḍārachakra, better known as "Siddhapriya stotra" in 25 beautiful and artistic Sanskrit verses. Its author is Devanandī, who may be Pūjyapāda Devanandī.[6]

Ravisheṇāchārya's "Padma Purāṇa" is well known. The author wrote it in Nirvāṇa Samvat 1205 (A.D. 678) as is evident from the following verse that occurs towards the end of the work :

द्विसताभ्यधिके समासहस्त्रे समवेतर्द्धचतुर्वर्षयुक्ते।
जिनभास्करवर्द्धमानसिद्धेश्चरितं पद्मनुरिदंनिबंधम्।। ३९।।

The author and his work have been referred to in Harivaṁśa-purāṇa (completed Śaka year 705).

कृतपद्मोदयोद्योता प्रत्यहंपरिवर्तिता।
मूर्त्तिः काव्यमयी लोके रवेरिवरवेः प्रिया।। ३५।।

Padma-purāṇa is the earliest complete Jain version of the Rāmāyaṇa unless the Prakrit work Paumachariya of Vimala Śūri and another work of the same name by Svayaṁbhūdeva which are said to bear on the same subject, really prove to be works of an earlier date, as is alleged. Later writers have all based their works dealing with this subject, on the book of Ravisheṇāchārya. The incidents related in Padma-purāṇa are said to have occurred during the period (Tīrtha) of Śāntinātha, the 16th Tīrthaṁkara. The story of Rāma as narrated here differs in many material points from that of the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki. Rāma and Rāvaṇa are both claimed here to have followed Jain religion. Lakshmaṇa is stated not to have been a full brother of Śatrughna, but the son of a fourth wife of Daśaratha, Suprabhā by name. Sītā was born from the human womb of the queen of Videha. Daśaratha did not die on account of the banishment of Rāma : he is represented to have become disgusted with the ways of the world and he retired to the forest to practise penance. Bāli, Sugrīva and Hanumān were not of any monkey race, but were powerful rulers of the forest regions. Rāma never killed Bāli. The latter of his free will relinquished the throne in favour of his younger brother Sugrīva and himself became an ascetic. Rāvaṇa was not a Brahmaṇa, but a Kshatriya, and met his death not at the hands of Rāma but those of his younger brother Lakshmaṇa. The latter recovered from the effects of Rāvaṇa's "Śakti" not by any lifegiving drug but by the presence of a virtuous lady Viśalyā, who afterwards became his wife. These are some of the points of difference. A comparative and critical study of the whole will be interesting.

As the work just dealt with is the Jain version of Rāmāyaṇa similarly the earliest Jain version of Mahābhārata is furnished to us by the Harivaṁśapurāṇa. For an analysis of this work Dr Rajendralal Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit manuscripts, Vol. VI, p. 74,

may be consulted. A long extract from the work has been published by Dr. Peterson in his IV Report, pp. 167-177. From verse 52 there, we know that Jinasena wrote in the Śaka year 705=A.D. 783, when Indra Śrī Vallabha, the son of Kṛishṇa (I), was reigning in the South, Vatsarāja at Avantī (Ujjain), and Varāha Vīra in Saurya-maṇḍala. In the Maṅgalācharaṇa, which Dr. Peterson has omitted to quote in full, Jinasena pays his tribute to Samantabhadra (the author of Jīvasiddhi and Yuktyanuśāsana). Siddhasena, Indra, Chandra, Arka and Deva (Devanandi), the grammarians; Vajra Sūri, Mahāsena, (the author of Sulochanākathā), Ravisheṇa (the author of Padma-purāṇa), Varāṅgacharita, Kumārasena, Vīrasena and Jinasena. The mention of the last two names has given rise to a controversy as to the relation between Jinasena, the author of Harivaṁśapurāṇa, and Jinasena, the author of Ādi-purāṇa. But the difference in the dates of composition of the two works is at least 50 years which makes their authorship by the same person very improbable. Again, the genealogies of the two authors are different. The author of Harivaṁśa-purāṇa was the pupil of Kīrtisheṇa who belonged to Punnāṭagaṇa while the author of Ādi-purāṇa was the pupil of Vīrasena who belonged to the Senagaṇa. Also the manner in which Jinasena has been referred to in Harivaṁśa-purāṇa shows that the author is referring to a person other than himself. The verse is:

यामिताभ्युदये तस्य जिनेन्द्रगुणसंस्तुतिः।
स्वामिनो जिनसेनस्य कीर्तिः संकीर्त्तयत्यसौ।।

An author indulging in these terms in regard to himself would certainly be accused of being over-presumptuous. But there arises another complication when we prove the two authors to be different. If we accept the date of the completion of the work as given by the author, the mention of Vīrasena and Jinasena cannot refer to the authors of Jayadhavala ṭīkā and Ādi-purāṇa respectively, for they are known to have lived after the date of Harivaṁśa-purāṇa. To obviate this difficulty we must suppose that two other Āchāryas of those names lived before the composition of Harivaṁśa-purāṇa.

For a brief analysis of the author's Ādi-purāṇa, see Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's Report of 1883-84. The work has since become too well known to need any introduction here, and it has also now been published. It narrates at length the life of the first Tīrthaṁkara and is more or less an encyclopaedia of Jain mythology and Siddhānta. The work was left incomplete by Jinasena. It was completed by his pupil Guṇabhadrāchārya after him.

Jinasena is also the author of a short poem "Pārśvābhyudaya kāvya". As the name indicates its subject-matter is the life of Pārśvanātha, the 23rd Tīrthaṁkara. The last line of each of its verses is taken from the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa. Speaking of this work Professor Pāṭhak rightly observes that "the poem is one of the curiosities of Sanskrit literature. It is at once the product and mirror of the literary taste of the age. Universal judgment assigns the first place among Indian poets to Kālidāsa but Jinasena claims to be considered a higher genius than the author of the "Cloud Messenger" (Meghadūta). [*cf.* J. B. B. R. A. S. 1894, p. 224]

The Ādi-purāṇa and Pārśvābhyudaya-kāvya bear no dates of their composition. But another work of this Jinasena is also known. It is a portion of the "Jayadhavala ṭīkā" which he wrote to complete the work begun by his guru Vīrasena. From the reported praśasti of this work we know that Jinasena completed it in the Śaka year 760 during the reign of Amoghavarsha I. Only a single manuscript of this work is now known to exist at Mūlabidrī (South India). Ādi-purāṇa must have been written soon after the above-mentioned date.

Yet another work of Jinasena is Jinasahasra-nāma. Kārañjā manuscripts of this work bear a commentary by Bhāvasena. In the catalogue will be found two other works attributed to the authorship of Jinasena. These are Trivarṇāchāra and Jinasaṁhitā. The first of these has been subjected to a critical examination by Mr. Jugalkisor Mukhtār, who has shown that numerous verses have been quoted in it from works of the 14th and 15th centuries, and that the book was probably patched up in the 17th century. It appears that Jinasaṁhitā was also written by this later Jinasena.

Guṇabhadra tells us that the Ādi-purāṇa has been based on a prose work of Kaviparameśvara. Jinasena has also paid his respects to this poet in the following verse of Ādi-purāṇa :-

स पूज्यः कविभिर्लोके कवीनां परमेश्वरः।
वागर्थसंग्रहं कृत्स्नं पुराणं यः समग्रहीत्॥ ६०॥

But nothing further is known about this author or his work. Perhaps he is to be identified with the Kanarese poet Kavi Parameshṭhī, who has been referred to by Ādi Pampa.

This author completed the work of his preceptor and in continuation of it wrote the "Uttarapurāṇa" in which he gives the lives of the remaining twenty-three Tirthaṁkaras and other great men (Śalākāpurusha). The latter was completed in the Śak6Xyear 820 named Piṅgala Samvatsara. Another work of Guṇabhadra is Ātmānuśāsana containing 273 verses on Adhyātma. His third work is Jinadatta-charita. In the Catalogue will be found mention of a work Dhanakumāra-charita attributed to Guṇabhadra. This Guṇabhadra is however to be distinguished from the one we have dealt with above. The author of Dhanakumāra-charita wrote his work in the reign of Paramārdi at Vilāspur. History tells us that a Western Chālukya Paramardideva, *alias* Vikramāditya VI, reigned from A.D. 1076 to 1125 and another Paramārdideva Chandel, son and successor of Madanavarmā, reigned about A.D. 1167. I cannot identify with certainty the Vilāsapur mentioned by Guṇabhadra and hence it cannot be said which Paramārdi he refers to. Guṇabhadra also tells us that he wrote the work at the importunities of a pious man Bilhaṇa, son of Śubhachandra of Lambakañchuka gotra. This Bilhaṇa is not of course to be identified with the Kashmirian poet of the same name, who by a curious coincidence lived at the court of Paramardideva Chālukya, in whose praise he wrote the Vikramāṅkadeva-charita. The author of Dhanakumāra-charita gives his spiritual genealogy as follows :

Māṇikyasena

↓

Nemisena

↓

Guṇabhadra (the author).

Mahāvīrāchārya wrote Gaṇita-sāra-saṁgraha which enjoys a unique position in the whole range of Jain literature being the first treatise on Mathematics. The work is divided into two parts, manuscripts of which are found separately, and these are generally indiscriminately called Uttara-chhattīsī. One part deals with Saṁjñā and Parikarma and the other with Kshetraphala measurements and other cognate subjects. At the beginning of the work king Amoghavarsha has been referred to by name. This king is no other than the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I, who came to the throne in A.D. 815. Mahāvīrāchārya was probably one of his many court poets. Towards the end of the work we find the opinion of another mathematician Śrīdharāchārya quoted.

Śākaṭāyana wrote a grammar named "Śabdānuśāsana" which is better known after his own name as Sākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa. Two other works Dhātupāṭha and Lingānuśāsana, though mentioned separately in the Catalogue as they were found on separate manuscripts are in fact parts of Śabdānuśāsana. Attempts have been made to prove this work to be by the Vedic Śākaṭāyana referred to by Yāska and Pāṇini. Mr. G. Oppert, who edited Śākaṭāyana Prakriyā-saṁgraha in 1893, actually showed two or three sūtras from Śabdānusāsana to be almost the same as those referred by Pāṇini to Śākaṭāyana. Professor Pāṭhak has, however, adduced evidence to prove that the present work is by a contemporary of king Amoghavarsha and that the author himself wrote the first commentary on it, which he called Amoghavṛitti after the name of the sovereign. The author went by another name Pālyakīrtti, by which Abhayachandra, the author of Prakriyā-saṁgraha refers to him. The great popularity that Śākaṭyana's work has been enjoying is evinced by the fact that seven important commentaries on it have so far been reported :

(1) Amoghavṛitti by the author himself.

(2) Nyāsa by Prabhāchandra.

(3) Chintāmaṇiṭīkā by Yakshavarmā.

(4) Maṇiprakāśikā by Ajitasenāchārya.

(5) Vṛitti by Bhāvasena Traividya.

(6) Rūpasiddhi by Dayāpāla.

(7) Prakriyāsaṁgraha by Ahhayachandra.

Of these the third and the seventh are among Kārañjā manuscripts. Yakshavarmā also calls his work Sampūraṇalakshaṇāvṛitti. In extent it is equal to 6,000 ślokas. It is abridged from the Amogha-vṛitti which Yakshavarmā calls the Mahitīvṛitti or large commentary. This is how Yakshavarmā introduces his work :-

स्वस्ति श्री सकलज्ञानसाम्राज्यपदमाप्तवान्।
महाश्रमणसंघाधिपतिर्यः शाकटायनः।। ३।।

एकः शब्दाम्बुधिं बुद्धिमन्दरेण प्रमथ्य यः।
यशः श्रियं समुद्दध्रे विश्व व्याकरणामृतं।। ४।।

स्वल्पग्रंथं सुखोपायं सम्पूर्णं यदुपक्रमम्।
शब्दानुशासनं सार्वमर्हच्छासनवत्परम्।। ५।।

इष्टिर्नेष्टा न वक्तव्यं वक्तव्यं सूत्रतः पृथक्।।
संख्यानं नोपसंख्यानं यस्यशब्दानुशासने।। ६।।

तस्यातिमहतीं वृत्तिं संहृत्येयं लघीयसीं।
सम्पूर्णलक्षणावृत्ति र्वक्ष्यते यक्षवर्म्मणा।। ७।।

We now come to a series of Naiyāyikas, who were almost all contemporaries. The first of these is Akalaṅka who has already been referred to as the author of a commentary on Tattvārtha-sūtra and another on Āpta-mīmāṁsā. His other works, all concerned with logic and philosophy, are :

(1) Nyāya-viniśchaya, on which Maṇikyanandī based his Parīkshāmukha,

(2) Laghīyastrayī,

(3) Akalaṅka stotra, and

(4) Svarūpa-sambodhana-paṅchaviṁśati.

One more work Prāyaśchitta-vidhi is attributed to him. But I doubt whether the work in its present form is by Akalaṅka. The first verse of it is :

जिनचन्द्रं प्रणम्याहमकलंकंसमन्ततः।
प्रायश्चित्त प्रवक्ष्यामि श्रावकाणांविशुद्धये।।

and the ending colophon is-

इत्यकलंकस्वामिनिरूपितं प्रायश्चित्तं समाप्तम्।

From the first verse it appears that the author was the pupil of Jinachandra, who is not known to have been Akalaṅka's preceptor. The colophon makes it clear that the work is not the direct version of Akalaṇka; it only professes to express the views of Akalaṅka on the subject of Prāyaśchitta. Apparently the work was compiled by some later writer who was probably a pupil of some Jinachandra. One Jinachandra was the author of a Prakrit work Siddhānta-sāra (*cf.* Catalogue). The Kārañjā manuscript of Laghīyastrayī bears a commentary by Abhayachandra muni, who might be the same person as the author of Gommaṭa-sāra ṭīkā.

Akalaṅka gives no information about himself in his works. A traditional account of his life, however, is to be found in Brahma Nemidatta's Book of Stories. There he is said to have been the son of Purushottama, a Brahman minister of king Śubhatuṅga of Mānyakheṭa. He refused to marry and chose to remain a bachelor all his life. In order to study the Buddhist religion and philosophy he joined a Buddhist university as a member of that religion. He was, however, detected, where upon he ran away. We

next see him in the court of king Himaśītala of Kaliṅga, achieving victory over the Bauddhas in religious disputation. There, the following verse is put in his mouth :-

"नाहंकारवशीकृतेन मनसा न द्वेषिणा केवलं
नैरात्म्यं प्रतिपद्य नश्यतिजने कारुण्यबुद्ध्या मया।
राज्ञः श्रीहिमशीतलस्य सदसि प्रायो विदग्धात्मनो
बौद्धौघान्सकलान्विजित्य सुगतः पादेनविस्फालितः।।"

This verse, along with the three following, is quoted in the Mallisheṇa Praśasti at Śravaṇa Belagola :-

राजन् साहसतुङ्ग सन्ति बहवः श्वेतातपत्रा नृपाः
किंतु त्वत्सदृशा रणेविजयिनस्त्यागोन्नता दुर्लभाः।
तद्वत्सन्ति बुधा न सन्ति कवयो वादीश्वरा वाग्मिनो
नानाशास्त्रविचारचातुरधियः काले कलौ मद्विधाः।।
राजन् सर्वारिदर्पप्रविदलनपटुस्त्वं यथात्रप्रसिद्ध
स्तद्वत्ख्यातोऽहमस्यां भुवि निखिलमदोत्पाटने पण्डितानां।
नोचेदेषोऽहमेते तव सदसि सदा सन्ति सनतोमहन्तो
वक्तुंयस्यास्तिशक्तिः स वदतु विदिताशेषशास्त्रो यदि स्यात्।।
तारा येन विनिर्जिता घटकुटी गूढावतारासमं
बौद्धैर्यो धृतपीडपीडित कुदृग्देवार्थसेवाञ्जलिः।
प्रायश्चित्तमिवांघ्रिवारिजरजःस्नानंच यस्याचरद्
दोषाणां सुगतःस कस्य विषयो देवाकलङ्कः कृती।।

The first verse above quoted along with the two following occur in "Akalaṅka stotra":

किंवाद्यो भगवानमेयमहिमा देवोऽकलङ्कःकलौ
काले यो जनता सुधर्मनिहितो देवोऽकलङ्को जिनः।
यस्य स्फारविवेकमुद्रलहरी जालेऽप्रमेयाकुला
निर्मग्ना तनुतेतरां भगवती ताराशिरःकम्पनम्।।
सा ताराखलु देवता भगवती मान्यापि मन्यामहे
षण्मासावधि जाड्यसांख्यभगवद्भट्टाकलंकप्रभोः।
वाकल्लोलपरम्पराभिरमते नूनं मनोमज्जन-
व्यापारं सहते स्म विस्मितमतिः संताडितेतस्ततः।।

All the three records concur in stating that Akalaṅka won a victory over the Bauddhas. They further agree in connecting him with the court of king Himaśītala. Unfortunately, this king has not so far been identified. But two of the above quoted three records also connect him with the court of king Śubhatuṅga or Sāhasatuṅga who has been identified with the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishna I, who reigned about A.D. 750. Hence this must be the time in which Akalaṅka lived.[8]

While the author of Ārādhanā-katha-kosha makes Akalaṅka the son of Purushottama Brahman, it appears otherwise from the following verse which occurs in the author's own work Rājavārttika :-

> जीयाच्चिरमकलंकब्रह्मा लघुहव्वनृपतिवरतनयः।
> अनवरतनिखिलविद्वज्जननुतविद्यः प्रशस्तजनहृद्यः॥

This makes Akalaṅka the son of a certain King Laghu Havva. Māṇikyanandī wrote a famous work on Jain Nyāya, named Parikshāmukha. It is based on Nyāyaviniśchaya of Akalaṅka. It has been commented upon by Prabhāchandra who calls his commentary Prameyakamala-mārtaṇḍa. In this work references are made to Bhagvān Upavarsha, Śabarasvāmi, Bhartṛihari, Bānṇa, Kumārila, Prabhākara, Dignāga, Udyotkara, Dharmakīrtti and Vidyānanda. By one verse in his commentary Nyāyakumudachandrodaya on Laghīyastrayi Prabhāchandra makes it clear that he had set at the feet of Māṇikyanandī. Prabhāchandra who is the author of many commentaries[9] should not be confounded with the Naiyāyika Prabhāchandra. The former is better known as Bhaṭṭāraka Prabhāchandra. The Upāsakādhyayana ṭīka found in the Kārañjā Collection is dated in V.S. 1415 and is apparently the work of the latter Prabhāchandra. He is probably the same who established the Balātkāragaṇa seat at Delhi about V.S. 1310. The author of "Ārādhanā kathā kosha" is yet another Prabhāchandra. He is probably the same as the Prabhāchandra Bhaṭṭāraka who lived about V.S. 1580.

This writer has already been referred to as the author of Śoka-vārttika and Ashṭa-sahasrī. He has been mentioned by the name of Patrakesarin by Jinasena in his Ādi-purāṇa. That the two names refer to one man had long been suspected before Professor Prakāśa[10] . Another passage has since been found which further supports the fact. Vādichandra, in his allegorical drama, Jñāna-sūryodaya makes one of his actresses Ashṭaśati declare :-

> "देव ततोऽहमुत्तालितहृदया श्रीमत्पात्रकेसरीमुखकमलंगता तेन साक्षात्कृतस्याद्वादाभिप्रायेण लालिता पालिताष्टसहस्रीतया पुष्टिं नीता। देव, स यदि नापालयिष्यत्तदा कथं त्वामद्राक्षम।"

This refers to the composition of Ashṭasahasrī on the basis of Ashṭaśatī by Pātrakesarin (Vidyānanda). The evidence is further borne out by a stone inscription dated in A.D. 1530, which was found at Huñcha (Mysore)[11] where the same person has been referred to as Pātrakesarin and Vidyānanda. This identification is important in as much as we are thereby enabled to refer the many references to Pātrakesarin as a great Āchārya, to the author of Ashṭa-sahasrī. There is a story of Pātrakesarin in the Ārādhanākathā-kosha. In it we find Pātrakesarin among the 500 haughty and learned Brahmans of the court of king Avanipāla of Ahichchhatrapur in Magadha. One day he chanced to hear the Devāgama stotra as it was being recited by a Jain *muni* in a temple. Its philosophy sank deep in Pātrakesarin's mind and he became a powerful defendant of Jain Siddhānta. In spite of the statement in Ārādhanā-kathā-kosha the probability is that Vidyānanda Pātrakesarin belonged not to the North but to Southern India, where also flourished all the other logicians of whom an account has been given above. Other works of Vidyānanda are Āpta-parīkshā together with a commentary, Patra-parikshā,

Pramāṇa-nitṇaya and Pramāṇa-parikshā. Manuscripts of all these are in the Kāranjā collections. The author of Sudarśana-charita is also Vidyānanda, but he is different from the great logician. The latter Vidyānanda, is also the author of a few commentaries on various stotras (*cf.* Catalogue). He lived in the 16th century A.D.

By this author we have the work Jvālāmālinī Kalpa. It deals with the cult of propitiating the god of the Jvālāmālinī. The work opens with an account of the circumstances of the origin of the cult. Elāchārya, a sage and leader of the Drāvidagaṇa, lived at Hemagrāma in Dakshiṇadeśa. He had a female pupil named Kamala Srī. Once she became possessed of a Brahma Rākshasa, under whose influence she indulged in all sorts of acts and talks decent or indecent. Failing in other ways to absolve his pupil of the inhuman agency Elāchārya sought the aid of Vanhidevatā that dwelt on the top of the Nīlgiri Hills. He inculcated the art which Indranandī long after him professes to expose in writing.

The author gives the following genealogy of himself :

Drāviḍagaṇa
↓
Indradeva
↓
Vāsavanandī
↓
Varshanandī
↓
Harshanandī
↓
Indranandi (the author).

As to the time of the composition of the work we have the following account at the end of the work :

अष्टशतसैकषष्टिप्रमाणशकवत्सरेष्वतीतेषु।
श्रीमान्यखेटकटकेपर्वण्यक्षयतृतीयायाम्।। ९।।

शतदलसहितचतुः शतपरिमाणग्रंथरचनया युक्तं।
श्री कृष्णराजराज्ये समाप्तमतेन्मतं देव्याः।। १०।।

इति हे (ए) लाचार्यप्रणीतार्थे श्रीमदिन्द्रनन्दियोगीन्द्रविरचित ग्रन्थ संदर्भ जवालिनी मते भूतामरं (?) नाम ज्वालिनी मतं समाप्तम्।।

From this we learn that Indranandī wrote at Mānyakheṭa in the Śaka year 861 when Kṛishṇarāja was reigning. This mention of the year 861 is important in as much as it furnishes the earliest date so far discovered for Krishṇarāja (III). Up till now the earliest record for him was of the Śaka year 862 (expired), furnished by the Deoli plates. As for the original propounder of the Jvālāmālinī cult, we have seen that Elāchārya was one of the five names of Kundakundāchārya. In the traditional life of Kundakundāchārya, related in Jñāna-prabodha, we are told that Kundakundāchārya had visited Videha-kshetra, and while returning from there after eight days' sojourn,

he brought with him a book that dealt with many sciences, among which there was one of Mantras also. This book, however, he dropped in the ocean. This account in a way associates the science of mantras with Kundakunda Elācharya also. But this Elāchārya may not be the propounder of the cult, because we are told that the propounder belonged to the Drāvidagaṇa, which, according to Darśana-sāra, originated about' the 6th century A.D., its first Āchārya being Pūjyapāda.

On this basis the originator of the Jvalāmālinī cult should have lived after the above mentioned date.

One Elāchārya has been mentioned in the "Śrutāvatāra" as the preceptor of Vīrasena. The verses in Śrutāvatāra are :-

काले गते कियत्यपि ततः पुनश्चित्रकूटपुरवासी।
श्रीमानेलाचार्यो बभूव सिद्धान्ततत्त्वज्ञः।। १७६ ।।

तस्य समीपे सकलं सिद्धान्तमधीत्य वीरसेनगुरु।
उपरितमनिबन्धनाद्यधिकारानष्टचलिलेख।। १७७।।

आगत्य त्रिकूटाचतः स भगवान्गुरोरनुज्ञानात्।
वाटग्रामे चात्रानतेन्द्रकृतजिनगृहे स्थित्वा १७८।।

From the colophon of the first part of Jayadhavala ṭīkā written by Vīrasena, we learn that the latter wrote in the time of Jagattuṅgadeva (Govinda III), the predecessor of Amoghavarsha I. Thus, this Elāchārya, the preceptor of Vīrasena, lived more than a century before the time of Indranandī, the compiler of Jvālāmālinī Kalpa. It is just problem that Indranandī refers to this Elāchārya as the originator of the cult. This identification would be much strengthened if Hemagrāma where the author of the Jvālāmālinī cult is said to have lived, and the Chitrakūṭa and Vāṭagrāma mentioned by the author of Śrutāvatāra, in connection with Elāchārya and Vīrasena, could be identified. All of them certainly have to be located somewhere in the South within the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom. It is very likely that Hemagrāma and Vaṭagrāma were neighbouring villages.

Two works of this author are noticed in this Catalogue viz., Nīti-vākyāmṛita, and Yaśastilaka-champukāvya. No other works of his are known, but the colophon of Nītivākyāmṛita tells us that he wrote some more. That part runs as follows :-

पण्णवतिप्रकरणयुक्तिचिन्तामणिसूत्रमहेन्द्र मातलिसंजल्प यशोधर महाराज चरित महाशास्त्रवेधसा श्री सोमदेवसूरिणा विरचितं नीतिवाक्यामृतं समापतमिति।

From this we learn that Somadeva wrote four works besides the Nītivākyāmṛita, *viz.*, (1) Shaṇṇavati prakaraṇa, (2) Yuktichintāmaṇi sūtra, (3) Mahendra Mātali-saṁjalpa, and (4) Yaśodhara Mahārāja-charita.

The last of these is only another name of Yaśastilakachampū, for a full analysis of which a reference may be made to Dr. Peterson's II Report, pp. 33-49. The first three are not otherwise known. In the first part of the colophon above quoted Somadeva has been styled Tārkika-chakravarttin and hence a work by him on Nyāya may also be

expected. In the Stotra chatusṭhayaṭīkā Vidyānanda makes frequent references to and quotations from dhyāna-paddhati of Somadeva Sūri. This may be another work by our author. What make Somadeva's works of a very great importance are the learning of the author which they reflect and the masterly style in which they are composed. The prose of Yaśastilaka vies with that of Bāṇa and the poetry at places with that of Māgha. The Nītivākyāmṛita is a sort of work second only to the lately discovered Artha-śāstra of Chāṇakya, whom Somadeva very much imitates both in matter as well as style. From the colophon of Yaśastilaka we learn that the author wrote in the Śaka year 881 (Siddhārtha Saṁvatsara) during the reign of Kṛishṇarāja III.[12]

Among the Kārañjā manuscripts a commentary "Śabdārṇavachandrikā" on Jainendra Vyākaraṇa is mentioned as done by Somadeva. But this Somadeva is to be distinguished from the author of Yaśastilaka, as is evident from the following colophon of the work refered to :-

स्वस्ति श्री कोल्लापुरदेशांतर्वर्त्याजुरिकामहास्थाने युधिष्ठिरावतार महामण्डलेश्वरगंडरादित्यदेवनिर्मापित त्रिभुवनतिलकजिनालये श्रीमत्परमपरमेष्टि श्रीनेमिनाथश्रीपादपद्माराधितबलेन वादीभवज्रांकुशश्रीविशालकीर्त्तिपंडित-देववैयावृतस्यत: (?) श्रीमच्छिलाहारकुलकमलमार्त्तण्डतेज पुंजराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमंभट्टारकपश्चिमचक्रवर्त्ति श्रीवीरभोजदेव विजयराज्ये शकवर्षैकसहस्रैकशतसप्तविंशतितमे क्रोधनसंवत्सरे स्वस्ति समस्तानवद्यविद्याचक्रवर्त्ति-श्रीपूज्यपादपदानुसक्तचेतसा श्री सोमदेवेन मुनीश्वरेण विरचितेयं शब्दार्णवचन्द्रिका नाम वृत्तिरिति संपूर्णा जाता।

This proves that the author of Śabdārṇavachandrikā was a protégé of the Śilāhāra prince Vīrabhojadeva, and wrote the work in the Śaka year 1127 (Krodhana samvatsara) A.D. 1049.

The Vardhamāna-charita of this poet has been noticed, and an extract from it published by Dr. Peterson in his IV Report, pp. 163-164. From the praśasti published there we learn that the poet Asaga was the son of Paṭumati and Veritti, and disciple of Ārya Nāganandī, and that he wrote the Kāvya having been pressed for it by one Aryanandi guru. This praśasti is not, however to be found in the Kārañjā manuscript of Vardhamāna-charita, which instead bears the following praśasti of two verses :

संवत्सरे दशनवोत्तरवर्षयुक्ते भावादिकीर्त्तिमुनिनायकपादमूले। मौद्गल्यपर्वतनिवासधनस्य संपत्सच्छ्राविकाप्रजनिते सतिवाममत्त्वै।। विद्या मया प्रपठितेत्यसगाह्वयेन श्रीनाथ राज्यमखिलं जनतोपकारी। प्रापे च चौडविषये वरलानगर्यां ग्रंथाष्टकञ्च समकारि जिनोपदिष्टम्।।

This tells us that Asaga studied at the feet of Bhāvakīrtti muni at the Maudgalya mountain, in the kingdom of Śrīnātha, and then migrating to the town of Varalā in the Chola kingdom, he wrote eight books in the year 910. The year is presumably to be referred to the Śaka era and hence is equal to A.D. 988. The persons and places mentioned in the praśasti are yet to be identified, and the seven books out of the eight spoken of remain to be brought to light. Dr. Aufrecht in his Codices reports one Śāntinātha-purāṇa of this author. A manuscript of this work has also been reported from Jaipur, and its praśasti as reported is the same as that reported by Dr. Peterson, so far as the information about the author is concerned. Śāntinātha-purāṇa is there stated to have been written by the author after the completion of Sanmati-charita or Vardhamānacharita. If, then, the praśasti borne by the Kārañjā manuscript was written

by the author along with the work itself, we must infer that Śāntinātha-purāṇa was his ninth composition and was written after Śaka 910. It is, however, possible that the Kārañjā praśasti was a later addition by the author not necessarily intended to be appended to any particular work, and the original praśasti of Vardhamāna-charita might be the one reported by Dr. Peterson. The Kārañjā praśasti has however the advantage of recording for us the date of the author and the locality in which he wrote. Vardhamāna-charita is a work of much poetic beauty.

The Pradyumna-charita of this author has of late been published in the "Māṇikachandra Digambara Jaina Grantha Series" but it bears no praśasti of the author. From the praśasti attached to the Kārañjā manuscript of this work (*cf.* extract) we learn that Mahāsena was honoured by king Muñja, and that he wrote the work at the request of one Pappaṭa guru, the Mahattama (a high officer) of Sindhularāja or Sindhurāja, brother and successor of Muñja, who was on the throne of Dhārā at least till 979 A.D. Sindhurāja was succeeded by Bhojadeva about A.D. 1010. Thus Mahāsena must have been writing about the end of the 10th century. The praśasti furnishes us with the following genealogy of the author :

Muni Jayasena
↓
Guṇākarasena Sūri
↓
Mahāsena Sūri (the author).

All the Prakrit works by Nemichandra noticed in the Catalogue are well known. They all deal with Jain siddhānta, for a sound knowledge of which this author has been famous as Siddhānta-chakravarttin. A very good account of the author and his works will be found in Professor Śaratchandra Ghośāl's introduction of his Dravya-saṁgraha published in the "Sacred Books of the Jain Series". Nemichandra is said to have been the preceptor of Chāmuṇḍarāja, the minister of Rāchamalla, a king of the Gaṅga dynasty, who is believed to have reigned from A.D. 975 to 984. This Chāmuṇḍarāya is the author of a Kanarese work "Chāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa" completed in Śaka 978 A.D. He also established the colossal image of Gommaṭesvara at Vindhyagiri. This he did, according to Bāhubalī-charita in the Kalkī year 600 named Vibhava Samvatsara on Sunday, the 5th of Chaitra Sukla, when the auspicious Mṛigaśira nakshatra was current. These details work out correctly for the Śaka year 951 whose cyclic name was Vibhava, the exact equivalent being Sunday, the 23rd March 1029 A.D. If we take the Kalki era to begin from the reign of Kalkī Chaturmukha, who according to the statement in the "Trailokya pajnapti" (*cf.* above) died in Nirvāṇa Samvat 1000 after a reign of over 42 years, we get 1000-44+600-527=1029 A.D. for the establishment of the image, but this date does not work well with the dates given above for Nāchamalla. Professor Ghosāl equates the date mentioned in Bāhuba-charita with Sunday, the 2nd April 980 A.D. but according to Swami Kannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris 2nd April in that year fell on a Friday and not Sunday and the tithi current was 14th Sukla of Chaitra and not 5th. The cylic year was Vikrama and not Vibhava. Nemichandra is stated to have written Gommaṭasāra and other works for the instruction

of Chāmuṇḍarāja. But Brahmadeva, the commentator on Dravya-saṁgraha, declares that Nemichandra wrote the work during the reign of Bhojadeva of Dhārā who came to the throne in A.D. 1010. Al Beruni found him reigning in 1030 A.D. Again Nemichandra in his Karmakāṇḍa makes obeisance to several sages as his preceptors. These are Abhayanandī, Vilanandi, Indranandī and Kanakanandī. One Viranandī is the author of "Chandraprabha kāvya" (*cf.* Catalogue), but the date of its composition is not known. Yet it is very nearly proved that he preceded Nemichandra, as Vādiraja Sūri who completed his Pārśvanātha-charita in the Śaka year 947 (A.D. 1025) makes mention of him and his work. Viranandī gives his spiritual genealogy as follows :-

Deśigaṇa
↓
Guṇanandī
↓
Abhayanandī
↓
Viranandī

It is just possible that Nemichandra's Abhayanandī and Viranandī are identical with those occurring in this genealogy.

The verse in Karmakānda referring to Indranandī and Kanakanandī is this :-

वर इंदणदि गुरुणो पासे सोऊण सयलसिद्धंतं।
सिरि कणयणंदिगुरुणा सत्तट्ठाणं समुद्दिट्ठं।। ३९६ ।।

It may be that this Indranandī is the same as the author of Jvālāmālinī-kalpa noticed above. From the verse it appears that Kanakanandī, the pupil of Indranandī, wrote a work named "Sattat ṭhāna" (Saptasthāna). But nothing further is known about the work.

Trilokasāra is one of the works of Nemichandra, but the commentator Mādhavachandra declares that he incorporated many verses of his own in the work with the consent cf Nemichandra :

गुरु णेमिचंदसम्मद कदिपयगाहा तहिं तहिं रइदा
माहवचंद तिविज्जे णिणमणुसरणिज्ज मज्झेहिं।। १०१४।।

This makes Mādhavachāndra a contemporary of Nemichandra. Mādhavachandra is also the author of "Kshapaṇāsāra" in Sanskrit. The date of the composition of this work is declared in the following verse which is taken from the Kārañjā manuscript :-

अमुना माधवचन्द्रदिव्यगणिना त्रैविद्यचक्रेशिना
क्षपणासारमकारि बाहुबलिसन्मन्त्रीशसंज्ञप्तया।
शक्काले शरसूर्यचन्द्र गणिते जाते प्रभौक्षुल्लके
शुभदे दुंदुभिवत्सरे विजयतामाचन्द्रतारं भुवि।

The date expressed is probably Śaka 1125. Śaka 1124, however, was Dundubhi. In view of this date it seems difficult how he can be accepted to be a contemporary of Nemichandra. Yet out of this confusion the balance of evidence goes in favour of

Nemichandra's existence in 1024 A.D., which carries the installation of the Śravaṇa Belgola colossal image from the 10th to the 11th century A.D.

Āśādhāra is the author of many works[13]. The most important and popular work of his is the Dharmāmṛita divided into two parts Sāgāra and Anāgāra. All the information that we can gather about the author is contained in the author's praśastis appended to the two parts of this work. From them we learn that Āśādhara belonged to the Vagheravāla family. His parents were Sallakshaṇa and Śrīratnī. He was born at Maṇḍalakara in Sepādalaksha country (Sāmbhar, Rajputānā). Āśādhara fled from this country when it was invaded by Śahābuddin Ghorī. He came to Dhārā (Ujjain) where Vindhyavarmā was reigning. Here he studied under one Mahāvira. He completed the composition of Jina-yajña-kalpa in V.S. 1285, of Sāgāra-dharmāmṛita in 1296 and of Bhavyakumuda-chandrikā ṭīkā in V.S. 1300. He composed many works before and between these dates. Their names are found in the praśastis of Jina-yajña-kalpa, Sāgāradharmāmṛita and Bhavyakumudachandrikā. Among these we read the names of Ashṭānga hridayodyotinī a commentary on Vāgbhaṭa Saṁhitā, Kriyā kalāpa, a commentary on Amarakosha and a commentary on Kāvyālaṁkāra of Rudraṭa. He also refers to his commentary on Mūlārādhanā. This, however, is brought to light now for the first time from the Kārañjā manuscript. It is called Mūlāchāra-pradīpaka. There are two incomplete manuscripts of the work, but they together complete each other. The last page of the manuscript of the ending part of the work is missing on which was continued the praśasti of Āśādhara. It would probably have told us the date of the composition of the work, which from its reference in the praśasti of Jina-yajña-kalpa is proved to have preceded V.S. 1285 or A.D. 1228.

Appayārya wrote "Jainendra Kalyaṇābhyudaya" or Pratishṭhāsāra in the Śaka year 1241, Māgha Śukla 10 Sunday, Pushya Nakshatra, apparently equivalent to Sunday, the 20th January 1320 A.D. at Ekaśailanagara during the reign of Rudrakumāra. He was the pupil of Pushpasenāchārya. These facts are stated in the praśasti of the work, which I reproduce below from the Kārañjā manuscript :-

शाकाब्दे विधुवेदनेत्रहिमगे (?) सिद्धार्थसंवत्सरे
माघे मासि विशुद्धपक्षदशमीपुष्यार्कवारेऽहनि।
ग्रंथो रुद्रकुमार राज्यविषये जैनेन्द्रकल्याणभाक्
संपूर्णोऽभवदेकशैलनगरे श्रीपाल बंधूर्जितः॥

इति सकल तार्किक-चक्रवर्ति श्री समन्तभद्र मुनीश्वर प्रभृति कविवृंदारकवंद्यमान सरोवरराजहंस यमान भगवदर्हत्प्रतिमाभिषेकविशेषविशिष्टगंधेदकपवित्रीकृतोत्तमाङ्गेनाप्पयार्येण श्रीपुष्पसेनाचार्योपदेशक्रमेण सम्यग्विचार्य पूर्व शास्त्रेभ्यः सारमुद्धृत्य विरचितः श्रीजिनेन्द्रकल्याणाभ्युदयापरनामधेयस्त्रिदशाभ्युदयेऽर्हत्प्रतिष्ठा ग्रंथः समाप्तः।

Somakīrtti wrote Pradyumna-charita in V. S. 1531 as expressed in the following praśasti of the work :

संवत्सरे सचिथि संज्ञके वै (?) वर्षेऽत्रयत्रिंशैकयुते पवित्रे
विनिर्मितं पौषमुदेश्च तस्या त्रयोदशीयां बुधवारयुक्ता (?)

The date expressed here is the 13th of Pausha Śukla, Wednesday, V. S. 1531 which is equivalent to Wednesday, the 21st September 1474 A.D.

His second work "Yaśodhara-charita" was completed in Samvat 1536.

> वर्षे षट्त्रिंशसंख्ये तिथिगरिगणनायुक्तसंवत्सरे वै
> पञ्चम्या पौषकृष्णे दिनकरदिवसे चौत्तरस्थेहिचन्द्रे।
> गौण्डिल्यां मेदपाटे जिनवरभवने शीतलेन्द्रस्यहर्म्ये
> सोमादिकीर्तिनेदं नृपवरचरितं निर्मितं शुद्धभक्त्या।।

From this we also learn that the author wrote in Medapāṭā (Mewār). The date, Sunday, the 5th of Pausha Śukla paksha of Samvat 1536, is equivalent to Sunday, the 13th December 1478 A.D., on which day the tithi began 12 hours 30 minutes after mean sunrise.

The author's third work noticed in the Catalogue is Saptavyasana-charita. His spiritual genealogy as given in the manuscript of Pradyumna-charita is as follows :

Nanditaṭa Gachchha
↓
Rāmasena
↓
Ratnakīrtti
↓
Lakshmaṇasena
↓
Dharmasena
↓
Bhīmasena
↓
Somakīrtti (the author).

Jñānabhūshaṇa composed the Tattva-jnāna-taranginī in V.S. 1560 as expressed in the following verse :-

> यदैव विक्रमातीता:शतपञ्चदशाधिका:।
> षष्टीसंवत्सरा जातास्तदेयं निर्मिता कृति:।। ५३।।

He gives his lineage thus :-

Sakalakīrtti
↓
Bhuvanakīrtti
↓
Jñānabhūshaṇa (the author).

Sumatikīrtti completed the commentary on Karmakāṇḍa of Nemichandra, according to the Senagaṇa temple manuscript of the work on 10th of Bhādrapada Śukla V.S. 1620 (1563 A.D.). the Maṅgalācharaṇa of this work runs as follows :

> महावीरं प्रणम्यादौ विश्वतत्त्वप्रकाशकं।
> भाष्यहि कर्म्मकाण्डस्य वक्ष्ये भव्य हितंकरं।। १।।
> विद्यानंदि सुमल्ल्यादिभूषं लक्ष्मीन्दुसद्गुरून्।
> वीरेन्दुं ज्ञानभूषं हि वंदे सुमतिकीर्त्यहम्।। २।।

His spiritual genealogy as expressed in these verses and also in many other places is as follows :

Vidyānandī
↓
Mallibhūshaṇa
↓
Lakshmichandra
↓
Vīrachandra
↓
Jñānabhūshaṇa
↓
Sumatikīrtti (the author).

Sumatikīrtti's another work is Siddhāntasāra-bhāshya, a commentary in Sanskrit on the Prakrit work of Jinachandra. This has been published in the Māṇikachandra Digambara Books Series, but the work has been assigned there to the authorship of Jñānabhūshaṇa. The manuscripts from which the press copy was prepared bore no praśasti of the author and the author's name has been inferred from the Maṅgalācharaṇa of the work, which runs as follows :-

श्रीसर्वज्ञंप्रणम्यादौ *लक्ष्मीवीरेन्दुसेवितम्।*
भाष्यं सिद्धान्तसारस्य वक्ष्ये ज्ञानसुभूषणम्।। १।।

In the introduction to the work it has been asserted that Lakshmīchandra and Vīrachandra were disciples of the author Jñānabhūshaṇa, who has been identified with the author of Tattvajñānataraṅgiṇī. This is, however, a misunderstanding which has been cleared by the praśasti found at the end of the Kārañjā manuscript of Siddhāntasāra-bhāshya. It is as follows :-

इति श्री सिद्धान्तसारभाष्यं श्रीरत्नत्रयज्ञापनार्थं
सुमतीन्दुना लिखितम्।। अथ प्रशस्ति।

सूरिवर *श्रीमदमरकीर्तिसमुपदेशात्* श्रीमूलसंघ बलात्कार गणाग्रणी: श्रीमद् भट्टारक श्रीलक्ष्मीचन्द्रस्तत्पदपयोधि-चंचच्चद्रभट्टारक श्री *वीरचन्द्रस्तत्पट्टालंकारभट्टारक* श्रीज्ञानभूषण: श्रीसिद्धान्तसारभाष्यं भव्यजनवल्लभमुमुक्षु श्रीसुमतिकीर्त्ति विरचितं शोधितवान्।। श्लोका:।

टीका सिद्धान्तसारस्य सतांसद्ज्ञान सिद्धये।
ज्ञानभूष इमां चक्रे मूलसंघविदांवर:।।
सिद्धान्तसारभाष्यञ्च शोधितं ज्ञानभूषणै:।
रचितं हि सुमत्यादि...

The last page of the manuscript on which the praśasti must have been continued is missing. Though some ambiguity is created by the last two verses. It is sufficiently explicit from the foregoing lines that the work was written by Sumatikīrtti and it was only corrected and revised by his preceptor Jñānabhūshaṇa.

The difference in the genealogy of this Jñānabhūshaṇa, the preceptor of Sumatikīrtti, on the one hand and that of the author of Tattva-jñānataraṅgiṇī on the other leads us to the conclusion that the two are not identical, but have to be distinguished. This is further established by the fact that Sumatikirtti wrote the Kamakāṇḍa-bhāshya in V.S. 1620 and so his Siddhāntasāra-bhāshya must also have been written and revised by his preceptor about this date. Thus there is a gap of about 80 years between the composition of Tattvajñānataraṅgiṇī and that of Siddhāntasāra-bhāsya. This is very probably that Sumatikīrtti who was contemporaneous with Śubhachandra and at whose request the latter wrote the commentary on Kārttikeyānuprekshā (*cf.* above), as is expressed by the following verses of the praśasti of the latter work :-

तेन श्रीशुभचन्द्रेण त्रैविद्येन गणेशिना।
कार्त्तिकेयानुप्रेक्षाया वृत्तिर्विरचिता वरा।। ८।।
तथा साधुसुमत्यादि कीर्त्तिना कृतप्रार्थना।
सार्थीकृता समर्थेन शुभचन्द्रेण सूरिणा।। ९।।
भट्टारकपदाधीशा मूलसंघे विदांवराः।
रमावीरेन्दु चिद्रूपगुरवोहि गणेशिनः।। १०।।
लक्ष्मीचन्द्रगुरुस्वामी शिष्यस्तस्य सुधीयशाः।
वृत्तिर्विस्तारिता तेन श्री शुभेन्दुप्रसादतः।। ११।।

This disciple of Lakshmichandra who is referred to in the last verse above, as one who enlarged the commentary written by Śubhachandra may be the Jñānabhūshaṇa who revised the Siddhāntasāra. Though he succeeded Vīrachandra in the pontifical seat he may have been another disciple of Lakshmīchandra. Śubhachandra avoided to mention him by name probably because Jñānabhūshaṇa also happened to be the name of his spiritual predecessor, who was the author of Tattva-jñānataraṅgiṇi.

Sakalabhūshaṇa composed Upadeśa-ratnamālā in V.S. 1627, on Śrāvaṇa Śukla 6. His spiritual genealogy is as follows :-

Padmanandī
↓
Sakalakīrtti
↓
Bhuvanankīrtti
↓
Jñānabhūshaṇa
↓
Vijayakīrtti
↓
Śubhachandra
↓
Sumatikīrtti Sakalabhūshaṇa (the author).

[For extract and praśasti see Dr. Peterson's IV Report, pp. 133-135.]

Among his works (see Catalogue) the Pārśvanātha-purāṇa by Vādichandra was completed in V.S. 1640. Its praśasti is as follows :-

बौद्धो मूकति बौद्धगर्वितमतिः काणादको मूकति
भट्टो भृतयति भावनाप्रतिभटो मीमांसको मन्दति।
सांख्यः शिष्यति सर्वथैव क···· नं वैशेषिको रंकति
यस्य ज्ञानकृपाणतो विजयतां सोऽयं प्रभाचन्द्रमा।। १ ।।
तत्पट्टमण्डनः सूरिर्वादिचन्द्रः व्यरीरचत्।।
पुराणमेतत्पार्श्वस्य वादिवृन्दशिरोमणिः।। २।।
शून्यब्दे रसाब्जाङ्के वर्षे पक्षे समुज्वले।
कार्त्तिके मासि पञ्चम्यां वाल्मीके नगरे मुदा।। ३।।
पार्श्वनाथपुराणस्य नानाभेदार्थवाचिनः।
पञ्चदशशतान्यत्र ज्ञेयाः श्लोकाः सुलेखकैः।। ४।।

This praśasti is reported from a manuscript of the work existing at Eṭāwah (U.P.) and from it we learn that Vādichandra completed the work on Kāritika Sukla 5, V.S. 1640. The colophon of the Kārañja manuscript, however, runs thus :-

स्वस्ति संवत् १६४० वर्षे वैशाखमासे शुक्ल पक्षे पञ्चम्यां तिथौ श्री चंपापुरीनगरे श्री आदिनाथ चैत्यालये श्री मूलसंघे......श्री प्रभाचन्द्रदेवास्तत्पट्टे भट्टारक श्री वादिचन्द्राः। एतेषां मध्ये भट्टारक श्री प्रभाचन्द्रभट्टारक-श्रीवादिचन्द्रयोः शिष्यो ब्रह्म श्रीलक्ष्मीसागरेण इदं श्रीपार्श्वनाथपुराणं स्वपठनार्थं स्वहस्तेन लिखितं स्वकर्मक्षयार्थं।

Here we are told that Lakshmīsāgara, a pupil of Vādichandra, made the manuscript on Vaiśākha Śukla 5 in V.S. 1640. If the Eṭāwah manuscript really reads "कार्त्तिके" and not "वैशाखे" as is very probable, then we are irresistibly led to the conclusion that in the 17th century of its life the reckoning of the Vikrama era at least in Champāpuri was Kārttikādi and not Chahrādi, for the copying of the manuscript could not precede the composition of the work.

The spiritual genealogy of Vādichandra as given in the colophon of Pārśva-purāṇa and other works is as follows :-

Padmanandī
↓
Devendrakīrtti
↓
Mallibhūshaṇa
↓
Lakshmīchandra
↓
Vīrachandra
↓
Jñānabhūshaṇa
↓
Prabhāchandra
↓
Vādichandra.

In the manuscript of Sulochanā-charita we are told that the author belonged to Huṁvaḍa caste and to the village Rānara lying on the bank of the river Tāpi.

Separate mention is due to a series of Prakrit poets of the 10th and 11th centuries and after. The Prakrit literature of the Jains is of special importance and interest, because therein alone is preserved the Prakrit language in all its varied forms through its long course of at least a thousand years till it emerges out in the form of modern vernaculars. The mediaeval Prakrit which is the immediate mother of the Northern vernaculars has been called Apabhraṁśa. No literature of this language has so far been published, and it has rarely been studied. Dr. Hermann Jacobi of the University of Bonn has recently brought out a work of this language-Bhavishyadatta-charita of Dhanapāla, with a long introduction in German, in which he is said to have discussed the characteristics of the language. Except for this book, the works noticed below aare altogether new finds. Their importance consists not so much in their subject matter as in the form of language which they exhibit. The characteristics of the latter as illustrated by the extracts published herewith, are mainly the following :-

I. Disappearance of many case and conjugational signs and terminations. The nominative and accusative are indicated by उ or मु and the genitive by ह or हो।

II. Appearance of many local dialectal words which become current in modern vernaculars, but for which strictly speaking no Sanskrit equivalents exist.

III. Use of new poetic measures such as Chaupāi, Soraṭhā, Dohā, etc. (which are otherwise only found in modern vernaculars), and the appearance of rhyme. These general characteristics sufficiently demonstrate the importance of the works for the philology of Hindi and other Northern vernaculars.

We find in Pushpadanta a voluminoûs author. He, wrote an epic named Mahāpurāṇa or Trishashṭhi śalākā-purusha-charita divided into two parts, Ādi-purāṇa and Uttara-purāṇa Their subject matter is the same as that of the works of the same name by Jinasena and Guṇabhadra. The whole work is completed in 102 sandhīs or chapters equal in extent to about 13,000 ślokas. Two other works of this author are Yaśodhara charita and Nāgakumāracharita. These are much shorter than the former, containing only four and nine chapters respectively. The subject matter of the first of these is the same as that of Yaśastilaka-champu of Somadeva; that of Nāgakumāra-charita is the life of another virtuous hero illustrating the *māhātmya* of Śruta Pañchamī. All these works are in Apabhraṁśa language. Pushpadanta prefaces his mahāpurāṇa with a description of the circumstances which brought about the composition of the great work. We find the poet lying in a garden near the town of Mānyakheṭa, having wandered a long distance, whence and whither we know not. Two persons come and speak to the poet regarding the warm appreciation that his poetic virtues are likely to receive from Bharata, the minister of king Śubhatuṅgarāya. The poet goes to see this minister and is duly honoured. Bharata induces him to stay in his palace and write poetry. Bharata's name is referred to in the colophon of each chapter of Mahāpurāṇa and many chapters open with a Sanskrit verse in his praise. The poet wrote the

Yaśodhara-charita and Nāgakumāra-charita at the request of Bharata's son Nanna. From more than one reference in the works we learn that Pushpadanta was the son of Keśavabhaṭṭa and Mugdhādevī, and a Brahman of Kāśyapa gotra. Two lines in Nāgakumāra-charita seem to convey that he was first a devotee of Śiva, but was converted to Jainism by the preaching of a Jain ascetic :

सिवभत्ताइमि जिणसण्णासे। वेविमयाइ दुरियणिण्णासे।।
बंभणाइ कासवरिसिगोत्तइ। गुरुवयणामय पूरियसोत्तइ।।

The "guru" is marginally explained as equal to "Digambara" with a note that the preacher was a Digambara Jain.

Pushpadanta uses for himself in many places such epithets as Abhimānameru, Kāvyaratnākara, Kavyapisalla (Kāvya piśācha), Vāyesari gharu (Vāgeśvarīgṛiha) and the like. He also tells us that he bore a slender constitution and black and ugly complexion.

As for the date of the author, we have the following verses towards the end of Uttara-purāṇa :-

पुष्फयंत कयणा धुयपंके। जइअहिमाणमेरुणामंके।।
कयउकव्वु भत्तिए परमत्थे। जिणपयपंकयमौलियहत्थे।।
कोहणसंवच्छरे आसाढए। दहमएदियहे चंदरुइरूढए।।

These verses convey that Pushpadanta completed the Purāṇa on the 10th of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha in Krodhana saṁvatsara. Apparently there is no mention of the year in the verses, and hence we have to look for other data in the work to determine the year. Pushpadanta tells us that he was the protégé of Bharata, the minister of king Śubhatuṅgarāya of Mānyakheṭa. The same king at other places in the work has been referred to as Vallabharāya. On both these names we have in the manuscripts a marginal explanatory note "Kṛishṇarāja" which proves that the note-maker thought Śubhatuṅgarāya and Vallabharāya to be only different names of "Kṛishṇarāja. History tells us that there have been three kings bearing the name of Kṛishṇarāja in the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of the South. In the time of Kṛishṇarāja I, the Rāshṭrakūṭa capital was not at Mānyakheṭa but near Nāsik. Amoghavarsha I whose reign began in A.D. 815 established Mānyakheṭa as a capital town and Kṛishṇarāja II and III sat on the throne there. Kṛishṇa II reigned from about 722 to 758 and for Kṛishṇa III we have epigraphical and literary records of years ranging from Śaka 861 to 881 (A.D. 939 to 959). In order to decide as to which of these two kings has been referred to by Pushpadanta, we should examine some other data deducible from his epic. Quite at the beginning of the great work we have a line in which we are told that the king of Mānyakheṭa who is here called "Tuḍiga" killed the king of the Cholas.

उवयद्धजडु भूभंगभीसु। तोडेप्पिणु चोडहो तणउ सीसु।।

We read in Dr. Smith's Early History of India (pp. 424-430) that "The war with the Cholas in the reign of Kṛishṇa III Rāshṭrakuṭa was remarkable for the death of Rājāditya, the Chola king, on the field of battle in A. D. 494". Again in the Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. II, on page 332, we read, "The Rāshṭrakuṭa Kṛishṇa III (940-71) had

great success in the Chola country and inscriptions in that tract show that he exercised sovereign rights over parts of it. An inscription at Atkūr, also in Mysore of the year 949-50 relates that at a time when the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III was warring against the Chola Rājāditya, son of Pārantaka I, the former's ally Būṭuga II of the Western Gaṅgas of Talkāḍ (who had married Kṛishṇa's sister) murdered the Chola sovereign at a place called Tatkola, not far west of modern Madras,... ". Somadeva also in the colophon to his Yaśastilaka refers to the conquest of Chola by Kṛishṇa III. Thus it is probable that the line quoted from Pushpadanta refers to this very event.

Continuing our search we find at the beginning of the 50th chapter of Uttarapurāṇa a verse of some importance for our inquiry. This verse is-

दीनाथधनं सदाबहुजनं प्रोत्फुल्लवल्लीवनम्
मान्याखेटपुरं पुरन्दरपुरीलीलाहरं सुन्दरम्।
धारानाथनरेन्द्रकोपशिखिना दग्धं विदग्धप्रियं
क्वेदानीं वसतिं करिष्यति पुनः श्री पुष्पदन्तः कविः।।

In this verse Pushpadanta refers to the raid of Mānyakheṭa by some king of Dhārā that took place in his time. Dhanapāla in this Paiyālachchi nāma (verse 276) says that he composed the work "when one thousand years of the Vikrama era, and twenty nine besides had passed, when Mānyakheṭa had been plundered in consequence of an attack (made) by the lord of Mālavā". A reference to this plunder occurs in the Udaipur praśasti as well (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 226), the 12th verse of which runs as follows :-

तस्मात् (वैरिसिंहात्) अभूदरिनरेश्वरसंघसेवा
गर्जद्गजेन्द्ररव सुन्दर तूर्यनादः।
श्री हर्षदेव इति खोट्टिगदेव लक्ष्मी
जग्राह यो युधि नगादसमप्रतापः।। १२।।

Khoṭṭigadeva was the successor of Kṛishṇa III, and we have a stone inscription of his date in the Saka year 893;+78=A.D. 971 while Harshadeva was a Parmāra king of Dhārā contemporaneous with Kṛishṇa III and Khoṭṭigadeva. It is quite possible that Pushpadanta in the above quoted verse refers to this plunder of Mānyakheṭa by Harshadeva. These identifications irresistibly lead us to the conclusion that Pushpadanta wrote in the time of Kṛishṇa III. It has been said above that Pushpadanta refers to the king contemporaneous with him by the names of Vallabharāya and Śubhatuṅga. As for the first of these terms, it is known to have been the general title of the Rāshṭrakūṭa princes. Dr. V. Smith tells us "All these writers (Arab) agree in stating that they regarded the Balhāra as the greatest sovereign in India. They called the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings Balhārā, because those princes were in the habit of assuming the title of Vallabha (Beloved *Bien aime*) which in combination with the word Rai (prince) was easily corrupted into the form Balhārā."

Jinasena in his Harivaṁśa-purāṇa praśasti calls the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indira, (son of Kṛishṇa I) as Śrī Vallabha (पातीन्द्रायुधनाम्नि कृष्णनृपते श्री वल्लभे दक्षिणाम्). As for the second name Subhatuṅga it is well known that it was an alternative name of Kṛishṇa I,

but probably that was also a general title of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings. Tuṅga was certainly their common name[14]. These proofs are, I think, strong enough to justify the conclusion that Pushpadanta wrote in the time of Kṛishṇa III. But we have still to determine the year in which Pushpadanta completed his Mahāpurāṇa. We have quoted above six lines from the work, expressing the date, without any mention of the year. Mr. Nathūrām Premī, on the strength of many manuscripts of this work seen by him read the third and fourth lines of these as follows :-

कयउ कव्वु भत्तिए परमत्थें। छसय छडोत्तर कय सामत्थें।

This gives the year 606 for the completion of the work. Referred however to the Vikrama, Śaka, Kalachuri or Gupta era, the year does not agree with the facts disclosed above, nor does it prove to be a Krodhana Saṁvatsara as required. Therefore this reading must be held to be erroneous, unless and until it is shown to have reference to an era other than the four mentioned above.

At the beginning of the work Pushpadanta tells us that he began writing it in Siddhāntha Saṁvatsara :-

(तंकहमि पुराणु पसिद्धणामु। सिद्धत्थ वरिस भुवणाहि रामु।।)

Somadeva, in the colophon to his Yaśastilaka, tells us that he completed the work in the Śaka year 881 (Siddhārtha Saṁvatsara) when Kṛishṇa III was reigning (*cf.* Peterson's III Report, 156). Astronomical calculations also confirm the statement that the Śaka year 881 was Siddhārtha, Krodhana follows Siddhārtha after six years, and thus the Śaka year 887 was Krodhana. Hence the the Mahāpurāṇa taken to have been begun in the Śaka year 881 and completed on the 10th of the bright fortnight of Āśhāḍha, Śaka year 887. This according to Swamī Kannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris is equivalent to Sunday, the 11th June 965 A.D. This date, however, raises a question of some historical importance. If we accept that this mahāpurāṇa was completed in A.D. 965=V.S. 1022, and also that the raid of Mānyakheṭa mentioned in it refers to the plunder of the city by Harsha of Dhārā it *prima facie* follows that the latter event took place at least not later than V.S. 1022. But as we have seen the author of Paiya-lachchhī-nāma-mālā refers to the same event in a way as to make us understand that it occurred in V. S. 1029. This would make a difference of seven years. I take it that the event in fact took place about the year 1022 V.S. The mention of Dhanapāla may be explained by the probability that king Harshadeva returned to his capital Ujjain seven years after the plunder of Mānyakheṭa, spending the interval in conquering other parts of the Southern country. In V.S. 1029 the memorable plunder of Mānyakheṭa must have been still fresh and hence Dhanapāla referred to it in that manner.

Though it is difficult to say how long after the completion of Mahāpurāṇa, the Yaśodhara-charita and Nāgakumāra-charita were written, this much is certain that they were written after the Mahāpurāṇa, because during the composition of the latter, Bharata was the minister of the king, but when the other two works were composed his son Nanna is said to have occupied that office. The king has been referred to by the name of Vallabharāya in these two works also and on their manuscripts we find the marginal note "Kṛishṇarāja". This is a mistake. As we have seen Khoṭṭigadeva had already succeeded Kṛishṇarāja even before the completion of Mahāpurāṇa.

Devasena is the author of many works which are all in Prakrit except one which is in Sanskrit[15]. All of them have become well known with the exception of the last Śrāvakāchāra which is now brought to light for the first time. The work, in about 250 Dohā verses preaches the right course of conduct for Jain householders.

The author's name occurs in the colophon of the work. But for it there is nothing in the work to indicate it. There is, however, one circumstance which goes to confirm the view that the author of the new work is no other than the author of the known works attributed to Devasena. Let us examine two verses occurring towards the end of Nayachakra. They are-

सुणिऊण दोहरत्थं सिग्घं हसिऊण सुहंकरो भणइ।
एत्थण सोहइ अत्थो गाहाबंधेण तं भणह।।
दव्वसहाव पयासं दोहयबंधेण आसिजंदिट्ठं।
तं गाहाबंधेण रइयं माइल्लधवलेण।।

In these verses we are told that the work Nayachakra here called Dravya-svabhāva-prakāśa, was first composed (by Devasena) in Dohā metre. But when it was heard by a certain Śubhaṅkara, the latter laughed and said that the metre did not befit the subject matter of the work, which might well be recast into gāthās. This Māilladhavala (a pupil of Devasena) accomplished.

From this account two important conclusions follow. Firstly, that at that time Dohā metre was not favoured in learned circles, and secondly that Devasena used to write Dohā verses. Possibly the Dohā metre was in his time regarded an innovation, and had only recently come into use. Devasena who had already established his reputation as a good writer was apparently bold enough to shake off the trammels of the old school and wrote his Srāvakāchāra wholly in the Dohā metre as a contribution to the new style which then came into vogue. With regard to the date of Devasena, it is furnished to us by a verse in the author's Darśanasāra. The verse is :

रइओ दंसणसारो हारो भव्वाण णवसए णवए।
सिरि पासणाहगेहे सुवि सुद्धे माहसुद्धदसमीए।। ५०।।

"णव सए णवए" seems at first sight to stand for V. S. 909, but in the body of the work the author describes the Māthura saṁgha to have originated in V.S. 953. Hence the above words must be interpreted so as to give us a date later than V.S. 953. A deeper dip reveals the fact that they really stand for V.S. 990. (A.D. 933). The Dohā verse should therefore be taken to have come into use about this period. This date, however, appears to be early for the diction of Śrāvakāchāra, but it is possible that it may have been modified by some later redactor.

Dhavala completed his Harivaṁśa purāṇa in 18,000 ślokas with 122 chapters. Its subject-matter is the same as that of the Sanskrit Harivaṁśa-purāṇa by Jinasena. Dhavala has given us no information as to the date of his composition or about himself. Rather, he regards the practice of self-advertisement as reprehensible. He tells us at the beginning of his work अप्पाणं जेण थुवं बुद्धिविहोणेण णिंदियं तेण (The fool who praises

himself does in fact condemn himself). He, however, calls his work भवियाणंदं (भविकानदं), सुसोहणं (सुशोभनं) मणोहरु (मनोहर) and so on. The author mentions his name at the beginning and the end of the work and also at the end of each Sandhi or chapter in some form or other. What personal information he gives, is contained in the following verses :-

मइ विप्पहो सूरहो णंदणेण। केसुल्लउवरितह संभवेण।।
कुतित्थ कुधम्म विरत्तएण। णामुज्जलु पयडु वहंतएण।।
हरिवंस सुयलु सुललियपयेहि। मइ विरइउ सुद्दु सुहावएहि।।
सिरि अंबसेण गुरवेण जेण। वक्खाणि कियउ अणुकमणतेण।।

In the first two lines Dhavala obviously refers to his Brahman caste (Vipra), and mentions the names of his parents. His father's name was probably Śūra. The second line which very likely mentions his mother's name is not clear. In the rest of the lines the author tells us that he was a strict follower of Jina and a devotee of Nirgrantha sages; that he kept himself aloof from other faiths and prophets and that he wrote the Harivaṁśapurāṇa as it was expounded to him by his preceptor Ambasena.

In the preface to his work Dhavala mentions the following poets and works :-

1. *Dhirasena* - Kavi Chakravarttin and Pūrva guṇavanta.
2. *Devanandi* - Who manifested Jainendra Vyākaraṇa.
3. *Bajra Sūri* - Author of a work on Naya.
4. *Mahāsena* - Author of Sulochanā-charita.
5. *Ravishena* - Author of Padma-charita (purāṇa).
6. *Jinasena* - Author of Harivaṁśa-purāṇa.
7. *Jaḍilamuni* - Author of Varāṅga-charita.
8. *Dinakarasena* - Author of Anaṅga-charita.
9. *Padmasena* - Author of Parśva-charita.
10. *Andhasena* - Author of Amṛitārādhanā.
11. *Dhanadatta* - Author of Chandraprabha-charita.
12. *Vindhyasena* - Author of many charitras based on the works of others.
13. *Simhanandi* - Author of Anuprekshā.
14. *Siddhasena* - Singer of the Āgama and manifestor of Bhavya-vinoda.
15. *Rāmanandi* - Author of many stories.
16. *Asaga* - Author of Vīra-charita.
17. *Govinda* - Author of Sanatkumāra-charita.
18. *Jinarakshita* - Expounder of Jayadhavala.
19. *Sālibhadra* - Author of Jīva-udyota.
20. *Chaturmukha* - Author of Pauma-chariya.
21. *Drona* - Title of work N.A.

Nothing is known about many of these poets and writers. Of those known, all except Asaga lived before or about the 9th century A.D. Asaga as we have seen wrote in Śaka 910 = A.D. 988. Dhavala must have been writing shortly after this date. Strangely enough, we miss the names of Vīrasena and Jinasena, the author of Ādi-purāṇa in this list of poets.

Śrīchandra's Kathā kosha in the Apabhraṁśa language is now brought to light for the first time. It contains fifty-three sandhis or chapters, which narrate about an equal number of stories. Some of these may turn out to be of historical importance, but they are intended in the main for religious instruction and popular amusement. Stories connected with king Titaśatru, king Sreṇika (Bimbisāra), Magadha deśa, Pāṭaliputra and Rājagṛiha are many.

Illustrations of some interesting and new metres in Prakrit, occur in this work, for instance :

तहा मुणि कायकिलेस सोहिए, सरीर छेत्ते तवसीर वाहिए।
ववेविसद्दंसण णाण संजमे, महीरुहे चारु विवेय संजमे।।
नएवि विद्धि सुहसील वारिणा, दुरंत जम्मा सुह तावहारिणा।
पसिद्धि पूया कुसुमोह सोहए, गुणोह संभूय फलोह रोहए।।

(बंसस्थ नाम छंदः)

माणसेइणं धरेवि, तिप्प दक्खिणं करेवि।
जिणस्स मंदिरे जिणिंदु, वंदिऊण लोय वंदु।।
मण्णिवट्टि याणुराउ, निग्गउ तउ पुराउ।।
दारुणं वणं पइट्टु, तित्यु जक्ख रूक्खु दिट्टु।। १।।

(समानिका नाम छंदः)

तहचेय साहु। सीलंबु वाहु।।
सुहसाह णाहे। आराहणाहे।।
कारणु लहेवि। संघहो कहेवि।।
अणुसरमिपुज्जु। हउं अप्पकज्जु।।

(दुहडउ नाम छंदः)

The following verse is repeated in full or indicated by a part at the end of each chapter :-

विविह रस जिसाले। णेय कोऊ हलाले।
ललिय वयण माले। अत्थसंदोह साले।।
भुवण विदिद नामे। सव्व दोसो वसामे।
इह खलु कहकोसे। सुंदरे दिण्णतोसे।।

The name of the author Śrīchandra occurs in the colophon of each Sandhi.

In the praśasti (*cf.* extract) the author tells us that he wrote about the time of king Mūlarāja of Aṇhilawāda. In the Chālukya dynasty of Anhilawāḍa, two Mūlarājas are known to have reigned, the first from A.D 941 to 996 and the second from A.D. 1176 to

1178, enjoying only a brief reign of two or three years (*cf.* Duff's chronology). Śrīchandra must have been a contemporary of one of these, very probably of the first.

From the praśasti, we get the following genealogy of the author :

Kundakundāchārya

↓

Śrikīrtti

↓

Guṇākarakīrtti

↓

Vīrachandra

↓

Śrīchandra (the author).

As already observed, we have recently been given notice of the publication in Roman characters with an introduction in German of the Bhavishyadatta-charita of Dhanapala. In the Senagaṇa temple collections two complete manuscripts of this work were found amongst a heap of incomplete and rotten manuscripts bundled apart as waste. One of these is dated Kārttika Śukla 5, Samvat 1593, and the other Kārttika Śukla 5, Bhaumavāra, Samvat 1506. The work is completed in 22 sandhīs or chapters and 3,500 ślokas. It opens with a verse in Soraṭhā chhanda. There is no mention of any date or author's genealogy except that his father was Maheśvara and mother Dhanaśrī and that he belonged to Dhakkaḍa family of the Vaiśya caste. Though this account does not help us in determining the date of the author, it at any rate makes clear that he has to be distinguished from the author of Tilaka-mañjarī and that of Paiyā-lachchhināma-mālā, who lived in the 11th century A.D. Nothing certain can be said except that our author also probably belonged to the same period.

This author in the praśasti of his work Sudarśana-charita tells us that he wrote it in V.S. 1100 (A.D. 1043) during the reign of Bhojadeva of Dhārā (*cf.* extract). By the life account of a religious hero it illustrates the *māhatmya* of Navakāra mantra. The work consists of twelve chapters. The author's spiritual genealogy is as follows :

Kundakundāchārya

↓

Padmanandī

↓

Rāmanandī

↓

Māṇikyanandī

↓

Nayanandī (the author).

In his Pārśva-purāṇa Padmakīrtti narrates the life of the 23rd Tirthaṁkara, Pārśvanātha. The work consists of 18 sandhīs and 3,323 ślokas. The manuscript is dated in Samvat 1473, Phālguṇa Vadi 9, Wednesday, when Śrī Vīrabhānudeva was reigning. The date of the author could not be ascertained. We, however, find the following genealogy in the praśasti (*cf.* extract) :-

Chandrasena
↓
Mādhavasena
↓
Jinasena
↓
Padmakīrtti (the author).

Yoga-sāra by Yogachandra has recently been published in the Māṇikachandra Digambara Jain Grantha Series. It is a work on Adhyātma and contains 107 verses. The prevailing metre is Dohā, but in a few places the poet has gone in for Soraṭhā and Chaupāi metres. Illustrations of these are given below :

जीवाजीवह भेउ, जो जाणइ ते जाणियउ।
मोक्खह कारण एउ, भणइ जोइ जोइहि भणिउ।। ३८।।
धम्मु ण पढिया होइ, धम्मु ण पुच्छापिच्छयइ।
धम्मु ण मढिय पयेसि, धम्मु ण मुच्छ लुञ्चियइ।। ४६।।
कासु समाहि करउ को अंचउ।
छोपु अछोपु करिवि को वंचउ।।
हल सह कलहि केण सम्माणउ।
जहिं जइह जोवउ तह अप्पाणउ।।

The author's name occurs in the last verse and in the colophon of the work. Beyond that no other information has been given. The Maṅgalācharaṇa of this work is similar to that of Paramātma-prakāśa of Yogīndradeva. From this fact combined with the similarity of the names of the authors, the writer of the introduction to the published work infers that the two may be identical. On the scanty evidence available the author has been assigned to the 12th century A.D. One of the Kārañjā manuscripts of the work, bears on it a brief commentary by Indranandī, pupil of Amarakīrtti. The work has also been named Dohāsāra.

Karakaṇḍū-charita by Kanakāmara is yet another work of the Apabhraṃśa language. It narrates the life of a virtuous king Karakaṇḍū Mahārāja. The work is completed in ten parichchhedas or chapters. The author gives no information about himself, but he makes a reference in his work to Siddhasena, Samantabhadra, Akalaṅka, Svayambhu and Pushpadanta (Vāgeśvarīgṛiha). As we have seen above the last of these wrote in A. D. 965. Kanakāmara must have been writing shortly after this date.

Up till now we have dealt with Digambara authors and works. In Digambara temples the number of Śvetāmbara works must necessarily be limited. Most of those that are found have been described in Dr. Peterson's IV Report. Dates and genealogies of a few, however, that could be noted from the Kārañjā manuscripts are given below.

Ratnasekhara Sūri composed Śrīpālacharita in Prakrit in V. S. 1428. His spiritual genealogy is this :-

Vajrasena

↓

Hematilaka Sūri

↓

Ratnaśekhara Sūri (the author).

Praśasti

> सिरि वज्जसेण गणहर पट्टे प्पहुहेमतिलयसूरीणं
> सीसेहि रयणसेहरसूरीहि इमा हु संकलिया।। २३।।
> तस्सीस हेमचंदेण साहुणा विक्कमस्स वरिसम्मि
> चउदस अट्ठावीसे लिहिया गुरुभत्तिकलिएण।। २४।।

Jayaśekhara wrote Samyaktva-kaumudi- in V.S. 1457.

> हयेषु लोके संख्येऽब्दे सूरि श्रीजयशेखरः।
> संक्षिप्य संददर्भेमां कथां सम्यक्त्वकौमुदीम्।।

Udayadharmagṇi wrote Vākaya-prakāśa in 131 ślokas. He was the pupil of Ratnasiṁha Sūri and wrote in V. S. 1507 "मुनिगगनशरेन्दुमितेवर्षे" at Siṁhapur.

Jinavijaya wrote a commentary (Vṛitti) on the above work in the year 1694 (युगनिधिकायशशाङ्कप्रमितेवर्षे) on the 6th Śukla paksha of Mādhava month. He was a pupil of Kirttivijaya.

Ratnamandira gaṇi wrote Bhoja-prabhandha in V. S. 1517. His spiritual genealogy is as follows :-

Tapā gachchha.

↓

Somasundra gaṇi

↓

Nandaratna gaṇi

↓

Ratnamandira gaṇi (the author).

The praśasti of the work reads :-

> ज्ञातः श्रीगुरु सोमसुन्दरगणी श्रीमत्तपागच्छप
> स्तत्पादाम्बुज षट्पदो विजयते श्री नंदरत्नो गणी।
> तच्छिष्योऽस्ति च रत्नमन्दिरगणी भेजे प्रबंधोऽद्भुत-
> स्तेनासौ मुनिभूमिभूतशशिभृत् संवत्सरे निर्मितः।।

Chandrakīrtti wrote Sārasvata-dīpikā, a commentary on the work of Anubhūti-svarūpāchārya, a Brahman author. The first manuscript of the work was made by the author's disciple Harshakīrtti on Thursday, the 8th of Srāvaṇa Śukla Samvat 1723.

The spiritual genealogy of Chandrakīrtti is as follows :-

Koṭṭiga gaṇa, Nāgpurīya gachchha.
↓
Deva Sūri (Samvat 1174)
↓
Padmaprabha Sūri
↓
Chandraprabha Sūri
↓
Guṇasamudra (?)
↓
Jayaśekhara Sūri
↓
Vajrasena Sūri
↓
Hematilaka Sūri
↓
Ratnaśekhara Sūri
↓
Pūrṇachandra Sūri
↓
Hemahaṁsa Sūri
↓
Ratnasāgara Sūri
↓
Hemasamudra Sūri
↓
Hemaratna Sūri
↓
Somaratna
↓
Rājaratna (of Jesawāla family)
↓
Chandrakīrtti (the author).

In the Bālātkāra gaṇa temple there are 27 bundles of manuscripts written on palm leaves in Kanarese character. Each bundle contains more than one manuscript. No Kanarese scholar was available to examine them in any detail. They are all written on palm leaves. A list of the works has been given in Appendix II.

From what has been said above it will be seen that a critical study of the Kārañjā records is likely to yield valuable results, about which mere conjectures have been thrown out at the present stage. They have had to be hazarded with a view to draw attention to controversial matters. From the linguistic point alone there is enough of material for a good harvest specially in connection with Prakrit compositions of various dates. The Brahmanical literature as found in the manuscripts of the Province equally affords a field for investigation, which may also yield gratifying results. A Śāstri at

Nagpur possesses a fourth Śataka of Bhartṛihari till now credited with 3 Śatakas only. To give another instance, works like Nāgārjuna or Harivijaya, the last with double entendre describing the victory of Hari, while the same text directs the movements in chess play, are amongst the rare manuscripts which form the treasures of the province. What is now really wanted is the intensive study of works left by so many court poets and scholars belonging to some thirty different dynasties, which ruled this province from time to time during the last 2,300 years, a notice of which has been briefly given in the Introduction to my "Descriptive lists of Inscriptions found in the Central Provinces and Berar" besides a number of other scholars, who wrote a number of valuable books without any royal patronage.

REFERENCES

1. See also Dr. Peterson's 2nd Report, pp. 163-166 and *Indian Antiquary* vol. XX p. 354. The two closing verses of the genealogy run as follows :
   पद्मनन्दी गुरुर्जातो बलात्कार गणाग्रणीः।
   पाषाण घटिता येन वादिता श्री सरस्वती।। ४१।।
   ऊर्जयन्तगिरौ तेन गच्छः सारस्वतोऽभवत्।
   अतस्तस्मै मुनीन्द्राय नमः श्री पद्मनन्दिने ।। ४२।।
   [Perceptor Padmanandi because the first of the Balatkargana, by whom the stonemade Saraswati was made to speak. Thereby arose the Saraswatgachcha on the mount Unjayanta. Hence a bow to that lord of sages, Padmanandi.]
   That Padmanandi is another name of Kundkundacharya is proved by the fourth verse of the same genealogy :
   आचार्यः कुन्दकुन्दाख्यो वक्रग्रीवो महामतिः।
   एलाचार्यो गृद्धपिच्छः पद्मनन्दीति तन्यते ।। ४।।
2. For an analysis of these works see Dr. Weber's paper translated and published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, and onwards under the heading "Sacred Literature of the Jains."
3. Atleast one work 'Bhadrabahu Samhita' is reputed to have been written by Bhadrabahu, the contemporary of Chandragupta Maurya and the eighth pontiff from Lord Mahavir. But a critical examination of the work has shown that it is a production of a much later date.
4. For more detailed information of this author and his grammar cf. Dr. Kielhorn *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, p. 75. Professor Pāthak *Indian Antiquary* XLIII pp. 20–512. Pandit Nāthuram Premī, *J.S.S.* Vol. I, pp. 63–87.
5. Cf. Marharā Copper Plates of Avinīta, *Indian Antiquary*, I, pp. 363–55 and *Epi. Car.* Vol. I, p. 1.
6. For identification of Pūjyapāda and Devanandī cf. Peterson, II Report, pp. 67–74.
7. For an analysis of the work and its comparison with the work of panini See Dr. Kielhorn, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVI, pp. 24–28.
8. Cf. Professor Pathak, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* Vol. XVIII, p. 219 and *M.S.I.L.* by Dr. Vidyābhūshan.
9. Cf. of *Skt. Pkt. Mss. in C.P. and Berar.*
10. Cf. *J.B.B.B.R.A.S.* 1892, pp. 223–24.
11. Cf. *E.C.* Vol. VIII No. 46.
12. Cf. Petersons II Report, pp. 47-49 and 156.
13. Cf. *Catalogue of Skt. Pkt. Mss. in C.P. and Berar.*
14. Cf. Deoli Plates.
15. Cf. See *Catalogue of Skt Pkt. Mss., in C.P. and Berar.*

Svayambhū and His Two Poem in Apabhraṃśa

In my bibliographical notes on Apabhraṃśa literature[1], I had occasion to make mention of two important and large poems in the Apabhraṃśa -the *Pauma-cariu* and the *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa* of Svayaṃbhūdeva. I had not then myself seen any manuscript of the works and the information given in that note was obtained through others. I have since had the opportunity of closely examining two MSS. of PC. and one of HP., and the information presented here is the result of that examination.

The PC., as its very name indicates, describes the life of Padma, that is, Rāma, and, like the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, it is divided into sections called *Kāṇḍas,* though their number here is only five and not seven. The first twenty chapters, called *Sandhis,* form the *Vidyādhara Kāṇḍa,* the next 22 the *Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa;* then *Sundara Kāṇḍa* has 14, *Yuddha Kāṇḍa* 21 and *Uttara Kāṇḍa* 13. Thus, there are, in all, 90 *sandhis*[2] each of which is again divided into a varying number of passages called *Kaḍavakas* the total number of which, in the whole work, is 1269, calculated to be equal to 12,000 *ślokas*. The prevailing metre of the work, as in most other Apabhraṃśa works, is *Pajjhaṭikā* or *Paddhaḍiā*.

The HP describes the *Mahābhārata* story and is completed in 112 *sandhis* containing, in all, 1937 *kaḍavakas* calculated to be equal to 18,000 *ślokas,* thus being one and a half time larger in extent than the sister poem. The prevailing metre here also is *Paddhaḍiā*. The poet himself calls this work *Harivaṃśa-kahā*[3] and also *Riṭṭha-ṇemi-caria*[4] (SK. *Ariṣṭanemi-carita*) from the fact that it includes the life of *Ariṣṭanemi,* the 22nd *Tīrthaṃkara*.

The opening and closing passages of these two poems, as well as the colophons appended to their *sandhis,* furnish us with a good deal of information about their authorship. From them we learn that the author of both the works is Sayaṃbhū or Sayaṃbhūeva (SK. Svayaṃbhūdeva) who bore the titles of *Kavirāja-cakravarti*[5] (emperor of poet-kings) and *Chandacūḍāmaṇi*[6] (crest-gem of metrics) and that he was the son of *Mārutadeva* and *Padminī.*[7] In one MS. of *Pauma-cariu,* there occurs a verse, at the end of *sandhi* 42, which not only makes mention of the poet's wife, but also tells us that she assisted the poet by writing out the *Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa.*[8] Her name was Āyiccambā. *Pauma-cariu* was composed under the patronage of Dhanañjaya and the HP. under that of Dhavalaiyā, as we know from the colophons. Both the names perhaps connote the same individual. We are not told who this patron of letters was, but the absence of any

regal or ministerial title leads us to infer that he was probably some rich merchant (Seṭṭhi).

Somehow, Svayaṃbhū left both these works incomplete. PC. upto *sandhi* 82 and HP. upto 99 are his composition and the rest of them was composed by his son Tribuvana Svayaṃbhū who does not expressly offer any explanation for his father's incompleteness. He merely says that the rest had somehow (*Kaha vi = kathamapi*) remained uncomposed by his father, and calls his own part of the PC. a supplement (*Sesa*).[9] At the end of *sandhi* 99 of HP. we have a verse telling us that the poet proceeded to compose the HP. after having finished PC. and yet another work of great merit *Suddhaya-caria.*[10] This information precludes us from imagining that his PC. was interrupted by any calamity like death. The explanation that suggests itself to me is that perhaps the poet regarded his PC. as complete at *sandhi* 82 which ends with the reunion of Rāma with his two sons Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa. The same, however, cannot be said with regard to HP. Tribhuvana Svayaṃbhū does not call this part of his contribution a supplement but simply says that he had completed what was left incomplete by his father and that he devoted himself with one mind to shoulder the burden devolved upon him from his father.[11] We do not know of any work done by Svayaṃbhū after it. Here, presumably, the activity of Svayaṃbhū was cut short by death.

In the colophons to the *sandhis* of both the works Tribhuvana Svayaṃbhū tells us that he was the younger son of Svayaṃbhū and was supported by Bandaiyā who appears to be the son of Dhanañjaya or Dhavalaiyā, his father's patron.[12] He calls himself "Proficient in grammar and well-footed in the knowledge of the *Āgamas*, and bearing the burden of poetry while yet young."[13]

Yet a third hand is visible in the composition of the HP. as we have it. After the usual colophon to *sandhi* 109, mentioning Svayaṃbhū and Tri. S. as the authors, we read two verses which may be literally translated as follows:

"This well-known subject-matter has been described by the ascetic *Jasakitti* (SK. Yaśahkīrti) whose sole intention was to restore the chapter left out by the poet-king. They really live in this world as good men having manifold virtues and possessing a sense, who revive the shattered poetry, family and wealth of others."[14]

The name *Jasakitti* also occurs in the ending verses (*Ghattās*) of *sandhis* 106, 108, 110, 111 and 112, where it also has a sense appropriate to the context as is the case with the name Svayaṃbhū which similarly occurs in most of the ending verses.[15] In the last passage of *sandhi* 112, after an account of the oral tradition of the Bhārata story from the *Tīrthaṃkara* Mahāvīrā down to Svayaṃbhū through a line of teachers, we are told that Svayaṃbhū reduced it to writing in *Paddhaḍiā* metre and what had been left out at the end has been restored by the ascetic *Jasakitti.* He also tells us that he applied himself to the task by the kind persuasion of his preceptor *Guṇakīrti,* that he completed his composition on the 14th lunar day of the month *Bhādrapada* and that he recited it before the Jaina householders assembled for the purpose in a Jaina temple near Gopagiri, having himself been specially invited to *Kumara-nagara* by a certain merchant.[16] After considering every piece of information that is before us concerning the question, my

own idea about Yaśahkīrti's performance is that he made certain interpolations in the text of the six *sandhis* mentioning his name, with a view to amplify the descriptions of Tribhuvana Svayaṃbhū, like the poet Gandharva, the son of Kanhaḍa, who made interpolations in the text of *Jasaharacariu* of Puṣpadanta, but unlike him in not clearly indicating his contributions. However, by a closer study of the link of the story and the style of composition we might be able to mark out what stands to the credit of Yaśahkīrti. This Yaśahkīrti, the pupil of Guṇakīrti, is, no doubt, indentical with the preceptor of Siṃhasena alias Raidhu, the author of *Mehesaracaria* and many other works in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, who flourished at Gwalior during the 15th century at the time of the Tomara king Kīrtisiṃha.[17] Yaśahkīrti himself is also the author of some independent poems in Apabhraṃśa. I have seen manuscripts of his *Candappaha-cariu* and *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa*, quite different from the present work, in the manuscript stores at Jaipur.

In the MSS. of PC., at the beginning and at the end, we find a number of verses in praise of Svayaṃbhū and his illustrious son Tribuvana Svayambhu. Some of these verses are also found scattered at the end of different *sandhis* of both the works, specially in the portions contributed by Tribhuvana Svayaṃbhū. As they are important, a full notice of them might be taken here. The verses at the end of PC. may be rendered as follows[18]:

"Tribhuvana Svayaṃbhū was the one son born to the poet-emperor, who composed this supplement of PC. like its crest-gem. By this supplement he has spread in this world the glory of the king of poets who had left his victory incomplete. Who could adequately praise Tri. S. who, like a bull, bore the burden of the poetry of Svayaṃbhū even while yet young? This bull of Tri. S. has a strong hump in the form of grammar, large feet in the form of the *Āgamas* and bears the burden of poetry for the holy Jina. He composed the wonderful *Pancamī-cariam* thereby proclaiming what had been described by *Caumuha* and *Svayaṃbhūdeva*. The sons of other people merely learn the letters like a parrot in a cage, but the son of *Kavirāja* was born like *Śuka* (Śukadeva) from a female parrot (*śukī*) (or, like knowledge, *śruta*, from the sacred lore, *śruti*). If Tri. S. was not born as son to Svayaṃbhūdeva, who would have rescued the poem, the family and the poetry after him? If the Chaṇḍa-cūḍāmaṇi had not obtained for his younger son Tri. S. who could have taken care of the *Paddhaḍiā* poem *Śrī Pancamī*? All people inherit the wealth of their fathers but Tri. S. inherited high poetic talents. Except Tri. S. which of the pupils could have crossed the ocean of the poetry of Svayaṃbhū ? Thus, the charming PC., composed by Svayaṃbhū, has been completed by Tri. S. The holy remainder of the PC. composed by the son of Kavirāja, the son of Māruta, is now complete and may Bandaiyā obtain the holy merit for it. Tri. S. composed it out of regard for the first son of Bandaiyā. May all of them, Bandaiyā Nāga, Śrīpāla and other righteous persons enjoy health, prosperity, peace and happiness! Let this good girl of Rāma story, with limbs consisting of the seven large *sargas*, and adorned with the three jewels, produced by Tri. S. be wedded by Bandaiyā with his mind and body."

The verses at the beginning of PC. are[19] :

"Word is supreme in the mouth of Caumuha and meaning is charming in the words of *Danti*, while both these are present in the poetry of Svayaṃbhū; what shall

other poets do? Poets, even today, cannot match the words of Caumuha, the sweet tongue of Svayaṃbhūdeva and the *Gograhaṇa* of *Bhadra*. Poets even today cannot approach Svayaṃbhū in water sport (*Jala-krīḍa*), Caumuhadeva in Gograhaṇa-kathā and *Bhadra* in Matsya-vedha. The mad elephant of Apabhraṃśa of Svayaṃbhū does not fall. Victorious be the lion Svayaṃbhū with his long tusks of good words, terrible to took at on account of the nails in the form of the metres and figures of speech, and having ample manes in the form of grammar. Victorious be the lotus-like poem of Svayaṃbhū with its stalk of long compounds, its petals of words, its pollens of sense and with its juice being sucked by the 'learned'-bess."

All these verses, from their contents and style, seem to me to have been written by Tribhuvana Svayaṃbhū, not necessarily at the time of completing the work, but perhaps at a later date, and then inserted in the manuscripts. That is why they are not found in all MSS. nor at the same place.

From these verses we can gather certain important pieces of information. Firstly, we get names of three poets who obviously wrote Apabhraṃśa poems before or simultaneously with Svayaṃbhū. Caturmukha has been praised for the excellence of his *Gograhaṇa-kathā* and for his choice of words. He has also been associated with a work in Paddhaḍiā metre called *Pancamīcaria*. In HP. Svayaṃbhū acknowledges his debt to him for the metrical system adopted in his work, that is, the use of Paddhaḍiā metre joined up with *Duvai* and *Dhruvaka* verses. *Dantila* mentioned by *Puṣpadanta* in his *Mahāpurāṇa*.[20] Bhadra is said to have excelled in the *Gographaṇa-kathā* and *Matsya vedha*. It seems to me that all these poets, like Svayaṃbhū, but independently of each other, wrote the Bhārata story and the particular sections of their works, as mentioned above, were specially appreciated.[21]

The next important information that we get from the verses is about the other works of Svayaṃbhū. Not only his sound knowledge of grammar has been emphasised but he is clearly attributed with the authorship of a grammar, the first grammar of Apabhraṃśa. Jinasena, in his *Ādipurāṇa*, has mentioned a grammar (*Padaśāstra*) by Svayaṃbhū, consisting of more than a hundred chapters.[22] Though Jinasena is here speaking of what Riṣabhadeva taught to his sons, nevertheless, it is evident from his mention of *Chandoviciti* and ten *Prāṇas* of poetry, at the same place, that he had in his mind actual works on the subjects. It is, therefore, not improbable that he was conscious at the time of the existence of a grammar by Svayaṃbhū. The Ādipurāṇa was completed before A.D. 898. The discovery of this work of Svayaṃbhū would be really valuable. His title of *Chaṇḍa-cūḍāmaṇi*, combined with the other references in praise of his knowledge of metrics, seems to suggest that he also wrote some works on metre. A recently discovered work on Prākrit metre *Kavi-darpaṇam*, written before 1300 A.D., makes mention of Svayaṃbhū and quotes his opinion on a controversial point.[23] A MS. of Svayaṃbhū's work on Prākrit metre is actually reported to be in existence.[24] He perhaps wrote on *Alaṃkāra* also as he is mentioned as an authority on rhetorics by *Prakāśavarṣa* in his *Rasārṇavālaṃkāra* though this reference is of a dubious nature between mythological and historical.[25] *Pancamī-caria* was another narrative of Svayaṃbhū. "It was a story of exceeding wonder and was composed in Paddhaḍiā verses," says his

son who revised it.[26] As already mentioned, Svayaṃbhū wrote one more work *Suddhaya-caria* just before he began the HP.[27] This makes Svayaṃbhū a very versatile genius, very much like Hemacandra who flourished under Kumārapāla of Gujarat during the 12th century. For the rest, the work of Tribhuvana Svayaṃbhū in completing the work of his father, including the revision of his *Pancamīcaria,* and praise Bandaiyā and his son for encouraging and supporting the poet in his poetic activities.

We now come to the question of Svayaṃbhū's date which is not mentioned in his works and, so, for which we are thrown upon external and internal evidence. His reputation has been responsible for his being mentioned by many poets of Apabhraṃśa who followed him. We already know that his work was interpolated by *Yaśahkīrti* during the 15th century. Yaśahkīrti's pupil Siṃhasena has mentioned him in the Mehesara-cariu as a Mahākavi.[28] Vira who probably wrote during the 13th century, speaks of him in his *Jambūsāmicariu*[29] as peerless in giving delight to the learned by his *Rasa* and *Bhāva*. Kanakāmara, in his *Karakaṇḍa-cariu,*[30] calls him large-minded Svayaṃbhū. Above all, Puṣpadanta mentions him in his *Mahāpurāṇa* which was completed on Sunday, the 11th June 965 A.D., and this date provides us with a *terminus-a-quo* for our poet.[31]

For fixing the other limit, we have to look for evidence into the works of Svayaṃbhū himself. In the introductory part of this PC. Svayaṃbhū acknowledges his debt to a line of teachers who handed down the Rāma stroy by tradition, the last of them being *Raviṣeṇa* whom we know very well as the author of the Jaina *Padma-purāṇa,* also called Padmacarita, in Sanskrit, written, according to the author's own statement, in 678 A.D.[32] Svayaṃbhū goes on to mention *Bharata, Piṅgala, Bhāmaha* and *Daṇḍin* whose works, he says through modesty, he had not studied. In the same connection, he also speaks of the five great poems (Panca-mahākāvya) without mentioning them by name.[33] In his HP., however, he says that the knowledge of grammar was bestowed on him by Indra, of sentiment (*Rasa*) by Bharata, power of exposition by Vyāsa, metre by Piṅgala, figures of speech (*Alaṃkāra*) by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, excessive bombasticism (*Ghana-ghanau akkharadambaru*) by Bāṇa, poetic skill (*Niuṇattaṇa, Nipuṇatvam*) by Śrī Harṣa and the *Paddhadiā metre,* with its accompaniment of *Duvai* and *Dhruvaka,* by Caumuha.[34] A knowledge of the times of these authors and works will give us the required limit of time for Svayaṃbhū. Vyāsa is, no doubt, the author of *Mahābhārata* which had assumed its present shape before 600 A.D.[35] Bharata is certainly the author of *Nāṭyaśāstra,* a work of ancient fame, believed to be very old, the latest conjecture about its time being the 6th century.[36] Indra is traditionally associated with the Jainendra Grammar which is really the work of *Pūjyapāda Devanandi,* and which is mentioned by Jinasena in his *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa* of 783 A.D. The work, on good grounds, is assigned to the latter part of the 5th century.[37] Piṅgala is associated with two well-known works, one on Sanskrit metre called *Chandah-sūtra* and the other on Prākrit metre called *Prākrit Piṅgala*. The name has come down to us from hoary antiquity and the history of the works is enveloped in mythic darkness and legendary confusion.[38] The second work, however, seems to be a compilation of gradual growth and it may have reached its present form not earlier than the 16th century, but its earliest kernel might be assumed to be in existence about 700 A.D. Bāṇa is no other than the famous author of *Harṣa-carita* and *Kādambarī* to whom our poet is very suitably

indebted for high bombasticism. His time is certain beyond doubt as he flourished at the court of Emperor Harṣa who ruled from 606 to 648 A.D. Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin both are authors of well-known works on *Alaṃkāra*. They seem to have been contemporaries or separated by a very short period. Their date is uncertain but they are believed to be not later than 700 A.D.[39] Svayaṃbhū's mention of *Śrī-Harṣa* presents some difficulty. As our poet declares himself to be indebted to him for poetic skill, one naturally feels inclined to identify him with the author of *Naiṣadhīya-carita* which is a work of unquestionable poetic excellence. But this work, on the authority of Rājaśekharasūri's *Prabandha-koṣa*, is believed to have been written during the 12th century.[40] If this is true, Svayaṃbhū could not obviously mention him, in which case this *Śrī-Harṣa* might be identified with Bāṇa's patron the Emperor Harṣa who is also the author of three Sanskrit dramas. For him, however, the tribute paid by Svayaṃbhū would seem to be too liberal and not as justifiable as his other acknowledgements. It is surprising that Puṣpadanta has also mentioned him in his Mahāpurāṇa. Personally, I feel inclined to question the evidence adduced in favour of the 12th century for the author of *Naiṣadhīya*, and place him before Svayaṃbhū and Puṣpadanta. In fact, the date has been questioned more than once before,[41] and the subject deserves to be re-examined in the light of this fresh evidence. By the *Panca-Mahākāvya* Svayaṃbhū might be presumed to mean *Raghuvaṃśa* and *Kumārasaṃbhava* of Kālidāsa, *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi, *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha, and either *Bhaṭṭikāvya* or *Naiṣadhīya-carita*. Of these, the first two poets are mentioned in the Aihole inscription of 634 A.D., Māgha's grandfather is known to have been the minister of king Varmalāta mentioned in an inscription of 625 A.D., and Bhaṭṭi, having flourished under a Vallabhi king Dharasena, cannot be later than 641 A.D.[42] It might be said here that Svayaṃbhū's mention of five *mahākāvyas* instead of the traditional six, goes in favour of his *Śrī-Harṣa* being identified with the Emperor Harṣa and not the author of *Naiṣadhīya-carita* which may not be existent then. As for the *nipuṇatva* of Śrī Harṣa, our poet may have had in his mind that verse in *Nāgānandam* which begins as '*Srī Harṣo nipuṇah kavih*' etc. Thus, all the poets and works which have been mentioned by Svayaṃbhū and about whose dates we have some evidence, belong to a period preceding 700 A.D. Therefore, the period of Svayaṃbhū's poetic activities falls between 700 and 965 A.D.

If we wish to bring his date within a closer range, we might take into consideration some evidence of a negative character. We have seen that Svayaṃbhū is very honest and sincere in the acknowledgement of his debt to his predecessors. He is very particular in mentioning the sources of his knowledge and information on the subjects of grammar, metre, figures of speech and poetic standards. Though himself a *Chanda-cūḍāmaṇi* he conscientiously confesses that he borrowed the metrical system adopted in his works from *Caumuha*. He also declares that for his story of *Pauma-cariu* he is indebted to *Raviṣeṇa*. This being so, it seems strange that he makes no mention of *Jinasena* and his *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa* in Sanskrit which has the same subject-matter as his own *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa*. Jinasena had completed his work, according to his own statement, in 783 A.D. Another noteworthy omission is that of the Sanskrit *Ādipurāṇa* whose author Jinasena II occupies a very high place amongst the Jaina authors. He completed the *Jayadhavalā Siddhānta* in 838 A.D.[43] Puṣpadanta has mentioned him and his preceptor, as well as his work, with great respect. Svayaṃbhū would not have failed to mention them, and

more particularly the author of *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa,* if they were known to him; and they could not have remained unknown to him if their works had come into existence before him, for he, like them, belonged to the South as is evident from the name of his patron as well as from the fact that the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* kingdom was during this period, the home for such literary talents. It seems to me one of those cases where silence is strongly suggestive. It may, therefore, be inferred that Svayaṃbhū wrote before the authors of the Sanskrit *Harivaṃṣa-purāṇa* and *Ādipurāṇa,* i.e., between 700 and 783 A.D.

In the introductory part of the *Pauma-cariu,* there is a verse which just gives us a glimpse into the personality of Svayaṃbhū. He himself tells us that he was very slender in his body and had scattered teeth.[44] This reminds us of his successor Puṣpadanta who calls himself "emaciated in body like the new moon, dark in complexion and purely ugly".[45] If we cannot appreciate such features in the personality of these poets, we have certainly to admire their courage in leaving for us a permanent record of the same.[46]

APPENDIX

1. Introductory portion of 'Pauma-cariu.'

A

नमह णव-कमल-कोमल-मणहर-वर-वहल कंति-सोहिल्लं।
उसहस्स पायकमलं ससुरासुरवंदियं सिरसा।। 1।।

चउमुह-मुहम्मि सण्द्दो दंतीसद्दे या मणहरो अत्थो।
विण्णि वि सयंभुकव्वे किं करीरइ कइयणो सेसो।। 2।।

चउमुहएवस्स सद्दो सयंभुएवस्स मणहरा जीहा।
भद्दस्स य गोग्गहणं अज्ज वि कइणो ण पावंति।। 3।।

जलकीलाए सयंभू चउमुह एवंच गोग्गहकहाए।
भद्दं च मच्छवेहे अज्ज वि कइणो ण पावंति।। 4।।

तावज्जि य सच्छंदो भमइ अवब्भंस-मच्च-मायंगो।
जाव ण सयंभु-वायरण अंकुसो पडइ।। 5।।

सच्छद्द-वियड-दाढो छंदालंकार-णहर-दुप्पिच्छो।
वायरण-केसरड्ढो-सयंभु-पंचाणणो जयउ।। 6।।

दीहर-समास-णालं सद्द-दलं अत्थकेसरग्घविया।
बुह-मुहयर-पीयरसं सयंभु-कव्वुप्पलं जयउ।। 7।।

B

वद्धमाण-मुह-कुहर-विणिग्गय रामकहा-णइ एह कमागय।
अक्खर-वास-जलोह-मणाहर सुयलंकार-छंद-मच्छोहर।

दीह-समास-पवाहावंकिय सक्कय-पायय पुलिणालंकिय।
देसीभासा-उभय-तडुज्जल कवि दुक्कर-घण सद्द-सिलायल।
अत्थवहल-कल्लोलाणिट्ठिय आसासय-सम-तूह-परिट्ठिय।
एह रामकह-सरि सोहंती गणहर-देवहिं दिट्ठ वहंती।

पच्छइं इंदभूइ-आयरिएं पुणु धम्मेण गुणालंकरिएं।
पुणु एवहिं संसाराराएं कित्तिहरेण अणुत्तरवाएं।
पुणु रविसेणायरिय-पसाएं बुद्धिए अवगाहिय कइराएं।
पउमिणि जणणि-गब्भसंभूएं मारुयएव-रूव-अणुराएं।
अइतणुएण पईहरगत्तें छिव्वर-णासें पवरिल-दंतें। 10

घत्ता-णिम्मल-पुण्ण-पवित्त-कह-कित्तणु आढप्पइ।
जेण समाणिज्जंतएण थिरकित्ति विढप्पइ।। २।।

बुहयण सयंभु पइं विण्णवइ मइं सरिसउ अण्णु णत्थि कुकइ।
वायरणु यावि ण जाणियउ णउ वित्ति-सुत्तु वक्खाणियउ।
णउ पच्चाहारहो तत्ति किय णउ संधिहे उप्परि बुद्धि ठिय।15
णउ णिसुउण सत्त विहत्तियाउ छव्विहउ समास-पउत्तियाउ।
छक्कारय दस-लयार ण सुय वीसोवसग्ग पच्चय बहुय।
ण बलाबल-धाउ-णिवाय-गणु णउ लिंगु उणाइ चउक्कु वयणु।
णउ णिसुणिउ पंच महायकव्वु णउ भरहु ण लक्खणु छंदु सव्वु।
णउ बुज्झिउ पिंगल पत्थारु णउ भम्मह दंडियलंकारु। 20
ववसाउ तोवि णउ परिहरमि वरि रयडावुत्तु कव्वु करमि।

2. The ending part of 'Pauma-cariu'.

तिहुयण-सयंभु णवरं एक्को कइराय-चक्किणुप्पण्णो।
पउमाचरियस्य चूडामणि व्व सेसं कयं जेण।। १।।

कइरायस्स विजय-सेसियस्स वित्थारिउ जसो भुवणे।
तिहुयण-सयंभुणा पउमचरिय-सेसेण णिस्सेसो।। २।।

तिहुयण-संयभु धवलस्स को गुणो वण्णिउं जए तरइ।
बालेण वि जेण सयंभुकव्वभारो समुव्वूढो।। ३।।

वायरण-दढ-क्खंधो आगम-अंगोपमाण-वियडपओ।
तिहुयण-सयंभु-धवलो जिणतित्थे वहउ कव्वभरं।। ४।।

चउमुह-सयंभुएवाण वण्णियत्थं अचक्खमाणेण।
तिहुयण-सयंभु रइयं पचमि-चरियं महच्छरियं।। ५।।

सव्वे वि सुया पंजर-सुय व्व पढि अक्खराइं सिक्खंति।
कइरायस्य सुओ सय व्व सइगब्भ-संभओ।। ६।।

तिहुयण-सयंभु जइ ण हुंतु णंदणो सिरिसयंभुदेवस्स।
कव्वं कुलं कवित्तं तो पच्छा को समुद्धरइ।। ७।।

जइ ण हुअ छंदचूडामणिस्स तिहुयण-सयंभु लहुतणउ।
तो पद्धडियाकव्वं सिरिपंचमि को समारेउ।। ८।।

सव्वो वि जणो गिण्हइ णिय ताय-विढत्त-दव्व-संताणं।
तिहुयण-सयंभुणा पुण गहियं ण सुकइत्त-संताणं।। ९।।

तिहुयण-सयंभुमेक्कं मोत्तूण सयंभुकव्व-मयरहरो।
को तरइ गंतुमन्तं मज्झे णिस्सेस-सीसाणं।। १०।।

इय चारु पोमचरियं सयंभुएवेण रइय सम्मत्तं।
तिहुयण-सयंभुणा तं समाणियं परिसमत्तमिणं।। ११।।[17]

मारुय-सुय-सिरिकइराय-तणय-कय-पोमचरिय-अवसेसं।
संपुण्णं संपुण्णं वंदइओ लहउ संपुण्णं।। १४।।

गोइंद-मयण सुयणंत विरइयं (?) वंदइय-पढमतणयस्स।
वच्छलदाएं तिहुयण-सयंभुणा रइयं महप्पयं।। १५।।

वंदइय-णाग-सिरिपाल-पहुइ-भव्वयण-समूहस्स।
आरोगत्त-समिद्धी संति सुहं होउ सव्वस्स।। १६।।

सत्तमहासग्गंगी[18] तिरयणभूसा सु रामकह कण्णा।
तिहुयण-सयंभु जणिया परिणउ वंदइय मणतणउ।।
इय रामायण-पुराणं समत्तं।
सिरि-विज्जाहर-कंडे संधीओ हुंति वीस परिमाणं।
उज्झाकंडंमि तहा बावीस मुणेह गणणाए।।
चउदह संदरकंडे एक्काहिय वीस जुज्झकंडे य।
उत्तरकंडे तेरह संधीओ णवइ सव्वाउ।। छ।।

3. Some important colophons of sandhis in 'Pauma-cariu'.

Sandhi

1. इय इत्थ पउमचरिए धणंजयासिय-सयंभुएवकए
जिण-जम्मुप्पत्ति पढमं चिय साहियं पव्वं।।

2. जिणवरणिक्खवण इमं बीयं चिय साहियं पव्वं।।

14. जलकीलाए सयंभू चउमुहएवं च गोग्गहकहाए।
भद्दं च मच्छवेहे अज्जवि कइणो ण पावंति।।

42. अउज्झाकंडं समत्तं।
आइच्चुएवि पडिमोवाए (?) आइच्चंबिमाए।
बीयउ उज्झाकंडं सयंभुघरिणीए लेहवियं।।

77. जुज्झकंडं समत्तं।। ज्येष्ठ वदि १ सोम।

83. इय पोमचरिय-सेसे सयंभुएवस्स कहवि उव्वरिए।
तिहुयण-सयंभु-रइयं समाणियं सीयदीव-पव्वमिणं।।
वंदइआसिय-तिहुयण सयंभु-कइ-कहिय-पोमचरियस्स।
सेसे भुवणपगासे तेयासीमो इमो सग्गो।
कइरायस्स विजयसेसियस्स वित्थारिओ जसो भुवणे।
तिहुयणसयंभुणा पोमचरियस्स सेसेण णिस्सेसो।।

84. इय पउमचरियसेसे सयभुएवस्सं कहवि उव्वरिए।
तिहुयण सयंभुरइए सपरियण हली-संभवकहणम्।।

इय रामएव-चरिए वंदइआसिय-सयंभुसुय-रइए।
बुहयण-मण-सुह-जण्णो चउरासीमो इमो सग्गो।।

85. वंदइआसिय-मइकइ-सयंभु-लहु-अंगजाय-विणिवद्धो।
सिरि पोमचरियसेसो पंचासीमो इमो सग्गो।।

90. इय पोमचरियसेसे सयंभुएवस्स कहवि उव्वरिए।
तिहुयणसयंभुरइए राहवणिव्वाणपव्वमिणं।।
वंदइआसिय-तिहुयण-सयंभुपरिविरइयम्मि महाकव्वे।
पोमचरियस्स सेसे संपुण्णो णवइमो सग्गो।।

4. Some introductory portions of Harivamśa Purāṇa

सिरिपरमागम-णालु सयल-कला-कोमल-दलु।
करहु विहूसणु कण्णे जायव-कुरुव-कुलुप्पलु।।

चिंतवइ सयंभु काइ करम्मि हरिवंस-महण्णउ कें तरमिम्म।
गुरु-वयण-तरंडउ लच्छु णवि जम्महो वि ण जोइउ को वि कवि।।
णउ णाइउ बाहत्तरि कलउ एक्कु वि ण गंथु परिमोक्कलउ। 5
तहिं अवसरि सरसइ धीरवइ करि कव्वु दिण्ण मइ विमलमइ।
इंदेण समप्पिउ वायरणु रसु भरहें वासें वित्थरणु।
पिंगलेण छंद-पय-पत्थारु भम्मह-दंडिणिहिं अलंकारु।
बाणेण समप्पिउ घणघणउ तं अक्खर-डबरु अप्पणउ।
सिरिहरिसें णिय णिउणित्तणउ अवरेहिं मि कइहिं कइत्तणउ। 10
छंडणिय दुवइ-धुवएहिं जडिय चउमुहेण समप्पिय पद्धडिय।
जय-णयणाणंद-जणेरियए आसीसए सव्वहुकेरियए।
पारंभिय पुणु हरिवंस-कहा स-समय-पर-समय-वियार-सहा।
घत्ता-पुच्छइ मागहणाहु, भवजरमरण-भडारा।
थिउ जिण-सासणु केम, कहि हरिवंस भडारा।। २।। 15

5. The ending part of Harivamśa Purāṇa

इह-भारह-पुराणु सुपसिद्धउ णेमि-चरिय-हरिवंसाइद्धउ।
वीरजिणेसं भवियहो अक्खिउ पच्छइं गोयमसामिण रक्खिउ।
सोहम्में पुणु जंबूसामें विण्हुकुमारें दिग्गयगामें।
णंदिमित्त-अवरज्जियणाहें गोवद्धणेण सुभद्दहवाहें।
एम परंपराइं अणुलग्गउ आयरियह मुहाउ आवग्गउ। 5
सुणि संखेवसुत्तु अवहारिउ विउसें सयंमें महि वित्थारिउ।
पद्धडिया-छंदें सुमणोहरु भवियण-जण-मण-सवण-सुहंकरु।
जसपरिसंसिकविहिं जं सुण्णउ जं उव्वरिउ किं पि सुणियाणहो।
तं जसकित्ति मुणिहि उद्धरियउ णिएवि सुत्तु हरिवंसच्छरियउ।
णिय-गुरु-सिरि-गुणकित्ति-पसाएं किउ परिपुण्णु मणहो अणुराएं। 10
सरहसेदेंद (?) सेठि-आएसें कुमर-णयरि आविउ सविसेसें।
गोवगिरिहे समीवे विसालए पणियारहे जिणवर-चेयालए।

सावय-जणहो पुरउ वक्खाणिउ दिट्ठु मिच्छत्तु मोहु अवमाणिउ।
जं अमुणंतें इह मइं साहिउ तं सुयदेवि खमउ अवराहउ।

णंदउ सासणु सम्मइणाहहो णंदउ भवियण कय-उच्छाहहो। 15
णंदउ णरवइ पय पालंतहो णंदउ दयधम्मु वि अरहंतहो।

कालंबिय णिच्च परिसक्कउ कासु वि धणु कणु दिंतु ण थक्कउ।
भद्दवमासि विणासिय-पवकलि हुउ परिपुण्णु चउद्दसि णिम्मलि।

घत्ता-इय चउविह-संघहं, विहुणिय-विग्घहं, णिण्णासिय-भव-जर-मरणु।
जसकित्ति-पयासणु, अखलिय-सासणु, पयडउ संति सयंभुजिणु।। १७।। 20

इय रिट्ठणेमिचरिए धवलइयासिय-सयंभुएव-उव्वरिए।
तिहुवण-सयंभु-रइए समाणियं कण्हकित्ति हरिवंसं।।

गुरु-पव्व-वास-मयं सुयणाण्णुक्कमं जहाजाय।
सयमिक्क-दुहह-अहियं संधीओ परिसमत्ताओ।। संधि ११२।।

।। इति हरिवंशपुराणं समाप्तं।।

6. Some important colophons of sandhis in Harivamśa Purāṇa.

Sandhi

1. इय रिट्ठणेमिचरिए धवलइयासिय-सयंभुवकए।
पढमो समुद्दविजयाहिसेयणामो इमो सग्गो।।

99. इय रिट्ठणेमिचरिए धवलइयासिय-सयंभू-कए कविराजाधवल (?)
विनिर्मिते श्री समवसरणकथनं नाम निन्याणवो संधिः।।
काउण पोमच्चरियं सुद्धय-चरियं च गुणगणप्पवियं।
हरिवंस-मोहहरणे सरस्स सुढिय-देहव्व।। छ।।

100. इय रिट्ठणेमिचरिए धवलइयासिय-सयंभुवकए उव्वरिए
तिहुवण-सयंभुमहाकइ-समाणिए समवसरणं णाम सउमो सग्गो।।

102. इय............सयंभु-उव्वरिए तिहुवण-
सयंभु-महाकइ समाणिए कण्ह-महिल-भवगहणमिणं।।
तिहुवणो जइ वि ण होंतु णंदणो सिरिसयंभुएवस्स।
कव्वं कुलं कवित्तं तो पच्छा को समुद्धरइ।।

106. घत्ता-ते धण्णा सउण्णा के वि णरा पालिय-संजमु फेडिय-दुम्मइ।
इहभवे जसुकित्ति पवित्थरिवि हुंति सयंभुवणाहिवइ।।
इय रिट्ठ .... सयंभुविरइए-णारायणमरण-पव्वमिण।।

107. घत्ता-सइंभुयएण विढत्तु धणु जिम विलसिज्जइ संत।
तेम सुहासुह कम्मडा भुंजिज्जहि णिब्भंत।।
इय रिट्ठ .... सयंभुएव-उव्वरिए तिहुयण-सयंभु-रइए समाणियं सोयबलहद्दं।।

108. घत्ता-पियमायरिहि विराइय महिविक्खाइय भूसिय णियजसकित्ति जणि।
जिणदिक्खहे कारणे दुक्खणिवारणे देउ सयंभुय धरेवि मणि।।
इय रिट्ठ .... सयंभुएवउव्वरिए तिहुयणसयंभुरइए हलहर-दिक्खासमं कहियं जरकुमाररज्ज-लंभो,
पंडवधरवास-मोहपरिचायं सय-अट्ठाहिय संधी समाणियं एत्थ वरकइणा।।

109. इय रिट्ठणेमिपुराणसंगहे धवलइयासियाकय-सयंभुएव-उव्वरिए तिहुयण-सयंभुरइए समाणियं पंडुसयहो
भवं णवोहिय-सयं संधी।।
इह जसकित्ति-कएणं पव्वसुद्धरण-राय-एक्कमणं।
कइरायस्सुव्वरियं पयडत्थं अक्खियं जइणा।। १।।
ते जीवंति य भुवणे सज्जण-गुण-गणहरा य भावत्था।
पर-कव्व कुलं वित्तं विहडियं पि जे समुद्धरहिं।। २।।

110. भवा-सव्वु सुयंगु णाणु जिण-अक्खिउ, भव्वसहंतरि किं पि ण रक्खिउ।
णिय-जसुकित्ति तिलोए पयासिउ, जिह सयंभु जिणे चिरु आहासिउ।।
इय रिट्ठणेमिचरिए धवलइयासिय-सयंभुव-उव्वरिए।
तिहुवण-सयंभुकइणा समाणियं दहसयं।।
एक्को सयंभुविउसो तहो पुत्तो णाम तिहुयण-सयंभू।
को वण्णिउं समत्थो पिउभरणिव्वहण-एक्कमणो।। १।।

111. भवा-तेतीससहसवरिसे असणं गिण्हंति माणसे सुक्खं।
तेत्तिय पक्खुसासं जसकित्ति-विहूसिय-सरीरे।। क।।
इय रिट्ठणेमिचरिए धवलइयासिय-सयंभुएव उव्वरिए।
तिहुवण-सयंभुरइए णेमि-णिव्वाण पंडुसुयतिण्हं।।

REFERENCES

1. *Allahabad University Studies,* Vol. I, 1925.
2. See Appendix 2, end.
3. See Appendix 4, line 13.
4. See Appendix 6.
5. See Appendix 2, verse 1.
6. See Appendix 2, verse 8.
7. See Appendix 1 (*b*), line 9.
8. See Appendix 3, *sandhi* 42.
9. See Appendix 3.
10. See Appendix 6.
11. See Appendix 7.
12. See Appendix 3, *sandhi* 85.
13. See Appendix 2, verses 3 and 4.
14. See Appendix 6, *sandhi* 109.
15. See Appendix 6.
16. See Appendix 5.
17. See *Alld. Uni. Studies,* Vol. 1, p. 175.
18. See Appendix 2.
19. See Appendix 1 (*a*).
20. See *Alld. Uni. Studies,* Vol. I, p. 165.
21. Dhavala, a later Apabhraṃśa poet, actually mentions a Hari-Pāndavakathā of *Caumuha* which he had consulted, *Alld. Uni. Studies,* Vol. I, p 166.
22. तदा स्वायंभुवं नाम पदशास्त्रमभून्महत्।
    यत्तत्परः शताध्यायैरतिगम्भीरमब्धितत् ।। आ.पु, पर्व 16, 111.
23. *Annals of Bhand. Or. Research Inst.,* Vol. XVI, parts I and II, p. 61.
24. *Ante;* See *JBBRAS,* 1935, Nos. 1-2, where a part of this work is published.
25. *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol. V, No. I, Supplement, p. 16.

26. See Appendix 2, verses 5 and 8.
27. See Appendix 6, *sandhi* 99.
28. *Alld. Uni. Studies*, Vol. I. p. 174.
29. This work is one of my new finds, and has not, so far, been noticed anywhere. It makes mention of Svayaṁbhū as follows :–

    रस-भावहिं रंजिय-विउस-मणु। सो भुयवि सयंभु अण्णु कवणु ॥
30. Edited by the writer in Kāranjā Jaina Series, Vol. IV, 1934. It calls Svayaṃbhū, *Vasālacittu* (विसालचित्तु).
31. *Alld. Uni. Studies*, Vol. I, p. 165.
32. Eedited in Manikcandra Digambara Jain Granthamālā, Bombay.
33. See Appendix I (*b*).
34. See Appendix 4.
35. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I; Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Leterature*.
36. P.V. Kane's Introduction to his edition of Sāhitya Darpaṇa.
37. S.K. Belvalkar : *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 62 ff.
38. Both works edited in the Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.
39. P.V. Kane, Introduction to his Sāhitya Darpaṇa.
40. Pandit Sivadatta, Introduction to his edition of the *Naiṣadhīyā-carita*; Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*.
41. Bühler, *JBRAS*, X, 31 f; XI, 279 f; R.P. Chanda, IA, XLII, 83 f; 286 f.
42. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*.
43. See introduction to Catalogue of Sans, and Prak. Mss in CP and Berar.
44. See Appendix 1 (*b*), line 10.
    There are two more adjectives in this line describing the poet's personality, but their meaning is unclear to me. One is *Païhara-gatteṃ* (पइहर-गत्तें) where the first word is doubtful. We might take it as equivalent to *Pratihara* (प्रतिहर) and then the whole adjective might give us the meaning *'Having repulsive limbs'*. But it is rather peculiar to use *'pratihara'* in that sense. The other adjective is *Chivvara-ṇāseṃ* (छिव्वर-णासें). which is also found in one Ms as *Chivvira ṇāseṃ* (छिव्विर-णासें) What does *Chivvara* or *Chivvira* mean? Hemachandra gives *Chhrava* as equivalent to *kṛtrima* meaning artificial (छिव्वं कारिमम् *Deśīnāmamālā* III, 27). If our *Chivvara* is derived from this, the adjective would mean *'having an artificial or unusual sort of nose'*. Or, it may be equivalent to the Gujarati *chipar* (छिपर) meaning a large stone. The adjective may then mean having a nose resembling a large stone. Or, is it connected with the Sanskrit word *'kṣīva'* (क्षीव) or *'chavi'* (छवि), in which case the adjective may mean *'having an intoxicating or a beautiful nose'*? Such are the difficulties which a student of this literature is constantly faced with.
45. See Introduction to *Nāyakumāra-cariu*, edited by the writer in Devendrakirti Jaina Series, Vol. I.
46. In the Appendix will be found all those from Svayambhu's works.
47. Here follow two verses in Sanskrit in praise of *Rāmāyaṇa*, obviously imported from Ravisena's *Padmapurāṇa*, Parva 123, verses 155 and 157; one is चेष्टितमयणं चरितं, etc., and the other वाचयति श्रृणोति जनः, etc.
48. According to the following verses we have only five Kāṇḍas and no seven Sargas. The Writer here seems to have been too full of seven Kāṇdas of Valmikī's Rāmāyan.

An Ode to Candragupta Vikramāditya

The author of the work noticed here is Siddhasena Diwākara, a celebrated ancient Jaina author. Many works are attributed to him, but three of them are accepted almost by all without any dispute as his genuine works. These are Sanmati-tarka, Nyāyāvatāra and Dvātrinśikās. Of these the most famous work is the first which has also been called Sammai-Sutta (Sk. Sanmati Sūtra). It is a work on Jaina logic in Prakrit verses.[1] It has been mentioned and quoted from, with or without the name of the author, by Virasena in his commentary on Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama called Dhavalā[2] (816 A.D.), by Haribhadra in his Pancavastu[3] (8th century), by Jinadāsa Gaṇi in his Niśītha-sutta-cuṇṇi[4] and Dasā-cunni[5] (676 A.D.) and by Jinabhadra Kshamāśramaṇa in his Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya[6] (609 A.D.). Thus Siddhasena belongs to a period prior to the 7th century A.D. The earlier limit of his date is provided by the traditional account of his spiritual genealogy according to which he was the disciple of Vraddhavādi and grand disciple of Skandila.[7] The last name is associated with the redaction of the Jaina Canon at Mathurā in the 4th century A.D. and this may therefore be taken as a safe earlier limit of the date for Siddhasena.

A legendary account of the life of Siddhasena is found in a number of collections of old tales belonging from the 10th to the 14th century A.D., such as the Kathāvali of Bhadreśwara (10th-11th cent.) Prabhāvaka-carita of and Caturviṃśati-Prabandha or Prabandha-koṣa of Rājaśekhara Sūri (ab. 1348 A.D.) Although the accounts found in these works are not free from fabulous and mythical overtone, and vary from each other in some details, a few common facts emerge prominently from them and may be regarded as historical. They are as follows :

Siddhasena was born in a Brāhmaṇa family of the Kātyāyana gotra. He possessed a sharp talent and soon acquired a good knowledge of the Sanskrit lore. He once held a disputation with the Jaina ascetic Vṛddhavādi. The teachings of the saint made a great impression on him, so that he became his disciple. Siddhasena became so eminent in learning that he attracted the attention of the cultured monarch of his time known as Vikramāditya who wished to confer a huge monetary reward on him. But Siddhasena refused it in conformity with the vows of a Jaina monk, and the reward was ultimately diverted to the cause of restoration of old temples.[8] Once the king was challenged by the border rulers of the east, but he succeeded in suppressing them through some kind

of help of Siddhasena.[9] The latter became so deeply attached to the royal honours and affairs that the Jaina community of monks took a serious view of it, and he had to undergo some expiatory rites. On another occasion Siddhasena expressed a desire to convert the whole of the Jaina canonical literature from Prakrit into Sanskrit. The very idea was regarded as a sacrilege by his community, and he had again to make some pious atonement for it. In his last days he retired to Pṛthvīsthānapur (Paithan) in the South where he ended his life by the Jaina form of absolute renunciation.[10]

With this account of Siddhasena's association with king Vikramāditya before him, Dr. Satishchandra Vidyābhūṣana, in his History of Indian Logic (p. 174) surmised that in all probability this Jaina monk is no other than the Kshapaṇaka mentioned as one of the nine jewels of the court of king Vikrama,[11] whom he identified with Yaśodharmadeva of Malwa who lived about 530 A.D. Since then, however, our knowledge about Vikramāditya has been considerably advanced by a series of archaeological, historical and literary discoveries and investigations. From numerous inscriptions, particularly the coin legends, we now know for certain that King Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty, who ruled approximately from 380 to 413 A.D., had assumed the title of Vikramāditya, that his son and successor Kumāragupta (413-455 A.D.) had another name Mahendrāditya or Mahendrasiṃha and that his grandson Skandagupta (455-469 A. D.) again called himself Kramāditya or Vikramāditya.[12] Both these Vikramādityas, the grandfather and the grandson, had to perform the great task of consolidating their power by conquering neighbouring rulers and suppressing or expelling the foreigners from the land. Candragupta obliterated the last vestiges of the Āndhra strongholds, demolished the Śaka kingdom of the Kṣatrapas and became the Śakāri by personally killing the Śaka king.[13] Skandagupta Vikramāditya had to deal with the Hūṇas who, for some time, put the fortunes of the great Gupta empire under suspense.

It should now no longer be doubtful that the cycles of stories connected with Vikramāditya in the three Sanskrit versions of the Bṛhat-kathā of Guṇādhya, namely, Bṛhat-kathā-ślokasaṃgraha of Buddhaswāmi, Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī of Kshemendra and Kathā-sariāsāgara of Somadeva have for their hero the one or the other of these two monarchs. This is undeniable when Vikramāditya is specifically found mentioned at one place as ruling at Paṭaliputra, and at another place as the son of king Mahendrāditya.[14] Thus, they could be no other than Candragupta and Skandagupta mentioned above. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that in the Jaina accounts, the king, with whom Siddhasena is associated in the eastern part of the country, is at one place called Vikramāditya and at another Devapāla. This could apply to Candragupta II alone, because, beside Vikramāditya, he has been given yet another name in the inscriptions, Devarāja or its variant Devagupta. Devapāla is merely a third variant of the same name.[15]

Another noteworthy feature of the Jaina tradition is the account of the first meeting of Siddhasena and Vikramāditya. The latter wished to reward the sage by a crore of gold coins, but the sage would not accept it, being against the vow of a Jaina monk. Ultimately the gift was diverted for the renovation of temples. The saint pronounced a blessing on the king that he would soon have a son (Kumara-narinda). Needless to say

that the prophesy was fulfilled in the birth of the prince Kumāragupta. This episode compares very closely with that of Kautsa and Raghu in the Raghuvaṃśa (5, 30-37) of Kalidāsa, where also we find a tussle between the donor and the donee, and the same blessing of the Kumāra's birth concludes the episode.[16] It is not unlikely that when composing the episode, Kālidāsa had in his mind some real occurrence of the type mentioned above.

The association of Kālidāsa with Vikramāditya is now very clear in the light of some literary discoveries. Rāmadāsa, the commentator of the Prakrit poem Setubandha, says that Kālidāsa had a hand in its composition along with Pravarasena, and this he did at the command of king Vikramāditya.[17] It is now well known that the author of Setubandha, namely Pravarasena, was no other than the Vākāṭaka ruler of the time of Candragupta whose daughter's (Prabhāvatī-gupta's) son he was. He is also mentioned by Kṛṣṇa Kavi in his Bharata-carita as the lord of Kuntala,[18] who is, in all probability, the same person to whom Kālidāsa was commissioned as an ambassador by Candragupta Vikramāditya, according to the Kuntaleśwara-dautya, a work attributed to Kālidāsa and referred to and quoted from by Kshemendra,[19] Rājaśekhara and Bhoja.[20]

Siddhasena Diwākara is credited with the authorship of thirty-two Dvātriṃśikas i.e. poems of thirty-two verses each. The text of twenty-one of these was published 83 years back by the Jaina Dharma Prasāraka Sabhā, Bhāvanagara. Five of the poems contain the name of the author in part or full. Dva. 1,2 and 16 have in their last verses the word Siddha, while poem 5 and 21 have Siddhasena in full. The rest have no such mark or indication in them. But taking into account the tradition and the style, there could be no serious doubt about the authorship.

The eleventh poem in this collection is called in the colophon Gunavacana-dvātrimśikā. It is an eulogy of a king to whom it is directly addressed by the pronouns-tvayā, bhavān, tvat, tava, bhavatā and tvā; by verbs in the second person-samtuṣyase, vahasi, surāyase, harasi, karoṣi and asi; and by vocatives-nṛpate, narapate, narendra, nṛpa, rājan and kṣitipate, used in the verses. The Ode consists of 28 verses only. It is not unlikely that four verses may have been lost or deliberately excluded for some personal references which may have been very valuable from our point of view. It may have also originally ended here, because there are other dvātrimśikās also which contain more or less than 32 verses. For example, the 21st poem has 33 verses and the 10th has 34, while the 8th has 26 and 15th and 19th have 31 each.

While the other dvātriṃśikās are either in praise of the Tīrthaṃkaras or in the nature of a dissertation on Jaina doctrines, the contents of the Ode now before us are as follows :

The king is said to have far excelled his ancestors and acquired universal fame, excellent virtues and supreme royalty (verse 1-10). By his charitable disposition he attracted all enemy warriors to himself (11), and the earth was unified under his sovereignty after a long time, other kings becoming all his subordinates (12). Those who opposed him were ruthlessly destroyed, while those who submitted to him had their royalty restored to them, this being his new imperial policy (13-14). He never

tolerated arrogance in others who were uprooted like a plant by an elephant or who met the fate of a deer confronting a lion (15-16). Autumn being the time of his victorious march, it was very unpleasant to his enemies (17). He once got wounded by his own sword in a battle (? 18). Both his dominions and his wealth vied with each other in good behaviour and prosperity (19). His royalty was ever youthful and never in decay (20). His nature as truly the lord of gods, remained a secret till it was manifested by the welfare measures of his viceroys (21). Even from the time of his coming into the womb, the earth showed signs of the coming prosperous age (? 22). Seemingly opposite virtues were extra-ordinarily combined in him (23). The two glories of the sun and the moon do not go well hand in hand, but he was essentially superior to them both (24). He had a reputation for eloquence in assemblies of the learned, and unmatched talents for debates, drafting of letters and ministerial councils (25-26). He was out of tune with the Kali Age and was a divine incarnation fit for the Kṛita Age (27). His all pervasive glory and renown could never be adequately described in words which are merely symbols meant for expressing finite objects (28).

Making allowance for the poetic nature of a eulogy, I think, it gives a veritable account of the achievements of King Candragupta Vikramāditya of the Gupta dynasty. This will become more clear from the comparative footnotes appended to the text of the poem. The notes are mainly based upon the stone and copperplate inscriptions and coin legends of the time of Candragupta II, as well as upon the Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa, who, in my opinion, as of many other scholars, was a contemporary of this Vikramāditya like Siddhasena, and who based some of the descriptions in his poems upon the contemporary events and experiences. It will be noticed that on some points, the Ode adds substantially to our knowledge about the age of the Guptas and their imperial policies and in particular, about Candragupta Vikramāditya.

II. गुणवचन-द्वात्रिंशिका

श्री सिद्धसेन-विरचित मूल गीति रचना

१

समानपुरुषस्य तावदपवादयन् कीदृशः
किमेव तु महात्मनापरतन्त्रधीचक्षुषाम्।
अपास्य विनयस्मृती भुवि यशः स्यकुर्वता
त्वयातिगुणवत्सलेन गुरवः परं व्यंसिताः।।

२

श्रीराश्रितेषु विनयाभ्युदयः सुतेषु
बुद्धिर्नयेषु रिपुवासगृहेषु तेजः।
वक्तु यथायमुदितप्रतिभो जनस्ते
कीर्तिं तथा वदतु तावदिहेति कश्चित्।।

३

एकां दिशं व्रजति यद् गतिमद् गतञ्च
तत्रस्थमेव च विभाति दिगन्तरेषु।
यातं कथं दशदिगन्तविभक्तमूर्ति
युज्येत वक्तु मुत वा न गतं यशस्ते।।

४

सत्यं गुणेषु पुरुषस्य मनोरथोऽपि
श्लाघ्यः सतां ननु यथा व्यसनं तथैतत्।
यत्पश्यतः समुदितैरचला व्युपास्ता
कीर्तिस्तथा श्रुतिमुखानि वनानि याता।।

५

एतद् भो बृहदुच्यते हसतु मा कामं जनो दक्षिणः
स्वार्थारम्भपटुः परार्थविमुखो लज्जानपेक्षो भवान्।
योऽन्यक्लेशसमर्जितान्यपि यशांस्युत्सार्य लक्ष्मीपथा
कीर्त्यैकार्णववर्षिणापि यशसा नाद्यापि संतुष्यसे।।

६

चाटुप्रतेन मुक्ता यदियमगणिता दीयते राजलक्ष्मी-
रन्योऽन्येभ्यो नृपेभ्यस्त्वदुरसि नृपते यापि विश्रम्भनीया।
मा भूदेष प्रसङ्गो निरनुनयमतेरस्य मय्यप्यतस्ते
कीर्तिस्तेनाप्रमेया न विनयचकिता सागरानप्यतीता।।

७

अवश्यं कर्तव्यः श्रियमभिलषता पक्षपातो गुणेषु
प्रसन्नायां तस्यां कथमिव च न ते लालनीया भवेयुः।
किमेषां वृत्तान्तं न वहसि नृपते लालनीया त्वदाज्ञा
महेन्द्रादीनां यद् गुणपरितुलनाद्दुर्विनीता गुणास्ते।।

८

अन्येषां पार्थिवानां भ्रमति दश दिशः कीर्तिरिन्दुप्रभावात्
त्वत्कीर्तेर्नास्ति शक्तिः पदमपि चलितुं किं भयात्सौकुमार्यात्।
आं ज्ञातं नैतदेवं श्रुतिपथचकिता तेन गच्छत्यजस्रं
कीर्तिस्तेषां नृपाणां तव तु नरपते नास्ति कीर्तेरयातम्।।

९

अन्येऽप्यस्मिन् नरपतिकुले पार्थिवा भूतपूर्वा-
स्तैरप्येवं प्रणतसुमुखैरुद्धृता राजवंशाः।

न त्वेव तैर्गुणपरिभवः स्पृष्टपूर्वो यथाऽयं
श्रीस्ते राजन्नुरसि रमते सत्यभामासपत्नी।।

१०

अगतिविधुरैर्लक्ष्मीं दृष्ट्वा चिरस्य सहोषितां
यदि किल परीकीभूतैर्गुणैस्त्वमुपाश्रितः।
इति गुणजितं लोकं मत्वा नरेन्द्र सुराचसे
वदतु गुणवान् बुद्ध्यादीनां गुणाः कतमस्तव।।

११

गन्धद्विपो मधुकरानिव पङ्कजेभ्यो
दानेन यो रिपुगणान् हरसि प्रवीरान्।
चित्रं किमत्र यदि तस्य तवैव राजन्
आज्ञां वहन्ति वसुधाधिपमौलिमालाः।।

१२

एकेयं वसुधा बहूनि दिवसान्यासीद् बहूनां प्रिया
यस्यान्योऽन्यसुखाः कथं नरपते ते भद्रशीला नृपाः।
ईर्ष्यामत्सरितेन साम्र भवतैवात्माङ्कमारोपिता
शेषैस्त्वपरितोषभावितगुणैर्गोपालवत् पाल्यते।।

१३

गुहाध्यक्षाः सिंहाः प्रमदवनचरा द्वीपिशार्दूलपोताः
कराग्रैः सिच्यन्ते वनगजकलभैर्दीर्घिकातीरवृक्षाः।
पुरद्वाररक्षा दिशि दिशि महिषा यूथगुल्माग्रशूरा
रुषानुध्यातानामतिललितमिदं जायते विद्विषां ते।।

१४

निर्मूलोच्छिन्नमूला भुजपरिघपरिस्पन्ददृप्तैर्नरेन्द्रैः
संक्षिप्तश्रीविताना मृगपतिपतिभिः शत्रुदेशाः क्रियन्ते।
किन्त्वेतद् राजवृत्तं स्वरुचिपरिचयः शक्तिसम्पन्नतेयं
भङ्क्त्वा यच्छत्रुवंशानुचितंशतगुणान् राष्ट्रलक्ष्म्या करोषि।।

१५

सर्वेऽप्येकमुखा गुणा गुणपतिं मानं विना निर्गुणा
इत्येवं गुणावत्सलैर्नृपतिभिर्मानः परित्यज्यते।
नान्यश्चैव तवापि किं च भवता लब्धास्पदस्तोष्यसौ
मत्तेनेव गजेन कोमलतरुर्निर्मूलमुत्खन्यते।।

१६

यत्प्राप्नोति यशस्तव क्षितिपते भ्रूभेदमुत्पादयन्
किं तत्त्वच्चरणोपसन्नमुकुटः प्राप्नोति कश्चिन् नृपः।
इत्येवं कुरुते स वल्लभयशास्त्वच्छासनातिक्रमं
दर्पासूचितसम्मुखो न हि मृगः सिंहस्य न ख्याप्यते॥

१७

प्रसादयति निम्नगाः कलुषिताम्भसः प्रावृषा
पुनर्नवसुखं करोति कुमुदैः सरःसङ्गमम्।
विघाटयति दिङ्मुखान्यवपुनाति चन्द्रप्रभा
तथापि च दुरात्मनां शरदरोचकस्तद्-(त्वद्-) द्विषाम्॥

१८

न वेद्मि कथमप्ययं सुररहस्यभेदः कृत-
स्त्वया युधि हतः परं पदमुपैति विष्णोर्यथा।
अतः प्रणयसंस्तुतामविगणय्य लक्ष्मीमसौ
करोति तव सायकः क्षम-(क्षत-) मुरःसिषित्सुर्नृप॥

१९

अन्योऽन्यावेक्षया स्त्री भवति गुणवती प्रायशो विष्णता वा
लोकप्रत्यक्षमेतत् क्षितिविषमतया चंचला श्रीर्यथासीत्।
सैवान्यप्रीतिदानात्तव भुजवलयान्तःपुरप्राप्तमाना-
मुर्वीं दृष्ट्वा दयावत् सलघुसुचरिताहारसंख्यं करोति॥

२०

प्रसूतानां वृद्धिः परिणमति निःसंशयकला
पुरावादश्चैष स्थितिरियमजेयेति नियमः।
जगद्वृत्तान्तेऽस्मिन् विवदति तवेयं नरपते
कथं वृद्धा च श्रीर्न च परुषितो यौवनगुणः॥

२१

अन्तर्गूढसहस्रलोचनधरं भ्रूभेदवज्रायुधम्
कस्त्वा मानुषविग्रहं हरिरिति ज्ञातुं समर्थो नरः।
यद्येते मघवन् जगद्हित-तरा-(रता-) स्त्वा वल्लभः (-भाः) स्वामिन
स्त्वद्भूदेशपट्टप्रकीर्णसलिला न ख्यापयेयुर्घनाः॥

२२

महीपालोऽसीति स्तुतिवचनमेतन्न गुणजं
महीपालः खिन्नामवनिमुरसा धारयति यः।

यदा तावद् गर्भे त्वमथ सकलश्रीर्वसुमति
किमेयायुष्मांस्ते नवशिवमिमां पश्यति महीम्।।

२३

शतेष्वेकः शूरो यदि भवति कश्चिज्जयपट-
स्तथा दीर्घपिक्षी रिपुविजयनिः साध्वसपरः।
तदेतत्सम्पूर्णं द्वितयमपि येनाद्यपुरुषे
श्रुतं वा दृष्टं वा स वदतु यदि त्वा न वदति।

२४

अयनविषमा भानोर्दीप्तिर्दिनक्षयपेलवा
परिभवसुखं मत्यैर्मत्यै र्घनैश्च विलुप्यते।
सततसकला निर्व्याससङ्गं समाश्रितशीतला
तव नरपते दीप्तिः साम्यं तया कथमेष्यति।।

२५

को नामैष करोति नाशयति वा भाग्येष्वधीनं जगत्
स्वातन्त्र्ये कथमीश्वरस्य न वशः स्रष्टुं विशिष्यः प्रजाः।
लब्धं वक्तृयशः समास्विति चिरं तापोऽद्य तेजस्विनाम्
इच्छामात्रसुखं यथा तव जगत् स्यादीश्वरोऽपीदृशः।।

२६

गण्डेष्वेव समाप्यते विवदतां यद् वारणानां मदो
यद् वा भूमिषु यन्मनोरथशतैस्तुष्यन्ति तेजस्विनः।
यत्कान्तावदनेषु पत्ररचना सङ्गश्च ते मन्त्रिणां
तत्सर्वं द्विषतां मनोनुगतया कीर्त्यापराद्धं तव।।

२७

क्रमोपगतमप्यपास्य युगभागधेयं कले-
रपर्वणि च एष ते कृतयुगावतारः कृतः।
भवेदपि महेश्वरस्त्रिभुवनेश्वरो वाच्युतो
विधातुरपि नूनमद्य जगदुद्भवे संशयः।।

२८

गुणो नाम द्रव्यं भवति गुणतश्च प्रभवति
गुणापेक्षं कर्माप्यनुशयमनारम्भविषयम्।
विभुः स्यात्किं द्रव्यं गुणजमुत वान्यः पदविधि-
र्यशो दिक्पर्यन्तं तव किमिति शक्यं गमयितुम्।।

III. English Translation

1. You supremely excel your ancestors in fame

Being an exception to the 'how' and 'why' of an ordinary man and discarding the modesty and memory due to great persons of independent intellect and sight, you, a lover of virtues, acquiring glory for yourself, have totally eclipsed your ancestors.

2. You are universally glorious

As a person, with his genius aroused, describes your affluence in your dependants, elevation of modesty in your sons, talent in your policies and splendour in the homes of your enemies, even so, let some one say your glory is here (and no where else)?

3. Your reputation fills all the ten directions

A mobile object moves in one direction and having gone there or staying where it was, it spreads its lustre in various directions. But how can it be said about your fame that it has gone anywhere, when its body is already pervading the ten directions. Or really your glory is never gone.

4. Your virtues have projected your renown even to the forests

True, that even the desire of man for virtues is praiseworthy. But in the case of good persons it is indeed like a calamity, in as much as, under your very eyes, your collected virtues have driven out the poor lady. Fame to go to the woods which are ringing with her sound.

5. You have eclipsed the Glory of all others

Oh yee listen; some thing serious is being said. Let not decent people laugh at it. You are clever in achieving your selfish ends, being averse to the interest of others, and regardless of the sense of shame, since, having driven out by the path of wealth the reputation of others acquired by their labour, you do not feel satisfied even now by your glory raining so as to make one ocean of the entire world.

6. Your bounty has enhanced your fame

"As you give away to different kings the royalty which was reposing confidently on your bosom, being pleased by their flattery, oh king, may the same thing not happen in my case, you being of such as unkind disposition" thinking so your unbounded fame, undeterred by modesty, has gone even beyond the seas.

7. Your virtues are divine

One has to be necessarily partial to virtues, if he desires to have royalty. But when royalty is pleased, have they (the virtues) not to be controlled? Do you not know their conduct, oh king? Your command has to be obeyed. But your virtues have become ill-mannered, being spoiled by their comparison with these of Mahendra and other gods.

8. No further scope for the expansion of your fame

The fame of other kings wanders in all the ten directions by the light of the moon. But your fame has no power to move even a foot. Is this due to fear or delicacy? Oh, I

understand. It is not so. The fame of those kings is constantly on the move as it is perplexed on the path of renown. But, for your fame, oh king, there is no place where it has not already gone.

9. Royalty sports on your bosom

There have been many kings in the past in this dynasty of sovereigns; and by them also, getting pleased by their submission, many families were restored to kingdom. But none of them were touched by such great dishonour as this, namely, royalty, the rival of Satyabhāmā, dallies over your bosom, oh king!

10. You are divine by your intellect and other virtues

Seeing their long companion Laxmi residing with you, the other virtues which were distressed for want of a shelter, have also resorted to you in a single batch. Thus, considering the world won over by merit, you are like a god, oh king. Now which of your virtues, talents and the like, might a qualified person describe?

11. You draw the heroic enemies to submission by your bounty

As a scent-elephant attracts the bees away from lotuses, even so you allure the hosts of enemy warriors by your bounty. What wonder is there then, that your command, oh king, is borne by all the rulers over their heads like garlands.

12. You are the overlord and all others are subordinates

This single earth was for many days the beloved of many. How can those kings, oh lord, who tolerate mutual indulgence, be said to be of good conduct? Being, therefore, aroused by anger, you have now placed her (the earth) in your lap. She is now being looked after by the rest like cowherds, considering your satisfaction as a great virtue in itself.

13. Your frown spells ruin for your enemies

Sport caves are now presided over by lions; young tigers and panthers are the visitors of the pleasure gardens; trees on the banks of the long bathing pools are watered by the fore-trunks of young wild elephants; and the gatekeepers in all the directions are the detached companies of the heroic buffaloes. Such is the delicate position of your enemies (capitals) when you once think of them in anger.

14. You restore your enemies to greater royalty on submission

The lion-like lords of men who are arrogantly proud of the throbbing of their bolt-like arms, devastate to the roots the lands of their enemies and render them shorn of all beauty. But whether it is your royal policy or a sample of your good taste or the maturity of power, that, having defeated the enemy kings, you restore their dynasties with a hundredfold royal glory.

15. Your dignity brooks no pride in others

All the virtues uniformly are unmeritorious without the lord of virtues Self-respect. And yet the kings who love virtues shun pride. On the other hand, you do not favour any other (virtue as you do self-respect). And if this virtue finds shelter with any of those kings, it is uprooted by you as thoroughly as a tender plant by an intoxicated elephant.

16. To play your enemy is itself an honour

Does a king who places his crown at your feet win as much glory as one who provokes a frown on your fore-head? This is why, oh lord, the lover of fame prefers to override your commands. It is not that a deer does not earn renown when it boldly faces a lion.

17. The beautiful autumn is unpleasant to your enemies

It cleans the rivers whose waters became dirty by the rains; it reunites the ponds with lilies in a delightful manner; it clear up the faces of the directions and purifies the lustre of the moon. But still the Autumn is so unpleasant to your wicked enemies.

18. Your sword wounds your breast and preserves royalty

I do not know how this divine secret got divulged, namely, whoever is struck by you in battle attains to the supreme status like that of Vishnu. This is why your sword, not neglecting Laxmi who had come to you through love, causes a wound on your breast with a desire to prevent you (from striking others and giving them the status of Vishnu which entitles them to the hand of Laxmi).

19. Dominions and wealth vie with each other in excellence

By mutual competition does a woman generally become meritorious and so also supremacy. It is a universal truth how in keeping with the irregular nature of the earth, wealth was also fickle. But now, seeing that the earth had entered the harem of the fold of your arms owing to your gifts of pleasure, she (wealth) also constantly wages a war of good deeds, oh charitable one. (?)

20. Royalty is ever young and never decays under you

Those who are born are also overtaken by old age without the least doubt. This is an old saying and an irresistable rule. But with this way of the world your mode comes into conflict. How is it that your royalty is of long standing, and yet her virtue of youth is not affected ?

21. Your provincial governors promote your renown

With your nature of having a thousand eyes hidden inside and your weapon of thunderbolt taking the form of a frown, what man could recognize you in your human form to be Hari (the lord of gods) if these clouds dear to their master, engaged in benefiting the world and showering sharply over your dominions, were not proclaiming You ?

22. You are not a nominal king, but truly the protector of all

"You are the lord of the earth" this eulogy is not based on merit. He is the real protector of the earth who bears her on his bosom when afflicted. When you were still in the womb, the universal royalty envisaged new benefits to the earth in anticipation of you, oh long-lived one. (?)

23. Opposite virtues get harmonised in you

Rarely does one amongst hundreds turn out to be a hero. Similarly, some one turns out to be clever in polity, farsighted or fearless in conquest of enemies. But if somebody has heard or seen this whole set of virtues with all their counterparts in a man of this age, let him say so, provided he does not speak about you.

24. Your nature is superior to that of the sun

The lustre of the sun is irregular according to its movements towards the north or the south of the equator. It is also feeble at the end of the day and is easily eclipsed by the wandering clouds. How can, oh king, your lustre which is always in its fullness, never shrouded and cool to those who take shelter in it, be equated with the former ?

25. You are famous for your eloquence in learned assemblies

Who is he who creates or destroys the world which is subject to its own destiny ? If every thing is subject to the will of God, how is it that he has no power to create any exceptional creatures ? You have acquired a reputation for eloquence in assemblies; and for this reason eminent people have been feeling pained for long (out of jealousy). As your world enjoys happiness at will, it is possible that God may also be like this. (?)

26. Your debating talents, valour, letter-drafting and council of ministers are an envy of your rivals

That the pride of the disputant elephants exhausts itself in their temples, that ambitious people satisfy themselves in their own places by hundreds of desires, that drafting of letters has its termination in the leafy designs of their beloved and so also your council of ministers (?) All this is the fault of your fame struck in the minds of your enemies.

27. You are a divine incarnation against the order of Kali Age

Since this your incarnation, worthy of the Kṛta Age, has been brought about out of season, in defiance of the orderly allotment of the Kali Age, it may be Maheshwara, Tribhuvaneshwara or Acyuta, but now there is doubt about the creation of the world by the Creator.

28. Your all-pervasive glory is indescribable

Quality is indeed substance which originates from it, while action also depends upon quality for its sequence which is beginningless in its nature. But how can a substance originating from quality be all-pervasive ? Or it may be some other method of forming a word or concept. Since your glory is spread upto the extreme points of the directions, how could any idea of it be conveyed (by me or any body else in words).

IV. Note on The Ode

In my article on "A contemporary ode to Candragupta Vikramāditya" I had given the text and translation of the poem of Siddhasena Diwākara, called 'Guṇavacana-dvātriṃśikā and had tried to show by a discussion of the available evidence that "Making allowance for the poetic nature of the eulogy, I think, it gives a vertiable account of the achievements of king Candragupta Vikramāditya of the Gupta dynasty." It was subsequently brought to my notice that Dr. Miss Charlotte Krause had contributed an article on 'Siddhasena Diwākara and Vikramāditya" to the Vikrama Volume published by the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, in 1948. I am very sorry that I missed this valuable reference completely when I wrote my article, for, it would have saved me much time and labour and made it superfluous at least to reproduce the text and translate it. In this respect Dr. Krause was more fortunate than myself in

having the advantage of consulting two mss. of the Dvātriṁśikā, one from B. O. R. I. Poona, and the other from Agra, besides the printed text. On comparison of her text with mine, however, I do not find any thing which would substantially add to or substract from my interpretation of the text and the information gathered from it.[49] As for the translation of the text, it is for the readers, to judge which of the two translations is more elucidative of the difficult, and at places, obscure text.

After making an extensive review of the available references Dr. Krause comes to the conclusion : "From the whole atmosphere which the Guṇavacana-dvātriṁśikā, supplemented by epigraphical records, depicts as surrounding the poet and his illustrious patron, one cannot help inferring that the above referred to episodes which the Prabandhas and Kathānakas have handed down are Siddhasena and Vikramāditya reflect a good amount of historical truth, with Siddhasena's disciple Vikrama safely identified as Samudragupta" (p. 276, Vikram Volume). Although Dr. Krause admits the possibility of Siddhasena being associated with Samudragupta's son Chandragupta II as well, she regards it very unlikely that the Jains Saint would praisé the latter who "met with disapproval are the moral aspect of his actions and acquired an odious reputation which survived, side by side with his fame, for many centuries" (p. 287).

My chief difficulty in accepting Dr. Krause's thesis is that Siddhasena Diwākara is, in all the traditions, associated with king Vikramāditya, and this title was for the first time pre-eminently borne by Candragupta II. Dr. Krause's attempt to foist it on Samudragupta as well, is not well supported. Epithets like 'Parākrama', 'Vyāghraparākrama' and 'Parākramānka are not the same as 'Vikramāditya', while 'Vikramānka' which is alleged to have been found in the 'Colophon of the preserved part of Samudragupta's Krishnacharita, is of doubtful authenticity. It would not be safe to accept the title Vikramāditya for Samudragupta unless and until we get a mention of it in some epigraphical, numismatic or other authentic record, as in the case of Candragupta II.

On reading my article on 'A contemporary ode to Candragupta Vikramāditya' Dr. V.S. Agrawal, Professor of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, has very kindly sent me his notes which throw considerable light on the meaning and significance of a few words and expressions of the ode. They are as follows :-

The twenty eight ślokas about Chandragupta are illuminating and of historical value. I should like to draw your attention to some words and phrases which just now occur to me.

In verse 14 the phrase संक्षिप्तश्रीवितान is noteworthy. It has two meanings. The first is as you have taken. The 2nd is that king Vikramāditya had taken tributes from his enemies and thereby depleted the abundance of wealth in those countries. There is a third meaning also. Śrivitāna was a technical term for the special pavilion used by the emperors.[50] Now, this word has actually been used with reference to the royal pavilion of king Pururavas in Vikramorvaśiya[51] when the king is addressing the cloud. It would imply that the pavilion of Chandragupta himself was known by this name in the Gupta

period. So the meaning of the phrase in verse 14 would be that the enemies lost their royal pavilions, for, no longer did the kings hold their independent darbar.

A more important verse is the 26th of which the meaning is hidden in a series of important words of double entendre. The suggestion is that your enemies are thinking in their mind of your glory and your Yaśas has brought them under your subjection with the result that your elephants, violent fighters and ministers have been rendered ineffective. Firstly, the rutting elephants which should have shown their crushing weight in the battle-field are not required to be sent there. The result is that the rut of their cheeks which should have been sprinkled on the battle-ground is dried on their temples.

The word गण्ड has two meaning, viz. temple of an elephant and a hero. The suggestion is that the ichor of the elephant's cheeks which would have been made effective against the heroes in battle has now to get dried up on the cheeks.

In the second line the two important words are तेजस्विनः and भुमिषु, The word Bhūmi has a towfold meaning here, namely संग्रामभूमि व्यायामभूमि = योग्यभूमिः।

The word तेजस्विनः seems to have a special technical meaning i.e. those soldiers who were determined to end their life in battle and would not return alive. They were persons of fire and sword, somewhat similar to the Janbaz soldiers of the Muslim army in the medieval period, or the सहस्रभटसामन्त of the same age i.e. soldiers who were famous to kill one thousand fighters. Monier Williams has given this meaning of the word Tejaswin-a voilent person-on the basis of Brihatsaṃhitā of Varāhamihira, chapter 101, V.[52] बहुभुक् परदाररतस्तेजस्वी कृत्तिकासु विख्यातः।

A person born in the Krittika Nakshatra is said to be Tejaswin of very violent temperament, reckless of life and ready to kill and die. The great Sanskrit-German Dictionary also records this meaning with reference to another passage from the Brihatsamhitā (75, T) according to which a Tejaswin was fond of rash deeds, intensely violent and arrogant. Varāhamihira states by implication that there was also a better type who refrained from such behaviour. The word Tejas is defined in the Sāhitya-darpaṇa as the quality of being intolerant of being slighted, even at the cost of one's life[5] (see Bohtlingk Dictionary. Vol. II p. 392 where Tejas is also explained as atisāhasa, on the basis of Brihat samhitā 20 (90), 8). There is no doubt that this special meaning of the word Tejasvin was once current in the Sanskrit language of the Gupta period, and it is that meaning which suits the context in the verse.

The word यद् is repeated twice in this sentence, The first agrees with तद् in line 4, as that of line 1 and 3; but the second one of यन्मनोरथशतैः refers to those desires of Tajesvin heroes which they wanted to carry out by showing their valour on the battlefield, but which they were now obliged to confine to their activity on the area of exercises, because the king's fame had accomplished what the heroes would have done by giving battle.[53]

In the third line पत्ररचनासङ्ग is a compound word having a double meaning-drafting royal charters and making flowery designs on the cheeks of lovely women. So the line

means that the ministers who had to draft and send out royal orders to bend the hotile kings, were now obliged to waste their gifts in executing leafy designs on the faces of their beloved because your glory had bent low your enemies. It is thus a very fine verse counched in the characteristic style of Gupta Sanskrit, being difficult of comprehension and still full of meaning.

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2. Shatkhandagama Vol I p. 15, "अणेण सम्मइसुतेण सह कधमिदं वक्खाणं णा विरुज्झदे?"
3. Pancavastu 1048–आयरिय-सिद्धसेणेण सम्मईए पइट्ठियजसेणं। दूसम-णिसा-दिवागर-कप्पत्तणाओ तदक्खेणं।।
4. दंसणाणाणप्पभावगाणि सत्थाणि सिद्धिविणिच्छय-सम्मतिमादि गेण्हंतो (नि. चू. पृ. ८१) जहा सिद्धसेणायरिएण अस्सा पाकता (नि. चू. पृ. १६९) सम्मदियादिसुत्तणाणे (नि. चू. पृ. २३८)
5. जहा सिद्धसेणयरियो तमेवाधिकारं विकल्पयति (द. चू. पृ. १९)
6. दंसणापभावगाणं सत्थाणट्ठाणे सेवति जा ठ (निशीथ भाष्य) Here Siddhasena's Sammati Tarka is probably meant.
7. Prabandhakoṣa p. 15-16-विद्याधरेन्द्रगच्छे श्रीपादलिप्तसूरिसन्ताने स्कन्दिलाचार्याः साधितजैनकार्याः पुस्फुरुः। ते यतनया विहरन्तो गौडदेशं ययुः? तत्र कोशलाख्यग्रामवासी मुकुन्दो नाम विप्रः। स तेषां सूरीणां मिलितः। ...अप्रतिमल्लो वादी सोऽभूत्। स्कंदिलाचार्यैः स्वपदे निवेशितः वृद्धवादीति ख्यातनाम। ... एकदा वृद्धवादी भृगुपुरं गच्छन्नास्ते। इतश्चावन्त्यां विक्रमादित्यो राजा। यस्य दानानि...इत्यादीनि ख्यातानि। तस्य राज्ये मान्यः कात्यायनगोत्रावतंसो देवर्षिर्द्विजः। तत्पत्नी देवसिका। तयोः सिद्धसेनो नाम पुत्रः। स प्रज्ञाबलेन जगदपि तृणवद् गणयति। ...येन वादे जीये तस्याहं शिष्यः स्याम् इति प्रतिज्ञा तस्य। क्रमेण वृद्धवादिनः कीर्तिं श्रुत्वा स तत्सम्मुखं धावति स्म। ...परस्परमालापः...सिद्धसेनः प्राह-भगवन् मां प्रव्राजय। तव शिष्योऽहं, वादे सभ्यसम्मतं जितत्वात्। ...इत्येव वदन्तं तं तत्रैव दीक्षयामास।
8. Prabandhakosha p 16-ततस्तुष्टो राजेश्वरो हस्तिस्कंधादवरुह्य संघसमक्षं ववन्दे कनककोटिं चानाययत्। आचार्यैः सा न जग्रहे, निर्लोभत्वात्। राज्ञापि न जग्रहे कल्पितत्वात्। तत आचार्यानुज्ञया संघपुरुषैः जीर्णोद्धारे व्ययिता। राजवहिकायां तु एवं लिखितम् 'धर्मलाभ इति प्रोक्ते दूरादुच्छ्रितपाणये। सूरये सिद्धसेनाय ददौ कोटिं नराधिपः।' श्रीविक्रमाग्रे अवसरे तेनैव भगवता भणितम्'घ-पुण्णे वाससहस्से सयम्मि वरिसाण नवनवइ-कलिए। होही कुमर-नरिंदो विक्कमरायसारिच्छो।
9. (प्र. को. पृ. १७) "चित्रकूटात्सिद्धसेनोऽथ-पूर्वदेशे कूर्मारपुरं गतः। तत्र देवपालं राजानं प्रबोध्य नीलीरागजैनमकार्षीत्। तत्रास्थात्। नित्यमिष्टा गोष्ठी वर्तते। कियानपि कालो जगाम। एकदा राज्ञा रह एत्य साश्रुणा विज्ञप्तम्-भगवन् पापा वयम्, नेदृशमधुरभवद्-गोष्ठीयोग्याः येन संकटे पतिताः स्म। सूरीन्द्रः पप्रच्छ-किं संकटं वः? राजा प्राह-सीमाल-भूपालाः सम्भूय मद्राज्यं जिघृक्षव आयान्ति। सूरिराह-राजन् मा स्म विह्वलो भूः। तवैव राज्यश्रीर्वशे यस्याहं सखा। राजा हृष्टः। परचक्रमायातम्। विद्याद्वयशक्त्या राजेन्द्रः समर्थो विहितः सूरिणा। भग्नं परबलम्। गृहीतं तत्सर्वस्वम्। वादितान्यातोद्यानि। ततो वाढं राजा सूरिभक्तः सम्पन्नः। सूरयः सगच्छा अपि क्रियाशैथिल्यमादृषत। यतः-चाटुकारगिरां गुम्फैः कटाक्षैमृगचक्षुषाम्। कोलिकल्लोलितैः स्त्रीणाँ भिद्यते कस्य नो मनः।"
   But according to Prabandhāchintā-manī the name of the king whom Siddhasena helped was Vikramāditya instead of Devapāla.
10. 'एवं जैनधर्मं द्योतयन् वादी दक्षिणस्यां पृथ्वीस्थानपुरं विहरन् गतः। तत्र आयुरन्तं ज्ञात्वाऽनशनं लात्वा स्वर्गलोकमध्यवात्सीत्। (प्र. को. पृ. २१)
11. The traditional nine jewels of Vikrama's court are mentioned in the following Verse :
   धन्वन्तरिः क्षपणकामरसिंह-शङ्कु-वेतालभट्ट-घटखपर-कालिदासाः।
   ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य।।
   (ज्योतिर्विदाभरण, २२, १०)

12. Some of the coin legends of these three Gupta kings are as follows :-
    'श्री गुप्तकुलस्य महाराजाधिराज श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तविक्रमाङ्कस्य'
    'परमभागवतमहाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तविक्रमादित्यः'
    'परमभागवत राजाधिराज श्रीकुमारगुप्तमहेन्द्रादित्यः'
    'परमभागवत महाराजाधिराजश्रीस्कन्दगुप्तक्रमादित्यः'
    'परमभागवत श्रीविक्रमादित्य स्कन्दगुप्तः'
13. अरिपुरे च परकलत्रामुकं कामिनीवेशगुप्तश्चन्द्रगुप्तः शकपतिमशातयत्।
    (बाणः-हर्षचरित)
14. अनेकतुरगोदार-कुञ्जरानीकसंकुलः। विक्रमादित्यनामाभूनृपः पाटलिपुत्रके।।
    (बृ. क. मं. १४, २४६)
    राज्ञो महेन्द्रादित्यस्य स्वप्ने शर्वेण सूचितः। सोऽभवद् विक्रमादित्यस्तनयो यशसां निधिः।।
    (बृ. क. मं. १०, १२)
15. The name Devarāraja appears in the Sanci inscription of Candragupta II while Devagupta occurs in the Chamuk inscription of Pravarasena II.
16. Compare the account quoted in footnote 8 above with the following from Raghuvaṃśa Canto 5-
    जनस्य साकेतनिवासिनस्तौ द्वावप्यभूतामभिनन्द्यसत्त्वौ।
    गुरुप्रदेयाधिकनिस्पृहोऽर्थी नृपोऽर्थिकामादधिकप्रदश्च।। ३१।।
    आशास्यमन्यत्पुनरुक्तभूतं श्रेयांसि सर्वाण्यधिजग्मुषस्ते।
    पुत्रं लभस्वात्मगुणानुरूपं भवन्तमीड्यं भवतः पितेव।। ३४।।
    ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते किल तस्य देवी कुमारकल्पं सुषुवे कुमारम्।
    अतः पिता ब्रह्मणा एव नाम्ना तमात्मजन्मानमजं चकार।। ३६।।
17. इह तावन्महाराज-प्रवरसेननिमित्तं महाराजाधिराज-विक्रमादित्येनाज्ञप्तो निखिलकविचक्रचूडामणिः कालिदासः-महाशयः सेतुबन्धप्रबन्ध चिकीर्षु.... (Beginning of the commentary)
18. लोकेष्वलं कान्तमपूर्वसेतु बबन्ध कीर्त्या सह कुन्तलेशः।
19. अधिकरणौचित्यं यथा कुन्ते- (कुन्तले-) श्वर-दौत्ये कालिदासस्य 'इहानिवसति मेरुः शेखरः क्ष्माधराणाम्' इत्यादि।
    (क्षेमेन्द्रः औचित्यविचार चर्चा पृ. १३९)
20. The same verse has been quoted by Rajaśekhara in his Kavya-Mimamsa, and by Bhoja in his Śṛngarapıākasa with the following introductory remark :
    कालिदासः 'किं कुन्तलेश्वरः करोति' इति विक्रमादित्येन पृष्ट उक्तवान्-
    असकलहसितत्वात्......त्वयि विनिहितभारः कुन्तलानामधीशः।
21. Compare the following verses of Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa :-
    मनु-प्रभृतिभिर्मान्यैर्भुक्ता यद्यपि राजभिः।
    तथाप्यनन्यपूर्वेव तस्मिन्नासीद् वसुंधरा।। (४, ७)
    मन्दोत्कण्ठाः कृतास्तेन गुणाधिकतया गुरौ।
    फलेन सहकारस्य पुष्पोद्गम इव प्रजाः।। (४, ९)
22. Candragupta Vikramāditya had two sons-Kumāragupta Mahendrāditya who succeeded him on the throne, and Govindagupta whose name appears on the seals excavated at Vaishali.
23. Compare the following expression from Samudragupta's Eran Inscription :-
    यशः सुविपुलं परिबभ्रमीति।
    नवे तस्मिन्महीपाले सर्वं नवमिवाभवत्। (४, ११)
    अनन्य-साधारणराजशब्दः। (६, ३८)
    And also the following from Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa :

आरूढमद्रीनुषीन्वितीर्णं भुजङ्गमानां वसतिं प्रविष्टम्।
ऊर्ध्वं गतं यस्य न चानुबन्धि यशः परिच्छेत्तुमियत्तयालम्।। (६, ७७)

24. Rajaśekhara in his Kāvya-Mimāmsā chapter IX cites as an example of 'Kathottha' the following verse extolling Candragupta Vikramāditya for his rescue of Dhruwaswāminī from dishonour :
दत्त्वा रुद्धगतिः खसाधिपतये देवीं ध्रुवस्वामिनीं
यस्मात्खण्डितसाहसो निववृते श्रीशर्मगुप्तो नृपः।
तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गुरुगुहाकोणक्वणित्किन्नरे
गीयन्ते तव कार्तिकेयनगरस्त्रीणां गणैः कीर्तयः।।
See also the following verse of Kālidāsa pertaining to the victorious compaign of Raghu in the Himalayan region :-
शरैरुत्सवसंकेतान् स कृत्वा विरतोत्सवान्।
जयोदाहरणं बाह्वो गापयामास किन्नरान्।। (रघु. ४, ७८)
Aiso see Kālidāsa's following verse :-
इक्षुच्छायनिषादिन्यस्तस्य गोप्तुर्गुणोदयम्।
आकुमारकथोद्घातं शालिगोप्यो जगुर्यशः।। (रघु. ४, २०)

25. Cf. the following title of Candragupta II occurring in his Mathura inscription as well as in the copper-plate grant of his daughter Prabhāvatīguptā-
'चतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादितयशाः'
Also see the following verse occurring in the Mehrauli Iron pillar Inscription of Candra :
यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्वीर्यानिलैर्दक्षिणः।
May be that this very historical fact is reflected in the following verse of Kālidāsa :-
दिशि मन्दायते तेजो दक्षिणस्यां रवेरपि।
तस्यामेव रघोः पाण्ड्याः प्रतापं न विषेहिरे।। (रघु. ४, ४९)
With the expression अन्यक्लेश...... ...... यशांसि of this verse, compare Raghuvamśa 4, 50 ते निपत्य ददुस्तस्मै यशः स्वमिव संचितम्।

28. In this verse there is no particular significance of 'इन्दुप्रभावात' unless we assume that the poet wants to indicate the valour of Indu, that is Candra or Candragupta.

29. There is no particular significance of Shri being called Satyabhāmāsapatnī i.e. Rukmiṇī. Is it that the poet wants to make an allusion to the two wives of Candragupta. Vikramāditya, namely, Dhruvadevi and Kuberanāgā? The names are also suggestive. In this context those coins of Candragupta Vikramāditya are also noteworthy on which the image of the king appears along with that of the goddess of wealth.

31. Amongst the adjectives of Candragupta Vikramāditya used in his Mathura inscription of Candragupta Vikramāditya and the Copperplate grant of Prabhāvatīguptā the following is noteworthy here :
'न्यायागतानेकगोहिरण्यकोटिप्रदः'
In the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta we find the following adjective-
'पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथः'

32. In the Udayagiri Cave inscription, we find Vīrasena, the minister of peace and war of the king, declaring that he got the cave excavated when he came there with his master for the conquest of the whole world-
'कृत्स्नपृथ्वीजयार्थेन राज्ञैवेह सहागतः'
In the Mehrauli Iron Pillar inscription also we read-
'प्राप्तेन स्वभुजार्जितं च सुचिरं चैकाधिराज्यं क्षितौ'

33. See also the following from Raghuvamśa (6, 22)
कामं नृपाः सन्ति सहस्रशोऽन्ये राजन्वतीमाहुरनेन भूमिम्।
नक्षत्र-तारा-ग्रह-संकुलापि ज्योतिष्मती चन्द्रमसैव रात्रिः।।
This is said about the king of Magadha ruling from Puṣpapur (Pataliputra). The use of the word Candra in the verse may not be without special significance.
For the convenience of administration, the vast empire of the Guptas was divided into Provinces called 'Deśa' or 'Bhukti', such as Puṇḍravardhana Bhukti (Bengal), Tīrabhukti (Tirhut-North Bihar) Mandasore, Kaushambi, Saurāstra etc., which occur in the inscriptions as well as the names of their governors such as Cirātadatta, Bandhuvarma, Parṇadatta and others. They have also been called Rāṣṭriya, Bhogika or Guptā (Vasudeva Upadhyaya : History of the Gupta empire, part II, page 33).

34. With 'निर्मूलोच्छिन्नमूला' compare 'सर्वराजोच्छेत्ता' occurring in the Mathura Inscription of Candragupta Vikramāditya and the copper plate grant of Prabhāvati Guptā. Also see the following in Raghuvamśa (4, 33).
स्थाजितैः फलमुत्खातैर्भग्नपत्रैश्च बहुधा दन्तिनः।
तस्यासीदुल्बणो मार्गः पादपैरिव दन्तिनः।।
and also Raghu (4, 35) 'अनम्राणां समुद्धर्तुः'
मृगपतिपतिभिः-In this context that coin of Candragupta Vikramāditya is worth noting on which we find the image of the king in the posture of hunting a lion with the inscription सिंहविक्रमः'
On some coins a running lion or a wonded lion is also depicted.
राजवृत्तम्-The special imperial policy of the Gupta kings to defeat the rulers and then restore them to the kingdom when they submit, seems to have been inaugurated by Samudragupta in whose Allahabad Pillar Inscription we read 'अनेकभ्रष्टराज्योत्सन्न-राजवंश-प्रतिष्ठापनोद्भूतनिखिलभुवनविचरण -श्रान्तयशसः' and 'स्वभुजविजितानेकनरपतिविभवप्रत्यर्पणनित्य-व्यापृतायुक्तपुरुषस्य:'। A reflection of this we find in more than one verse of Raghuvamśa-
आपादपद्मप्रणाता कलमा इव ते रघुम्।
फलैः संवर्धयामासुरुत्खात-प्रतिरोपिताः।। (४, ३७)
गृहीत-प्रतिमुक्तस्य स धर्मविजयी नृपः।
श्रियं महेन्द्रनाथस्य जहार न तु मेदिनीम्।। (४, ४३)

35. मानः....निर्मूलमुत्खन्यते-Compare with the following from the Udayagiri cave'inscription of Candragupta 'विक्रमावक्रयक्रीता दास्यन्यापूपार्थिवा।'
In Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar Inscription we find 'चरणतलप्रमृष्टान्यनरपतिकीर्तेः' ALo see Raghuvamśa-
अपनीतशिरस्त्राणाः शेषास्तं शरणं ययुः।
प्रणिपातप्रतीकारः संरम्भो हि महात्मनाम्।। (४, ६४)
अनम्राणां समुद्धर्तुः तस्मात् सिन्धुरयादिव।
आत्मा संरक्षितः सुह्मैः वृत्तिमाश्रित्य वैतसीम्।। (४, ३५)

36. For the figure of speech compare the following from the Bhaktāmara stotra-
सोऽहं तथापि तव भक्तिवशान्मुनीन्द्र कर्तुं स्तवं विगतशक्तिरपि प्रवृत्तः।
प्रीत्यात्मवीर्यमविचार्य मृगो मृगेन्द्रम् नाभ्येति किं निजशिशोः परिपालनार्थम्।।

37. The picture of the autumn season as the harbinger of the victorious march of the king which struck terror in the heart of his enemies is very effectively drawn in Raghuvamśa as follows-
लब्धप्रशमनस्वस्थमथैनं समुपस्थिता।
पार्थिवश्रीर्द्वितीयेव शरत्पङ्कजलक्षणा।।
निर्वृष्टलघुभिर्मेघैर्मुक्तवर्त्मा सुदुस्सहः।

प्रतापस्तस्य भानोश्च युगपद् व्यानशे दिशः॥
वार्षिकं संजहारेन्द्रो धनुर्जैत्रं रघुर्दधौ।
प्रजार्थसाधने तौ हि पर्यायोद्यतकार्मुकौ॥
प्रसादसुमुखे तस्मिंश्चन्द्रे च विशदप्रभे।
तदा चक्षुष्मतां प्रीतिरासीत्समरसा द्वयोः॥
प्रससादोदयादम्भः कुम्भयोनेर्महौजसः।
रघोरभिभवाशङ्कि चुक्षुभे द्विषतां मनः॥
सरितः कुर्वती गाधाः पथश्चाश्यानकर्दमान्।
यात्रायै चोदयामास तं शक्तेः प्रथमं शरत्॥ (४, १४-२४)

38. In the 4th line of the verse the reading 'बमपुरः' makes no sense in the context, and hence I have emended it as 'क्षतपुरः' The meaning then becomes suitable and significant. Not only that, but it throws considerable light on the obscure point in the Mehrauli Iron Pillar inscription of Candra which is now recognized as that of Candragupta Vikramāditya. The *first two lines of it are as follows* :

यस्योद्वर्तयतः प्रतीपमुरसा शत्रून्समेत्यागतान्।
वंगेष्वाहववर्तिनोऽभिलिखिता खड्गेन कीर्तिर्भुज॥

That is, in the Bengal battle, repelling the enemies by the force of his breast, his fame came to be written on his arm by the sword. But how this happened is not otherwise known to historians. But the present eulogistic account by Siddhasena Diwākara makes it clear that the king had accidentally injured his breast perhaps by his own sword (sāyaka = khaḍga 'शरे खड्गे च सायकः'-अमरकोश) This gives occasion for the poetic imagination that his sword did this in order to prevent him from killing his enemies who might otherwise attain the kingship of heaven and become claimants of the goddess of royalty which had come to this king by choice. (सिध् = to restrain, hinder, prevent-Apte's Dictionary).

In the Jaina accounts concerning Siddhasena it is stated that he once helped king Devapāla of Kurmārapur in the Eastern Provinces against the combined forces of the border kings. Here no other king than Candragupta Vikramāditya was probably menat, because he is also found mentioned in inscriptions as Devarāja or Devagupta (see footnote to verse 21), Kurmārapur may be no other place than the presentday Kumrāhar in the vicinity of Pātaliputra (modern Patna) where old remains of a palace have been excavated, and thus it may have been the capital of Candragupta Vikramāditya. This inference is fully conformed when in one account, namely in Prabandhacintāmaṇi, we find the name Vikramāditya in place of Devapāla.

Kālidāsa mentions the conquest of the Vangas by Raghu as follows-

वंगानुत्खाय तरसा नेता नौसाधनोद्यतान्।
निचखान जयस्तम्भान् गंगास्रोतोऽन्तरेषु सः॥ (रघु. ४, ३६)

Those scholars who believe that Kālidāsa had modelled the victorious march of Raghu on the historical victories of Samudragupta, an account of which is found in his Allahabad Pillar inscription, infer that after the removal of his iron hand by death, the border kings may have made a combined effort to regain their independence, while the new king had not yet gained a firm hold on the kingdom of his father, and that it was this position which was reflected in the verses of Raghuvaṃśa (canto 4) describing the disturbed political conditions of the time of Raghu's coronation as follows-

दिलीपानन्तरं राज्ये तं निशम्य प्रतिष्ठितम्। पूर्वं प्रधूमितो राज्ञां हृदयेऽग्निरिवोत्थितः॥ २॥
सममेव समाक्रान्तं द्वयं द्विरदगामिना। तेन सिंहासनं पित्र्यमखिलं चारिमण्डलम्॥ ४॥

स ययौ प्रथमं प्राचीं तुल्यः प्राचीनबर्हिषा। अहितानिलोद्धूतैस्तर्जयन्निव केतुभिः।। २८।।
स सेनां महतीं कर्षन् पूर्वसागरगामिनीम्। बभौ हरजटाभ्रष्टां गङ्गामिव भगीरथः।। ३२।।

39-40. Compare Raghuvaṃśa (6, 41)
येन श्रियः संश्रयदोषरूढं स्वभावलोलेत्ययशः प्रमृष्टम्।।

41. Candragupta Vikramāditya is known to have another name Devarāja found in his Sanci inscription as महाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य देवराज इति प्रिय नाम'. A variant of it as Devagupta is found in the Chamuk inscription of Pravarasena II. May be that the subject matter of this verse is suggested by that name.
The provincial governors of the Gupta Emperors carried out the imperial policy of public welfare very carefully. For example, the Girnar inscription of Skandagupta Vikramāditya records how his provincial governor Parṇadatta repaired the lake at Girnar to the great benefit and satisfaction of the subject.
42. The last two lines of this verse are a bit obscure in meaning. May be that the contents are meant to signify that the great conquest and peaceful administration of Samudragupta was only the harbinger of the universal sov reignty and supremely beneficial administration of his son Candragupta Vikramāditya.
43. Compare this with what is recorded in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta-
अध्येयः सूक्तमार्गः कविमतिविभवोत्सारणं चापि काव्यम्।
को नु स्याद् योऽस्य न स्याद् गुणमतिविदुषाम् ध्यानपात्रं हि एकः।।
For the unity of the opposite qualities see Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa
ज्ञाने मौनं क्षमा शक्तौ त्यागे श्लाघाविपर्ययः।
गुणा गुणानुबन्धित्वात् तस्य सप्रसवा इव।। (१, २२)
सेनापरिच्छदस्तस्य द्वयमेवार्थसाधनम्।
शास्त्रेष्वकुण्ठिता बुद्धिर्मौर्वी धनुषि चातता।। (१, १९)
44. It may be that the poet has based his description here on the two opposite names Candra-(gupta) and (Vikram)-āditya of Chandragupta II. Some such contrast is also indicated in the king's Udayagiri inscription where it reads-
यदन्तर्ज्योतिरकभिमुर्व्याम..... ......व्यापि चन्द्रगुप्ताख्यमद्भुतम्।।
The Mehrauli Iron Pillar Inscription says about the king 'चन्द्राह्वन समग्रचन्द्रसदृशीं वक्त्रश्रियं बिभ्रता।'
In Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa we find-
प्रसादसुमुखे तस्मिंश्चन्द्रे च विशदप्रभे। तदा चक्षुष्मतां प्रीतिरासीत् समरसा द्वयोः।। (४, १८)
It might be that owing to this self-contradictory (विषम) name of चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य he also came to be known as king विषमशील (Viṣamaśīla) by which name also he has been mentioned in the Bṛhatkathā cycle of stories of Kshemendra and Somadeva.
45. Rajaśekhara in his Kāvya-Mīmāmsa, chapter 10, mentions an assembly of learned men at Ujjaini where Candragupta as well as Kālidāsa were tested :-He says :- महानगरेषु च काव्य-शास्त्रपरीक्षार्थं ब्रह्मसभाः कारयेत्। तत्र परीक्षोत्तीर्णानां ब्रह्मरथयानं पट्टबन्धश्च। श्रूयते च उज्जयिन्यां काव्यकारपरीक्षा-
इह कालिदास-मेण्ठावत्रामर-रूप-सूर-भारवयः।
हरिचन्द्र-चन्द्रगुप्तौ परीक्षिताविह विशालायाम्।।
46. The accomplishments of the king mentioned here, namely, his debating powers, his heroism and valour, his cleverness in drafting letters and his efficient cabinet are all suitable for king Vikramāditya Candragupta.
47. In the description क्रमोपगतमपास्य etc. the poet probably suggests the title विक्रम of king Candragupta II.
As regards the king's कृतावतार in the Kali Age, see the following account of the birth of King Vikramāditya in the Brihat-kathā-mañjari of Kshemendra-

पुरा कैलासशिखरासीनः शीतांशशेखरः।
समभ्येत्य जितै दैवैः शतक्रतुपुरोगमैः।।
पुरारिर्निहितैर्देवदृप्तैर्दितिजदस्युभिः।
अवतीर्णैर्महाम्लेच्छैः स्वस्था देवास्तृणीकृताः।।
प्रमाणमत्र भगवानिति देवगिरा हरः।
भूभारशान्त्यै प्रथमं माल्यवन्तं समादिशत्।।
सोऽत्र त्रिनयनादिष्टः पार्वतीवचसा क्षितौ।
उज्जयिन्या नरपतेः श्रीमतः प्राप पुत्रताम्।।
राज्ञो महेन्द्रादित्यस्य स्वप्ने शर्वेण सूचितः।
सोऽभवद्विक्रमादित्यस्तनयो यशसां निधिः।।
नाम्ना विषमशीलोऽसौ द्वितीयेनापि विश्रुतः।
सर्वशास्त्रविद्यानां लेभे भाजनतां विभुः।। (बृ. क. मं. १०, ८-१३)

Vikramāditya, the son of Mahendrāditya (Kumāragupta) was no doubt Skandagupta. No wonder if the grandfather and the grandson of the same dynasty and wearing the same title have been confused by subsequent story writers.

48. The poet suitably concludes his ode by saying that the objects indicated by substantive, adjectival or verbal expressions are limited in their nature, while things like your fame which are all-pervasive are incapable of description in words. The word विभुः occurring in this verse as well as in the account of Bṛihat-Kathā Mañjari (10, 13) quoted above, is also noteworthy.

    May be that Kālidāsa had in mind such odes to the king when he says about Raghu-

    परिकल्पितसान्निध्या काले काले च बन्दिषु।
    स्तुत्यं स्तुतिभिरर्थ्याभिरुपतस्थे सरस्वती।। (रघु. ४, ६)

49. The variant readings adopted by Dr. Krause in per text are as follows :- V. 4, 3 अबलेत्युपास्ता for अबला च्युपास्ता V. 6, 2 विश्रम्भलीला for विश्रम्भनीयाः

    V. 81 इन्दुप्रभाभा for इन्दुप्रभावात्
    V. 15, 2 परिष्वज्यते for परित्यज्यते
    V. 16, 4 दर्पात् सूचित for दर्पासूचित
    V. 17, 4 शारदरोचका for शारदरोचकः

50. The name of each object for the personal use of the king was prefixed by श्री as श्रीकरेणु, corresponding to the word खासा in Rajasthan today as खासा हाथी, खासा रसोड़ा etc.

51. विद्युल्लेखा-कनकरुचितरं श्रीवितानं ममाभ्रम्। (विक्रमो. ४/१३)

52. प्राणत्ययेऽप्यसहनं तत्तेजःसमुदाहृतम् (सा० द० ९५-८९)

    The definition of तेजस्वी by Bhavabhuti in his Uttar-rāma-carita may also be noted here.

53. न तेजस्तेजस्वी प्रसृतमपरेषां विसहते
    स तस्य स्वो भावः प्रकृतिनियतत्वादकृतकः।
    मयूखैरश्रान्तं तपति यदि देवो दिनकरः
    किमाग्नेयो ग्रावा निकृत इव तेजांसि वमति।। (उ० रा० च० ६/१४)

    May it not be that यद् वा भूमिषु is a misreading for योग्याभूमिषु।

Parallelism of Tales between Apabhraṃśa and Western Literature

It has already been established beyond doubt that numerous stories and fairy tales found in the Pāli Jātakas and the Sanskrit *Panca-tantra,* Hitopadeśa and Kathā-sarit-sāgara, have in the past, travelled from India to the West. In the course of their journey, they have, in many cases, changed to a considerable extent. But the original core of the story is always discernable by a proper scrutiny.

The story which I want to draw attention to here, is the one which forms a part of the Sugandha-daśamī-kathā in Apabhraṃśa. It narrates the life of a rich man's daughter whose mother died while she was young. The father married again, and had another daughter from his second wife. The step-daughter was ill-treated to the utmost extent, and in due course, during the absence of the father, married to one who was taken to be a cowherd. The latter ultimately turned out to be the king, and the poor girl was suddenly elevated from her miserable position to the status of a queen.

But before narrating the details of this story, I would like to introduce its two counter-parts in French and German. The French story was collected in the first part of the forty-one volumes of *Cabinet des Fees* by Charles Parrault who lived from 1628 to 1703 A.D. It has since become very popular and its English version is frequently reproduced in children's books under the title "Cindrella" or "The Little Glass Slipper". Briefly, the story is as follows :-

A rich man's wife died, leaving behind her a beautiful young daughter. He married again, and his second wife brought with her, into her new home, her previous daughters. The latter were not so beautiful as their motherless half-sister; therefore they as well as their mother were very jealous of her. As a result of this jealousy, she was very much neglected and harassed. She had to do all the domestic work as well as serve her more fortunate sisters in maintaining their fashion and tastes. There was once a dance festival arranged at the palace at which the prince was expected to choose his bride. The two daughters with their mother went to attend the same, while poor Cindrella was left behind to roll in the cinders which had given her the name. Her lamentations drew the attention of a fairy who transformed her into a fashionable young maid and provided her with a magic carriage and entourage to escort her to the royal festival. There, her

charms attracted the attention of the prince who danced with her for the most part. She was invited for the second day also, and she went there again with similar magic equipment. The prince was enchanted, and he spent his whole time with her. She was also enraptured so much in the company of the prince that she forgot to return to her residence before midnight as was prescribed by her god-mother, the fairy. When the clock struck twelve she was shocked, and she rushed out of the palace. In hurry, one of her magical glass-slippers slipped from her foot and was left behind. The magic carriage and guard were no more there, and she had to struggle her way up in her usual rags with great difficulty. Luckily, the wheel of her step-sisters' carriage gave way on the road, and therefore they were also late in returning home. Thus, her absence remained undiscovered and she escaped the punishment which might otherwise have been inflicted on her. The glass-slipper which was left in the palace was picked up by the prince and he insisted that he would marry only the bearer of that slipper. A vigorous search was therefore made, but the slipper would not fit any maiden in the capital : it was either a bit too short or a bit too large. At last it was tried on the foot of the very unlikely girl, Cindrella, and, it fitted her foot excellently. Not only that, she took out the other slipper from her bosom where she had kept it hidden all this time, and put it on her other foot. The proof was irrefutable and the turn of fortune did take place. Cindrella was no more an orphan; she was now the princess.

The German version of the story is called "ASHPUTTEL" It occurs in the "KINDER UND HAUSMARCHAN" a collection of folk tales in three volumes by Jacob Ludwick Karl Grimm (1785 to 1863 A.D.). Here the introductroy part of the story is the same as in the French version. But the development of the story differs. The father wants to go to a big fair and asks her daughters what he should bring for them. His two step-daughters ask for dresses and ornaments but his motherless daughter Ashputtel desired that he should bring for her the twig of a tree which might touch his head on the way. Accordingly, the father brought for her the twig of a Hazel tree which Ashputtel planted on the grave of her mother and sprinkled it over with her tears. By her daily care it grew into a big tree. There is then the dance festival at the palace, and Ashputtel attended the same through the kindness of a bird which dwelt on that Hazel tree. The festival lasted for three days, and on the last day she forgot her time of return. She rushed home, and the prince chased her right upto the garden of her residence where she suddenly vanished out of his sight. The disappointed prince however got hold of her golden slipper which was tried on the feet of her first step-sister the next day. The mother succeeded in squeezing her foot in by cutting off her big toe. But when the prince rode with her by the side of the Hazel tree, a voice came that he was deceived. So the prince discarded her, and the gold slipper was tried on the foot of her younger sister. The mother again squeezed her foot in without minding the profuse bleeding.But again when he rode with her the bird at the Hazel tree warned him that he was deceived. This time the slipper was tried on the foot of Ashputtel and it fitted her excellently. This time the Hazel bird also approved of his choice and Ashputtel became the princess.

As compared to these, the story in *Sugandha-daśamīkathā* in Apabhraṃśa is as follows :

Jinadatta, the rich merchant of Ratnapur had a beautiful daughter Tilakamati. Her mother died while she was yet young. The merchant married again and got, from his second wife, another daughter Tejamati. The latter was not so beautiful as the former, and this was a source of jealousy for the mother who took revenge upon her step daughter by maltreating and harassing her. This went on and the daughters grew to maturity. The merchant was thinking of their marriage when the king named Kanakaprabha commissioned him to go to a distant island for purchasing jewels and precious stones. The merchant advised his wife to marry off the girls without waiting for him, if suitable matches were available. The suitors would prefer Tilakamati, but the mother was more interested in her own daughter. A match was at last fixed. On the marriage night she left Tilakamati on the cremation ground saying that according to their family custom, her suitor would come there to marry her. The suitor came, introduced himself as *Mahishī-pāla* and married her. A dangy room was assigned to her. Her husband visited her at night and left before dawn. He once brought for her rich costumes and ornaments. But when the mother saw them, she at once suspected that they must belong to the palace and her husband must have stolen them. About this time the merchant returned home. On being told by his wife that Tilakamati had married by her own choice and her husband had probably stolen the ornaments for her from the palace, the merchant felt alarmed and thought it safe to report the matter at once to the king. The king commanded that he could be forgiven only if he could get information about the thief from his daughter, so that he might be arrested. But Tilakamati could not describe him as she had never seen him in broad day-light. She however used to wash his feet daily when he came to her at night. Therefore, the touch of his feet was familiar to her. A big feast was at last arranged to which the king as well as all the people of the city were invited. The duty of washing the feet of the guests from behind the curtain was entrusted to Tilakamati. In this way the thief was caught, and he turned out to be no other than the king himself. He then explained how on that night he had observed light at the burial ground, how he had come there and found the girl sitting there and how, on learning about her lot, he had decided to marry her. And he was not wrong in introducing himself to the maiden as *Mahishi-pāla* which should not be taken to mean the keeper of buffaloes, but the protector of queens. Tilakamati was now no more a harassed maid, she was now the queen.

The basic framework of the Apabhraṃśa, French and German stories is the same-the motherless child, the jealously and tyranny of the step-mother towards her, contact with a prince and acquisition of queenship. There are however differences in the details of the stories and these are noteworthy as they reveal essential divergences between the Indian and the Western ideals and customs. While in the Western stories the second wife comes into the home with two daughters from her former husband, no such contingency is conceived here, and the second wife gets her child after the marriage. There is again no dances and festivities at the Court to which the Indian maids go to participate in. The King's attraction, on the contrary, is drawn towards the unfortunate girl by her extra-ordinary presence at the cemetery at night and the story of her

misfortune consequent upon her father's absence from home by the king's order. The pun on the word 'Mahishī-pāla' is peculiar to Indian literary genius. The wife's claim that she could recognise her husband better by the touch of his feet than by the sight of his face is supremely Indian. One particularly noteworthy feature of the Apabhraṃśa story is that it has absolutely no supernatural element in it at any stage of its development, while the Western tales depend so much upon the part of the fairy that they would collapse without her. The Western story is fabulous, while the Indian story is very natural and highly romantic. With all these differences, however, the motif of all the stories is the same, namely, the tyranny of the step-mother and the turn of fortune by the inscrutable ways of destiny. It is not yet possible for me to demonstrate the steps by which the story might have migrated from country to country. All that I can do at this stage is to draw the attention to the age in which the story is known to have got currency in each country. The German story was collected by J. L. Karl Grimm who is known to have lived from 1785 to 1863, while the time of the French writer Charles Parrault was from 1628 to 1703 A.D. The authorship and date of the Apabhraṃśa story is uncertain, but manuscripts of the work have been found which are dated earlier than the 17th century. One manuscript in my possession is dated Samvat 1676 which is equivalent to 1618 A.D. There is a rendering of the story in Marāthi verse by Jina-sāgara, a pupil of Devendrakirti, whose known dates range from 1649 to 1685 Saka, equivalent to 1727-1763 A.D. One manuscript of this Marāthi version which I have seen is beautifully illustrated with more than seventy multi-coloured pictures, exhibiting the various situations and events of the story. This work has been used in a temple at Nagpur for public recital and exhibition of the story on the Sugandhdásamī day which falls on the 10th of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādrapada i.e. August-September, as it illustrates the result of observing a fast on the day. A Hindi rendering of the story in verse is by Pandit Khushal Chandra who is known to have lived in the first part of the 18th century A.D. But he says that he has based his work on that of Brahmachari Śrutasāgara who is known to have lived about 1500 A.D. Thus, the Indian story is, so far as the literary traditions go, the earliest of the versions mentioned above, and it is justifiable to claim that India was the source of the story current in France, Germany and England.

The Jain Literature

The tradition about the Jain canon is that it was propounded by Lord Mahavira (599 to 527 B.C.) andb was systematised and classified into Twelve Books' called 'Angas' by his disciples. But opinion as to the later history of these twelve books[1] is divided even amongst the Digambaras and the Svetambaras, the two sections in which the Jain community was split in the first century of the Christian era,[2] According to the Digambaras, the knowledge of the twelve Angas continued unimpaired only for 156 years after Mahavira, the last Acharya who possessed a full knowledge of them being Bhadrabahu, after whom the Angas were gradually forgotten till after Lohacharya (216 A.D.) no knowledge of them remained.[3] But the Svetambaras give quite a different history of the Anga books. According to them only the twelvth Anga[4] has been lost while the first eleven were preserved orally up to the time of Davardhigani who, by a council held at Vallabhi (454 A.D.) finally reduced them to writing. These books that have come down to our time are all in Prakrit either prose or verse, or prose and verse mixed. They are religious in character, their matter being mainly Jain ethics and philosophy. They are mostly in the form of discourses. Moral and dogmatic principles are illustrated by stories of ancient monks and sages. A careful examination of the books shows that though some parts of the texts where archaism prevails, are truly very ancient, there is also much modernism in them. Ardha Magadhi, which is said to have been the language of the original texts has lost its purity being adulterated with Maharastrism. What is certain is that the books have been much corrupted and altered, interpolated and curtailed during the course of their oral transmission, before their reduction in 454 A.D.[5]

Besides the eleven 'Angas' the Svetambaras include in their canonical literature thirty-four other books[6] decidedly composed about the time of Devardhigani who himself is the author of some of them. They are mostly an amplification of the Angas. Their language is what Dr. Jacobi calls Jain Prakrit, a mixture of Magadhi. Maharashtri and other Prakrits but different in essence from them all.

A large literature of glosses and commentaries both in Sanskrit and Prakrit has grown round these canon books.[7] The commentaries alone amount to several million verses.

The activities of the Svetambaras were mostly confined, up to the fifth century to the steady systematisation and elucidation of the canon books for they contained the whole of Jain philosophy and ritual, and a complete code of rules for the monastic as well as household life. But the Digambaras, who as we have seen, early rejected the Svetambara canon books as not genuine, directed their energies to the composition of original works on philosophy and ethics. Their greatest Acharya was Kundakundacharya, who is said to have written no less than eightyfour books on different topics of Jain philosophy. Of these, some twenty only are now known to be extant. They are all in beautiful gatha verses. The author is held in great veneration by the Digambara Jains and his works are respected as the highest authority on all metaphysical questions. Though there are no elements in his known works for the determination of his date, he is, on the authority of Jain Pattavalis and Vaṁsavalis, assigned to the first century B.C.

Kundakundacharya's pupil was Umasvami or Umasvati[8] who wrote the famous 'Tattvarthagama Sutra',[9] the importance of which is evident from the fact that it is recognised an authoritative by both the schools each of which claims the author as *having belonged to itself. The work is unique in the whole range of Jain literature both* as regards its form and its utility. In 345 Sanskrit sutras of the style of the Brahmanic Dharma sutras, arranged in ten chapters, it epitomises almost the whole of Jain ethics, cosmology and philosophy. It has rightly been called the 'Jain Bible'. As a school book, it is of very great service. It has been the subject of numerous commentaries-thirty-one are known to exist even now and of these four are most important. These are more like independent works than commentaries as they are written in good Sanskrit verses. They are :-

1. Gandhahasti Mahabhasya by Samant Bhadracharya.[10]
2. Sarvartha siddhi by Pujyapada.
3. Raj Varttika or Tattvartha Varttika by Akalamka deva,[11] and
4. Śloka Varttika by Vidyananda. The last three were written in the 8th century.

The first is reputed to have been the largest, being composed in eighty-four thousand slokas. Regarding the date of the author we can only say that he flourished sometime between the 2nd and the 6th centuries A.D. Unfortunately the whole work has not been yet discovered anywhere, only the opening portion of it called '*Aptamimamsa*' or '*Devagama stotra*' has come to light. This small portion consists of 115 stanzas and is complete in itself. It is reagrded as the best exposition of the Jain method of dialectics known as 'Syadvada' or the 'may be' doctrine, and of the Jain conception of a Tirthamkara as an omniscient being. It has exercised a very great influence on Jain logic. It also contains a review of the contemporary schools of philosophy including Vedanta. It has, in its turn, been the subject of several commentaries, the most important of which are the *Ashta sati*, in 800 slokas by Akalamka Bhatta (700 to 770 A. D.), *Ashta sahasri* by Vidyananda who closely follows Akalamka's work, and '*Deva gama Vritti*' by Shri Vasunanda siddhanta Chakravarttin. These works also are like independent compositions and are very useful in themselves.

To about the beginning of the eight century belong two most famous and monumental works on Jain philosophy-'*Dhavala*' and '*Jaya Dhavala*' in seventy-two and sixty thousand Prakrit verses respectively. The first, and twenty thousand verses of the second were written by Virasenacharya, while the remaining forty thousand verses of the second were written by his illustrious pupil Jinasenacharya. These works have not yet been published, and only a single palm leaf manuscript of each of them is known to exist in the temple of Parsva Nath at Mula Badri in South Canara. They are in Kenarese characters but a copy of them in Nagari characters has recently been made. They are held in such high veneration that a large number of Jain pilgrims travel long distances every year even for their 'Darshana' (sight). Thus they are a source of considerable income to the priests in whose charge the manuscripts are, and hence they are reluctant to give them for publication.*

The tenth century produced two great Jain philosophers, Amrita Chandra and Nemi Chandra, the latter also designated as Siddhanta Chakravartin. The first, besides writing commentaries on some of the most important works of Kundakundacharya wrote two original philosophical works.-'*Purushartha siddhyu paya*' and '*Panch dhyayi*'[12] both in classical Sanskrit verses. The second work is incomplete consisting only of two chapters though as its very name indicates, the author probably medidated five. The present two chapters deal with the Jain view of the nature of substance (dravya) and life (Jiva).

The works of Nemichandra are of very great authority and command the highest respect in the domain of Jain philosophy. They are all in Prakrit verses. In '*Dravya Samgraha*' he treats of the six substances that go to make the universe. In '*Gommata sara*', '*Labdhi sara*' and '*Kshapana sara*,' the whole of the Jain Metaphysics is dealt with in the fullest detail. These works, it is understood, are based on the two great unpublished works the Dhavala and the Jaya Dhavala. His Trilok sara is an authoritative work on Jain cosmology.

An important work of uncertain date is the '*Parmatma prakasa*' of Yogindra Charya. Its subject is the nature of the soul and the three stages which it has to pass through in realising its summum bonum which is salvation.

That Jains also took a lively interest in other Indian philosophies besides their own, is evidence by two works '*Shaddarsana-samuchchaya*' of Haribhadra and *Shaddarsana vichara* of Merutunga (Fl. 1304 A.D.) Both of these deal with and criticise the six orthodox systems.

The Jains have evolved a unique system of dialectics of their own called Syadvada. Though it has been criticised and ridiculed by some early writers or rival sects, it will be found to be most scientific and practical. Its essence is that in order to understand a thing fully in all its aspects, it ought to be looked at from different points of view, since the same statement may be true of it from one point of view but false from another; hence nothing can be affirmed or denied of a thing absolutely. The first systematic work on the subject is '*Apta Mimasa*' of Samanta Bhadra, which we have already referred to above. The next important work is *Nyayavatara* by Siddhasena Divakara,[13] a Svetambara Acharya. Unlike other treatises which generally complicate the subject

with religious and metaphysical discussions, it deals quite concisely and methodically with the Jain system of Logic exclusively. Siddhasena is also the author of a commentary on 'Sattvartha Sutra' of Umáswámi and of a beautiful ode in Sanskrit called Kalyāna mandira stotra.

The 8th and the 9th centuries were of great prosperity for Jain logic. It was during this period that the three most brilliant commentaries referred to above, were written on the work of Samanta Bhadracharya, and also a good number of original treatises on the subejct were produced such as '*Apta Pariksha*' and '*Pramana Pariksha*' by Vidyananda, '*Priksha mukha*' by Mānikyanandin and '*Prameya Kamala Martanda*' by Prabha Chandra. Of a little later date are the '*Syadvada Manjiri*' by Mallishena, '*Sapta bhangi tarangini*' by Vimala Das, Pramāna-nayatattvalokālankāra by Deva Sūri (1086-1169 A.D.) and Pramana Mimamsa by the famous author Hema Chandra (12th cent.).

The Jains have not in their zeal for their own system, confined themselves to it alone. Many scholars applied themselves to a diligent study of the rival systems, and produced many works on them, chiefly in the form of commentaries. The '*Nyaya bindu*' of Dharmottara has been preserved only through the commentary on it by *Mallavadin* (8th cent.) and Nyayasara of Bhasvarajña has been commented upon by Jayasimha Sūri. Other glosses by Jain authors on non-Jain works are '*Kandali Tippani*' by Narachandra Sūri, '*Nyayalamkara Tippani*' by Abhayatilak Suri, Tarka bhasha Varttika by Subha Vijaya Suri and many others.

A very important part of Jain literature consists of Sanskrit Puranas or epics written presumably *in imitation of the Hindu Puranas*. There is a good number of such works. Their matter invariably is the lives of some or all of the sixty three great men[14] of the Jains amongst whom are also included the twenty-four Tirthamkaras. The earliest work of this class is the Padma Purana of Ravishenacharya (middle of the 7th cent.). It gives at some length the story of Rāma and thus *forms the Jain version of the Ramayana*. The story here differs in good many points from that of the Ramayana of Valmiki. The hero is here claimed to have been a follower of Jainism.

The earliest works that treat of Jain conduct and morals are the '*Mūlachara*' and the '*Trivarnachara*' both by Svami Vattakera, who may have lived about the third century A.D. A highly respected though short work on this subject is the '*Ratnakarandasravakachara*' by Samanta Bhadra. In 150 Sanskrit verses the author has given the gist of the Jain code of rules for the ality. From amongst a number of '*Sravakacharas*', householder's conduct mention is due to that of *Vasunadin* who wrote after the tenth century. His work is in Prakrit gathas and deals with the 'eleven steps' (pratimas) in the moral progress of a householder. Two very exhaustive and detailed works on the subject are the *Sagara Dharmamrita* and the *Anagara Dharmamrita* by a famous writer of the thirteenth century Pandit Asadhara. The first contains rules, injunctions and morals for householders while the second for those who have retired from the household life.

About 783 A.D. Jina Sena wrote '*Harivamsa Purana*'. It opens with a description of the universe and proceeds on to relate the lives of all the twenty-four Tirthamkaras. The greatest and the best work of this kind the '*Adi Purana*' was written by another Jina

Sēna (9th cent.) who has already been mentioned as the author of the latter portion of '*Jaya Dhavala*'. As an epic it is a masterpiece being an encyclopedia of Jain history, legend, morality and also philosophy, and in literary merit it matches the best of the classical kavyas. The author's power of description, of handling the most difficult metres and of commanding choicest similes and metaphors, is admirable and reminds the reader of Kalidasa and Magha. In his copious and masterly style the author gives the lives of the first Tirthamkara, Rishabha and his son Bharat, the first universal sovereign (Chakravartin). The work was left incomplete by Jina Sena who composed sixty thousand verses of it. It was completed by his disciple Guna Bhadra in twenty thousand verses more. Though not a man of such high merits as his master, he ably executed the work, and in continuation of it wrote the Uttara Purana which contains the lives of the remaining twenty-three Tirthamkaras, and other great men. Yet another work of Guna Bhadra is the Atmanusasana,' a didactic poem in 273 slokas.

A work similar to the epic of Jaina Sena was written by the great Svetambara, Acharya Hema Chandra (12th cent.) it is named *Trishashthi Salakapurusha Charita* or the lives of the sixty-three Great Man. The author was a very great poet, grammarian and philosopher of his time. In all he wrote about 35,000,000 slokas. *A Jain version of the Mahabharata* was written by Subhachandracharya[16] in the 17th century. The work isis namedandava Purana'.

Besides these, there have been written separate Puranas on the lives of almost all Tirthamkaras. A common characteristic of these works of limited scope, is that a major portion of them is occupied by the accounts of many previous lives of the hero before his birth as a Tirthamkara, and the remaining portion is taken up by the description of the natural and the supernatural jubilations with which gods and men celebrate a Tirthamkara's conception, birth, retirement from worldly life, attainment of supreme knowledge and salvation.

There is already much poetic merit and skill exhibited in the composition of the Puranas which are all in verse. But these are of a religious character, which poetic art has not been allowed to spoil. So in order to give full play to their poetic genius, the Jain also chose to write classical Kavyas themes for which are mostly taken from Jain legends but the execution of which is quite popular. Some of these works are of the highest standard. In *Parsvabhyudaya* Jinasena, whom we already know as the author of Adipurana, bids fair to rival the claims of Kalidasa to rank as the greatest Indian Poet. The theme of it is the life of the twenty-third Tirthamkara Parsva Nath, but it embodies the whole of '*Meghaduta*' each line of which forms the fourth line of the verses of this Kavya. As Professor K.B. Pathak says "the poem is one of the curiosities of Sanskrit literature. It is at once the product and the mirror of the literary taste of the age. The first place among Indian poets is allotted to Kalidasa by consent of all; Jina Sena, however claims to be considerea a higher genius than the author of 'Cloud Messenger'. *Samasya Purana* is another Kavya by a Jain author which has adopted as the fourth line of its verses, a line from Meghaduta.

The *Yasastilaka* of Somadeva (953 A.D.) is a work of high poetic merit. It belongs to the variety of Kavya called 'Champu' in which prose pieces alternate with verses. The prose pieces match the style of Bana. The work is a treasure of good moral sayings.

The climax of Sanskrit artificial poetry is reached in *Dvisandhana Kavya* by the Jain poet 'Dhananjaya' (about 1130 A.D.). As the very name of the work implies, it admits of two interpretations throughout, one referring to the story of Rama while the other to that of the Kauravas and the Pandavas. Thus, it is a 'Ramayana' and a 'Mahabharata' both in one. If the *Raghava Pandaviya* was really written about 800 A.D. as supposed by Professor Macdonald, *our author must have imitated Kaviraj*, the reputed author of Raghava Pandaviya. The latter is much smaller in size than the former.

Other curiosities of poetic artificiality are the '*Sapta Sandhana Kavya*' and the *Chaturvimsti Sandhana Kavya* of Jagannath Pandit.[18] As their names signify, these Kavyas admit of seven and twenty-four interpretations respectively.

Of great importance and some interest is the '*Dvayasraya Kavya*' of Hema Chandra who displays therein his skill both in Sanskrit and in Prakrit poetry, and also grammatical learning. The Kavya gives an account of the Chalukya kings of Anhilwad and also serves to illustrate the poet's Sanskrit and Prakrit grammatical works. It is thus comparable to Bhatti kavya which relates the story of Rama but mainly serves to illustrate the difficult rules of Panini.

Other kavyas of considerable literary merit or of historical importance are the '*Dharma Sarmabhyudaya*' and '*Jivandhara Champu*' of Harichandra, *Yasodhara Charitra* of Kanakasena (10th cent.), *Mrigavati Charita* of Maladhri Devaprabha (13th cent.), *Sukrita Samkirtana of Arisimha* (13th cent.), *Mahipala Charitra* of Charita Sundara (15th cent.) and *Hammira Kavya* of Naya Chandra.

Lyrical poetry is chiefly represented by a large number of stotras both in Prakrit and Sanskrit, some of which display exquisite poetic art in style, metre and imagination. They are generally religious hymns of praise addressed to some Tirthamkara. The *Urasaggahara stotra* of Bhadra Bahu is the oldest, and is written in old Prakrit. The '*Kalyana Mandira*' of Siddhasena Divakara, *Svayambhu stotra* and *Jina Śataka* of Samanta Bhadra '*Rishi Mandala stotra*' of Dharma Ghosha, *Bhaktamara* or Adinath stotra of Manatunga, and many others are of good artificial style and not without some poetic beauty. The '*Vita raga stotra*' and Mahavira Svami stotra of Hemachandra are also worth mention as also the Rishabha Panchasika of Dhanapala written in 50 beautiful Prakrit verses.

Didacticism has always been a predominant trait in the ancient literature of India. One hardly comes across a work of general literature which is not tinged with didacticism. The number of purely didactic works is very great in the Jain literature. In the Svetambara catalogue (Jain Granthavali) the names of such works alone occupy 130 pages out of a total of 367; add to this a very large number of such works written by Digambara Jain authors. The works are chiefly meant for the instruction and edification of the Jain laity, containing as they generally do moral rules and injunctions for good conduct. The most important of these are the '*Subhashitaratna samdoha*' and '*Dharma pariksha*' of Amitagati (994 A.D.). The first is of importance for our knowledge of Jain ethics and the second contains moral maxims interwoven into a number of interesting and amusing stories. Amitagati is often very satirical in his criticism of rival religions. The '*Atmanus asana*' of Guna Bhadra is another important work. The

Adhyatmatarangini of Somadeva, *Sindura Prakarana* or *Sukti muktavali* of Somaprabha, and *Sringara Viragya tarangini* of uncertain authorship may also be mentioned).

Besides the original works on the subject there are many important anthologies of moral maxims. The *Uvaesamala* of Dharmadasa is a collection of 540 good Prakrit verses, other notable works are the '*Gatha kosha*' of Munichandra Suri (422 A.D.), *Gatha Sahasri* of Samaya Sundara (1630 A.D.), *Bhava Vairagya sataka* in Prakrit and *Vajja Lagga* of Jaya Vallabha also in Prakrit and '*Anyokti Muktavali*' of Hamsa Vijayagani (1679 A.D.) which contains allegorical verses. These works are all very important for the study of the development of Prakrit poetry. They are entirely made up of quotations. In *Gatha Sahasri* some verses quoted from'*Gachho Patti Prakirnaka*', a work now only known by name, give dates for some important events in the early Jain annals.

Dramatic composition did not find favour with Jain poets till about the 10th century. But after this date a good many dramas were produced by Jain writers. The name of Hastimalla (12th cent.) stands fore most. His four plays '*Vikranta Kauravam*' '*Maithili Kalyanam*', '*Subhadra Haranam*', and '*Anjana Pavananjayam*' are full of beauty and dramatic ingenuity. The plots are taken from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata the incidents agreeing with the Jain versions of the stories. In execution they resemble the Brahmanic dramas. The plot of '*Moha Parajaya*' of Yasaphala is based on the fact of King Kumarapal's conversion to Jainism. The importance of '*Jnana Suryodaya*' of Kanaka Sena lies in its being an allegorical drama like the Prabodha Chandrodaya of Krishna Misra. Other important and interesting plays are '*Nirbhaya Bhima Vyayoga*' of Rama Chandra Suri, '*Hammiramada mardana*' of Jaya Singh (1235 A.D.) and *Madan Parajaya* of Indradeva.

The narrative literature of the Jains is very extensive, and goes back to an early date. Even the commentaries on the Anga books abound in such legendary stories as that of the 'descent of Ganga', the Krishna legend, and the story of Draupadi and her five husbands. Of a great interest are the '*Kathanakas*' or popular tales intended equally for religious instruction and popular amusement. The *Kalaka Charya Kathanaka*, the *Uttama Charita Kathanaka*, the *Champaka Sresthi Kathanaka*, the *Papa-gopal Kathanaka* and various others are very entertaining story books. '*Katha Kosha*' by Subhasila and *Aradhana Katha Kosha* of Simhanandin may be mentioned as representatives of a large number of collections of short stories at once amusing and instructive and remarkable for their moral lessons. They are also important in as much as in some of them are preserved traditional accounts of many historical events.

The '*Samyaktva Kaumudi*' has been compared by Prof. A. Weber to the '*Arabian Nights*'. The '*Upamiti bhana prapancha katha*' of Siddharshi (10th cent.) is a noval of marvellous originality. The work is a long sustained allegory and Dr. Jacobi regards it as parallel to John Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress'.

The 'Charitras' and 'Prabandhas' in Sanskrit or Prakrit prose or verse or mixed form another branch of the narrative literature. They generally narrate the lives of the 'Great men' of the Jains-or of eminent Jain saints and monks, the themes being generally taken from the Puranas. Such works are also of much historical value. The *Sthaviravali charita*, on appendix to the Trishashtis' Salaka-purusha charita of Hema Chandra, the

Prabhavaka charita of Prabha Chandra (13th cent.), the *Prabandha Chintamani* of Merutunga (1306 A.D.) and the '*Prabhandha Kosha*' of Raja Sekhara (1349 A.D.) contain numerous interesting anecdotes about such famous kings as Vikramaditya, Siladitya and Bhoja, and about many poets and literary personages of the times. The *Samaraichhakaha* of Haribhadra Suri is a religious novel in Prakrit prose and verse, the *Bhava satta kaha* of Dhanapala is a romantic religious epic in Apabhramsa, and the well-konwn '*Gadya Chintamani*' of Udayadeva imitates the high classical style of Bana.

The researches of Prof. Johannes Hertel have revealed the long concealed facts that the most popular recensions of '*Pancha tantra*' are due to Jain writers, the 'Textus simplicior', we owe probably to a Jain : and that the Panchakhyanaka was completed by a Jain monk Purnabhadra in 1199. '*Bharatakadvatrimsika*' an Indian book of noodles, the most amusing collection of Mugdha kathas is the work of a Jain author while the best text of Simhasanadvatrimsika has come down to us through a Jain recension.

Thus the whole Jain narrative literature is of importance for understanding the life and manners of the time they were written in. "Characteristic of Indian narrative art", says Prof. Hertel "are the narratives of the Jains. They describe the life and manners of the Indian population in all its different classes and in full accordance with reality. Hence Jain narrative literature is, amongst the huge mass of Indian literature, the most precious source not only of folklore in the most comprehensive sense of the word, but also of the history of Indian civilisation".

The contributions of Jains to the scientific and technical literature of India have also been very appreciable. To begin with grammar, Jains possess a work which is associated with the name of Saktayana. Panini has mentioned the names of about twenty grammarians who preceded him and "among these" says Mr. Rice "none is of higher or more ven 6 more venerable rean Sakatayana; and what Panini is to the Brahmans, that Sakatayana is to the Jains-their ultimate authority on all points of grammatical inquiry". According to another tradition the work was written by a contemporary of King Amogha Varsha I (814 to 877 A.D.) for whose instruction it is said to have been intended. Again, Samanta Bhadracharya is also mentioned as its author. From all the evidence at our disposal it seems that the work was produced in the time of King Amogha Varsha and it may have been restored from some work of the old Saktayana. The best commentary on the work is named Amogha Vritti, probably by King Amogha Varsha himself. Another important grammatical work is the Jainendra Vyakarana which closely follows Panini's grammar. It is attributed to Jainendra who seems to be no other man than the renowned Pujyapada Devanandin who lived in the 6th century.

The grammar of Hema Chandra, called '*Siddha Hema Chandra*' or *Hema Vyakarana* is based upon the work of Saktayana. Prof. Kielhorn rightly considers it to be "the best grammar of the Indian Middle Ages" for it is arranged in a more practical manner and has a more practical terminology than any other grammar, not excluding the work of Panini. King Jayasimha, at whose order the work was composed, had procured for the writer eight older grammatical works. The author himself has added two commentaries and a few appendices to his work, together with a *Prakrit Grammar* which is very useful

and instructive on account of its numerous examples taken from older grammars, and of the references made to works like the Setubandha, Satsai and the lost Brihat Katha of Gunadhya.

Dependent upon Hemachandra's work is the Subdanusasana of Trivikrama (13th cent.).

Besides these, Jain scholars have also written commentaries on non-Jain grammatical works. Some of these are the '*Dhatupatha tika*' on Paniniya, by a Jain monk named Ramachandrarshi, *Paniniya Sutra Vritti Karika* in 30,000 slokas by Jainendra Svami, '*Kalpa Chatushka khyata vritti*' by Durga Singha, which has got a series of commentaries upon commentaries. The popular grammatical hand-book. Sarasvata has been commented upon by five Jain grammarians, Chandra Kirti, Shahajakirti, Bhanu Chandra, Dayaratna and Yatish.

As to lexicography, even the author of the most notable work in the field. Amar Singha, is claimed to have been a Jain. About 972 A.D. Dhanapala wrote '*Paiya lachchi nama mala*,' which was used by Hema Chandra for preparing his synonymic Kosha '*Abhijnana Chintamani nama mala*'. This latter work includes in its appendices botanical glossary called '*Nighantu sesha*' in 396 verses. The same author's '*Anekartha Samgraha*' is a homonymic kosha, and his '*Desinama mala*' is a glossary of Prakrit words. Mention may also be made of '*Anekartha tilaka*' by Mahipa, '*Ekakshari nama mala*' by Sudha Kalasa muni, '*Dhananjaya-nama-mala*' by Dhananjaya, '*Saradina-nama mala*' by Harsha-kirti and '*Misra Linga Kosha*' by Kalyana Sagar. The '*Visva lochana kosha* or *Muktavali kosha*' of Dharasenacharya and '*Sabda ratnakara*' by Sadhu Sundaragani are in the form of a modern dictionary.

On astronomy, there are three very ancient works '*Suriya pannatti*', '*Chanda pannatti*' and '*Jambuddiva panatti*'. They are reputed to have been preserved out of the lost 'fourteen Purvas'. Their matter and form also show that they belong to an ancient date. They treat of astronomy and geography more in a legendary than scientific manner, and no influence of Greek astronomy is traceable in them. Thus they are of importance in as much as they belong to a stage of Indian astronomy uninfluenced by the Greek science. '*Bhadrabahusamhita*' is attributed to Bhadrabahu, the contemporary and preceptor of Chandragupta Maurya. But the work seems to be not so ancient. It also treat of law as applicable to Jains.

On poetics the most important works are '*Vagbhattalamkara*' and '*Kavya mimamsa*' by two different Vagabhattas who are said to have been Jains, and who lived about the 12th century. The '*Kavyanusasana*' of Hemachandra is well known. It is in sutras and has got the author's own commentary. Other works are *Alamkara Chudamani, Alamkara Chintamani* by Jinasenacharya, and *Chhandra Sastra, Vritta Vada* and *Chhand Prakasha* by Ajita Senacharya.

The two most important Jain works on the subject are the *Nitivakyamrita* of Somadeva (10th century) and the *Laghuvarhanniti Sastra* of Hema Chandra, based on an older treatise, '*Arhan-niti sara*.' The first is a prose work of 32 chapters. Its style is that of Chanakya's Artha Sastra to which it has got a number of parallel passages. The

latter fact naturally suggests that Somadeva has unduly copied Chanakya but a close examination of two works shows that Nitivakyamrita is essentially and characteristically different from the Artha Sastra of Chanakya. While the first is primarily a work on moral conduct the second is a treatise on practical politics or political wisdom and so while the latter is chiefly useful for kings and administrators the former is of use to the public at large. Even the work of Chanakya is found to be deeply tinged with Jain notions, and references are not wanting where Chanakya is claimed to have been a devout Jain.[17]

The *Laghuvarhanniti Sastra* is in four chapters. The quotations from the older treatise are in Prakrit. It gives a mythical origin of the science of law and polity, discusses the qualities necessary in a king and his ministers, and deals with rules and tactics of warfare and punishment, legal proceedings and expiatory rules.

The above is only an attempt to show the extensiveness of Jain literature and the importance of the literary contributions made by Jains to Indian arts and sciences. The number of books on multifarious subjects is very large indeed. The catalogue of Jain books (Jaina Granthavali) published by the Jain Svetambara Conference in 1909 gives the names of 723 different authors, and the titles of about 3,200 different works. Mr. Nathuram Premi has catalogued almost about an equal number of authors and books belonging to the Digambara Jain sect alone. A glance at these catalogues shows that hardly any branch of science has remained untouched by Jain writers. The limits of the above sketch have not permitted me to mention their works on medicine, on the sciences of elephants, of horses, or war carriages, and of bows and on erotics, on magic and on astrology, on architecture and music. The pity is that a small part, only a very very small part of this vast literature has so far been published. Cart loads of manuscripts are preserved in ancient Bhandaras and thousands new ones are being discovered annually. When the whole of this has been brought to light it is hoped it will highly enhance the lustre of ancient Indian culture and civilization and place Indian sciences on a better and stronger footing.

REFERENCES

1. According to Jain Books, Mahavira was only the last of a series of twenty-four Tirthamkaras who all in their own times separated by very long periods, preached and propounded the same religion and philosophy. Thus Jainism claims a very remote antiquity to itself.
2. The division practically took place in the 4th century B.C. when in the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, Bhadrabahu the eighth pontiff after Mahavira led the migration of a section of the community to the south (cf. Lewis Rice-Introduction to his Inscriptions of Sravana Belgula) for fear of a dreadful famine of twelve years that was foreseen by him. The section that stayed behind, slackened their monastic rules and began to wear garments. These latter afterwards came to be known as Svetambaras while the former as Digambaras since they stuck to the old regulations about nakedness for monks.

   (Bhadrabahu Charitra)
3. How and when the Digambaras lost the precious original preachings of the Master seems to be that after their migration to the south they took very little interest in the Anga books which were till then preserved only in tradition, while the Svetambaras so manipulated

them as suit their changed views regarding monastic life. When the migrators returned and observed the corruption wrought in the holy Angas they denounced them altogether.

4. The name of this Anga is given as Drishti Veda and it was divided into fourteen *Purvas*. The loss of these is accountable by the conjecture that probably they contained discussions of *former philosophies* which being once driven out of the field, the Purvas lost all their interest. (cf. Jacobi : Introduction to S. B. E., Vol. XXII).
5. That the reduction has seriously affected the texts is also evident from the fact that they do not contain that number of lines and words which according to the Digambaras also recognised by the Svetambaras.
6. These are arranged under the following heads.
   Twelve Upangas
   Four Mula Sutras
   Six Chheda Sutras
   Ten Payannas (Prakirmakas)
   and Two Chulikas.
   Besides these they also counts thirty-six Nigamas (or Jain Upanishads.)
   (cf. Epitome Jainism Appx.)
7. The important four-fold commentaries on each of them are the 'Tika' the 'Nirkti' the 'Churni' and the 'Bhashya' there along with the Prakrit texts are called the Pnchangi Siddhanta.
8. He has been referred to by Madhavacharya in his Sarvadarśana Samgraha as Umasvati Vachakacharya.
9. Cf. Jattvarthadhiyama Sutra by Mr. J. L. Jaini-(S. B. J., Vol. II)-Introduction.
10. In the Mallishena Praśasti at Sravana Belgula, Samantabhadra is accredited to have undertaken a wide missionary tour through northern India, and to have converted Siva-koti the king of Benares by whom we have a very important and popular work on Jain morality and conduct, named Bhagavati Aradhana. This work contains a very good summary of the contents of the lost Angas. It is in Prakrit.
11. Akalamka was a junior contemporary of Kumarila. He was a very great logician of his time. He is said to have discomfitured the Baudhas in religious and logical disputations. As seen above he was also the author of a very good commentary on Tattvartha Sutra called Tattvartha varttika. He also wrote a sacred ode called Akalamka stotra, and his Kanarese grammar is the highest authority on the subject.
12. This work is in fact anonymous. But from its style etc., it is by general consent attributed to Amrita Chandra's authorship. It has also been variously suggested to be the work of Somadeva Suri (cf. Premi's Catalogue) or of Yasobhadra Vami.
13. He is said to have converted King Vikramaditya to Jainism in 470 years after Nirvana of Mahavira. Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyabhushana assigns him the date of 533 A.D. and identifies him with Kshapanaka who was among the nine Jewels of King Vikramaditya's court.
14. The 63 great men of the Jains are the 24 Tirthamkaras, 12 Chakravartins, 9 Vasudevas, 9 Narayanas and 9 Prati Narayanas.
15. This poet must be different from the author of Gangalahari, who was a Brahman. Besides the above two books Jagannath is also the author of a few other religious works (cf. Premi's catalogue).
16. Cf. Peterson's Reports.
17. Cf. Hema Chandra's '*Parisishtha parva*.'

* With great efforts Dr. Hiralal Jain succeeded in obtaining permission to publish the work. He completed editing of Dhavala and its near original translation in Hindi Language in Sixteen Vol. published in the year 1958. Editor.

Section - IV

Philosophy

Jainism : Its Philosophy and Ethics

Throughout Vedic literature we find two parallel currents of thought, opposed to each other, one enjoining animal sacrifice in the *yajñas* (sacrifices), and the other condemning it, the former being represented by the Brāhmaṇas of the Kuru-Pañcāla country in the west, and the latter by the Kṣatriyas of the eastern countries consisting of Kāśī, Kosala, Videha, and Magadha. It is also noteworthy that in these areas the Kṣatriyas were at the head of society, whereas in the Kuru-Pañcāla country, the Brāhmaṇas were the leaders. And again, in the eastern countries, instead of pure Sanskrit, Prakrits were prevalent, which were the canonical language of Jainism and Buddhism. Further, the *Ātma-vidyā* of the Upanisads is found to be cultivated by the Kṣatriyas of these eastern countries, as against the sacrificial religion and the adoration of the gods in the Kuru-Pañcāla country. As we find these features in Jainism, and in Buddhism which later arose in this very area, we may conclude that Jainism was prevalent in the eastern countries, and is as old as the Vedas. It is also held by the Jains that the Vedas, at least the portions that are now lost, advocated *ahiṁsā*, and the cleavage arose between the two schools when there was difference of opinion in the interpretation of the Vedas, as illustrated in the story of King Vasu found in Jaina literature as well as in the *Mahābhārata*.

The Place of Jaina Darśanas among the Indian Darśanas

It is the usual practice of Hindu philosophers to classify *darśanas* (philosophies) into two groups—Vedic and non-Vedic, otherwise known as *āstika darśanas* and *nāstika darśanas*. Under the former heading, it is usual to include Sāṁkhya and Yoga, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta. Under the latter come the Jaina, Bauddha, and Cārvāka. It is but a truism to say that the Jaina *darśana* is outside the Vedic fold. But, on this score, it is misleading to call it a *nāstika darśana* (for the term '*nāstika*' is also interpreted to mean those who do not believe in any higher reality than this sense-perceived world), which becomes still more misleading when translated into English as 'an atheistic school'.

The term 'atheism' has a definite and well-recognized significance. It is associated with the Semitic conception of a Creator. One who does not accept such a Creator and His created activity is generally signified by the term 'atheist'. But in the case of Indian *darśanas*, there is no such implication anywhere. In this respect they are at one with the

Jains. The Sāṁkhya school openly rejects the creation theory and the doctrine of the Creator of the universe. The Yoga school, which has gained the name 'Seśvara Sāṁkhya', i.e. Sāṁkhya with an Īśvara, as contrasted with the 'Nirīśvara Sāṁkhya' of Kapila, is equally opposed to Sṛṣṭivāda or the creation theory, and holds up Īśvara merely as an ideal to be realized by man. Besides this function, Īśvara in the Yoga system has no resemblance to Jahveh, the Creator in the Hebrew religion. In the case of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems, writers very often speak of an Īśvara, with the attributes of *sṛṣṭi* (creation) and *saṁhāra* (dissolution), but the word '*sṛṣṭi*' here refers only to the building up of the cosmos out of ultimate and eternal elements, the atoms of the physical world and the Jīvas of the living world. In the case of the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā, we do not find any Creator at all. The ultimate factor in evolution is recognized to be *karma*. Finally, in the Uttara-Mīmāṁsā, otherwise known as the Vedānta, there is no recognition of a creation theory at all. The concrete world is interpreted to be a manifestation of the ultimate Brahman.

When we compare these *darśanas* with Jaina *darśana*, we cannot detect any fundamental difference among them. The Jaina *darśana* is opposed to Sṛṣṭivāda, but it speaks of a Paramātman or Sarvajña, the omniscient Being, who serves as an ideal to be aimed at by man. It resembles the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā in emphasizing the potency of *karma* as the basic principle of *saṁsāra* (relative world), but differs from it in maintaining the doctrine of Sarvajña. It resembles Vedānta in holding that every individual Jīva is potentially a Paramātman. As the commentator Guṇaratna of Haribhadra Sūri's Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya maintains, the only significance we can attach to the word '*āstika*' is a belief in the reality of Ātman, of *saṁsāra* (cycle of births and deaths), and of *mokṣa* (salvation) and the path to realize it (*mokṣa-mārga*). According to this interpretation, the *darśana* that could be truly called *nāstika* is the Cārvāka, and partially that school of Buddhism which emphasizes Anātmavāda (the doctrine that there is no Ātman or Self).

Pañca-Parameṣṭhins

Thus, according to Jainism, there is no creation of the world, nor is there any Creator necessary to explain the nature of the world. After completely conquering all the *karmas* and destroying all the shackles of sāṁsāric (worldly) consequences, the Self exists in its supreme purity as *siddha-parameṣṭhin*, endowed with the qualities of infinite perception, infinite knowledge, infinite bliss, and infinite power. This *parameṣṭhin* with infinite qualities is the conqueror of *saṁsāra*, is the *jina*, and he serves as the ideal to be aimed at by all persons who desire to escape from the cycle of births and deaths characteristic of *saṁsāra*.

Besides the siddha-*parameṣṭhin*, Jainism recognizes the *arhatparameṣṭhin*, who represents a lower stage in liberation than the *siddhaparameṣṭhin*. Nevertheless, in some respects, the stage of *arhat* should be considered important from the human point of view, because it is in this stage of Arhathood that the arhat or *tīrthaṅkara* reveals, for the benefit of the world, the path to salvation and all the various Āgamas or scriptures describing such a path.

According to Jaina tradition, the scriptures embodying the knowledge of the ultimate Reality are periodically revealed for the benefit of mankind by the *tīrthaṅkaras* or the *arhats*, whose status corresponds to that of the founders of various other religions, or to the conception of the *avatāras*. Born with the privilege of becoming the lord of religion, through the adoption of *yoga* practice or *tapas*, after destroying the most powerful of kārmic bondages, the *tīrthaṅkara* attains omniscience in this world. He becomes entirely free from the wants and desires characteristic of the flesh. Establishing his own Self in its purity, uncontaminated by the defects of the body which still clings to him, filled with universal love and mercy for all living beings, worshipped by the lords of the three worlds, the *tīrthaṅkara* spends some time in the world with the object of propounding the *dharma* for the benefit of the Jīvas that are still entangled in *saṁsāra*. After achieving his own object in life by the realization of his true Selfhood, and thus becoming endowed with knowledge, power, and bliss of infinite magnitude, the *arhat*- or *tirthaṅkara*-parameṣṭhin wanders over the country propounding the *dharma* and defining the path of salvation, so that others may also have the benefit of liberation from *saṁsāra*.

There is the traditional belief that, for his convenience, Indra constructs an elaborate moving audience hall which serves both as a vehicle carrying the *tīrthaṅkara* from place to place and for accommodating the devout *bhaktas* (followers) eager to listen to the truth propounded by him. This is known as the *samavasaraṇa maṇḍapa*. Whenever this *maṇḍapa* appears in any particular locality carrying the *tīrthaṅkara*, there is a reign of universal peace and harmony, even animals naturally antagonistic to one another exhibit a tendency towards peace and goodwill to one another. The *tīrthaṅkara*, who is omniscient (*sarvajña*) and is immersed in infinite bliss, is worshipped with one thousand and eight names, such as Sarveśvara, Sarvahita, Mahādeva, Mahā-Viṣṇu, Arhadeva, etc.

Such *tīrthaṅkaras* appear in the world in different cosmic periods, which, according to Jaina philosophy, consist of an age of evolution and growth, followed by an age of dissolution and decay. The former is called *utsarpiṇi* and the latter *avasarpiṇī*, the two constituting the complete cosmic cycle of time. Each of these periods is subdivided into six parts, and the present world-period represents the period of decay or *avasarpiṇī*, of which the current division is the fifth time-period called *pañcama-kāla*. In the period immediately prior to this, the fourth period of *avasarpiṇī*, appeared all the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* of the modern world-period. These are Ṛṣabha or Vṛṣabha or Ādi, Ajita, Sambhava, Abhinandana, Sumati, Padmaprabha, Supārśva, Candraprabha, Suvidni or Puṣpadanta, Śītala, Śreyāṁsa or Śreyān, Vāsupūjya, Vimala, Ananta (jit), Dharma, Śānti, Kunthu, Ara, Malli, Suvrata or Munisuvrata, Nami, Nemi or Ariṣṭanemi, Pārśva, and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, with Mahāvīra ends the line of the *tīrthaṅkaras* as also the fourth period of *avasarpiṇī*.

A *tīrthaṅkara* is associated with five kinds of festivals known as the *pañca-kalyāṇas*, in which the *devas* take part. The *pañca*-kalyāṇas are: (1) *svargāvataraṇa*, the descent of a *deva* to become a *tīrthaṅkara*; (2) *mandarābhiṣeka* (or *janmābhiṣeka*), rejoicing at the birth of the *tīrthaṅkara* by performing an *abhiṣeka* (ablution) at the summit of Mandaragiri;

(3) *dīkṣā*, when the *tīrthaṅkara* renounces the kingdom and worldly pleasures in order to become a *yogin;* (4) *kevalotpatti*, which represents the appearance of omniscient knowledge as the result of *tapas* and the destruction of *karmas;* and (5) *parinirvāṇa*, representing the complete destruction of all *karmas* and the attainment of salvation or the realization of *paramātma-svarūpa*.

Besides these two types of *parameṣṭhins, siddha* and *tīrthaṅkara*, Jainism recognizes three other kinds who also deserve reverence and worship from the devotees. These are the *ācārya-parameṣṭhin, upādhyāya-parameṣṭhin*, and *sādhu-parameṣṭhin*. They do not represent the stage of complete liberation from *saṁsāra*, but nevertheless represent important stages towards that goal. The *ācārya-parameṣṭhins* must be free from attachment to external things; must show general sympathy and love to all living beings; must be actuated by 'the three jewels' (*ratnatraya*), i.e. right belief, right knowledge, and right conduct; must be entirely free from the baser emotions, such as anger and ambition; must illustrate by their conduct the significance of the five great *vratas* (vows); must be able to exercise the authority of initiating into the *jina-dharma* all those that seek to be admitted; must possess undoubted knowledge as to the nature of Reality; must not be actuated by the desire for self-aggrandizement or self-praise; and must whole-heartedly devote themselves to the propagation of *dharma*.

Next in rank to the *acārya-parameṣṭhin* comes the *upādhyāya-parameṣṭhin*, who has no authority to initiate people into the *jina-dharma* or to organize the Jaina *saṅgha* (organization). His whole function is to popularize the *jina-dharma*, in order to help the souls entangled in *saṁsāra* to reach perfection. He educates and instructs the people.

Next in order are *sādhu-parameṣṭhins*, the great souls who do not have any definite function, either of authority or of instruction, but still illustrate through their conduct the path to salvation, so that others, following their example, may accept the *dharma* and adopt the path of self-discipline and self-realization.

These five constitute the *pañca-parameṣṭhins*—the five kinds of persons worshipped by the Jains as representing the ideal in life at the different stages of realization.

The Āgamas or Scriptures

The Āgamas or the scriptures of the Jains are revealed by the Sarvajña, or the omniscient Being. The Jaina scriptures should not be in conflict with the well-known *pramāṇas*, the criteria of correct knowledge. They must be capable of leading men towards higher goals, to *svarga* and *mokṣa*, must give correct information as to the nature of reality, and must describe the four *puruṣārthas* (ends of human life): *dharma* (religious merit), *artha* (wealth), *kāma* (enjoyment), and *mokṣa*. The Āgamas with such characteristics, revealed by the Sarvajña, have been handed down from generation to generation by a succession of teachers called *gaṇadharas*, beginning with Sudharaman, the chief disciple of the Tīrthaṅkara Vardhamāna Mahāvīra. They are known by the following appellations : the Siddhānta, Paramāgama, Kṛtānta, Veda, Śruit, Śāstra, etc.

The Āgmas[1] are grouped under three classes : Aṅga, Pūrva, and Prakīrṇa. The first group, i.e. aṅga, consists of twelve subclasses : *Ācāra, Sūtrakṛta, Sthāna, Samavāya, Vyākhyā-prajñapti* or *Bhagavatī, Jñātṛdharmakathā, Upāsaka-daśāka, Antakṛd-daśāka, Anuttaraupapātika-daśāka, Praśna-vyākaraṇa, Vipāka-Sūtra*, and *Dṛṣṭivāda*.[2]

The second group, i.e. Pūrva, consists of fourteen subclasses : *Utpāda, Agrāyaṇīya, Vīrya-pravāda, Asti-nāsti-pravāda, Jñāna-pravāda, Satya-pravāda, Ātma-pravāda, Karma-pravāda, Pratyākhyāna, Vidyānuvāda, Kalyaṇa, Prāṇavāya, Kriyā-viśāla,* and *Loka-bindu-sāra.*

The third group, i.e. Prakirṇa, consists of sixteen subdivisions : *Samāyika, Caturviṁśati-stava, Vandanā, Pratikramaṇa, Vainayika, Kṛtikarma, Daśa-vaikālika, Anuttarādhyayana, Kalpa-vyavahāra, Kalpyākalpya, Mahākalpya, Puṇḍarīka, Mahāpuṇḍarīka, Padma, Mahāpadma,* and *Cinyaśītikā.*[3]

Besides the foregoing classification of Āgamas, there is another classification. According to this, the Āgamas are of four kinds : *Prathamānuyoga, Caraṇānuyoga, Kāraṇānuyoga,* and *Dravyānuyoga. Prathamānuyoga* contains the biographies of the *tīrthaṅkaras,* the emperors, and other great historical personages relating to India. Such a life-history of the great personages is represented by the *Mahāpurāṇa. Caraṇānuyoga* deals with the course of conduct prescribed for the householder as well as the homeless ascetic. *Kāraṇānuyoga* treats of the cosmos and the constituent elements which build up the cosmos. The fourth, *Dravyānuyoga,* is a metaphysical treatise describing the nature of life, matter, and other primary categories of reality.

1. Jaina Metaphysics

Metaphysics forms an important portion of Jaina sacred literature. The reality, according to Jaina philosophy, is uncreated and eternal. According to the *Tattvārthādhigama-Sūtra, 'Utpāda-vyaya-dhrauvya-lakṣaṇaṁ sat'*-reality is that which is characterized by origination, decay, and permanence, i.e. appearance and disappearance in the midst of permanence. The only parallel to this in western thought is the Hegelian doctrine of the dialectical nature of reality-the thesis and antithesis reconciled and held together by synthesis.

Every real object embodies in itself an affirmative and a negative aspect synthesized and held together by its own complex nature, quite analogous to the biological principle of metabolism comprehending and reconciling in itself the two opposite processes of katabolism and anabolism. It maintains its identity and permanence only through the continued process of change consisting of origin and decay-identity and permanence in the midst of variety and change.

Such ultimate reals are five in number : *jīva, pudgala, dharma, adharma,* and *ākāśa.* These are primary constituent elements of the cosmos, and are technically called *pañcāstikāya,* the five *astikāyas. Asti* implies existence, and *kāya,* volume. *Astikāya* therefore means a category which is capable of having spatial relations. Here spatial relation should be differentiated from volume associated with matter. Materiality or corporeality is a property which is peculiar to *pudgala* or matter. *Pudgala* alone is *mūrta* (corporeal), the others are *amūrta* (non-corporeal), though they are *astikāyas* having spatial relations. Of these, the first, *jīva astikāya,* relates to Jīvas or Ātmans or souls. It is the only *cetana* (conscious) category, the other four being *acetanas.* This *cetana* entity, Jīva, is entirely different from *pudgala* or matter, which represents the inorganic world. If *kāla* (time) is added to these five *astikāyas,* then we have the six *dravyas* (substances) of Jaina metaphysics. The time category is different in nature from the five *astikāyas.*

Whereas the *astikāyas* are capable of being simultaneously associated with multiple spatial points or *pradeśas*, time can have only unilateral relation of moments, and hence cannot have simultaneous relations to a group of multiple points.

Dravya and Guṇas

Dravya is that which manifests itself through its own *guṇas* and *paryāyas*-qualities and modifications. The usual illustration given is gold with its qualities of yellowness, brilliance, malleability, etc. Its *paryāyas* or modifications are the various ornaments that can be made of it. One ornament may be destroyed and out of the gold another ornament may be made. The disappearance of one *paryāya* or mode and the appearance of anohter, while the substance remains permanent and constant, are the characteristics of every *dravya*. *Utpāda* and *vyaya*, appearance and disappearance, always refer to the changing modifications, while permanence always refers to the underlying substance. From the aspect of *paryāya*, a thing is subject to birth and decay. From the aspect of *dravya*, it is permanent. Therefore permanence and change refer to two different aspects—change from the aspect of modifications, and permanence from the aspect of the underlying substance.

Jaina metaphysics does not recognize guṇas without *dravyas* nor *dravyas* without *guṇas*. Qualities without a substratum and a substratum without qualities are both empty abstractions and hence unreal. The qualities constitute the expression of the substance, and the qualities of one cannot be transformed into the qualities of another. Thus substance and qualities are identical, inasmuch as the latter exhibit the nature of the former. In spite of this identity between *dravya* and *guṇa*, they are distinct from each other. If there is no fundamental difference between substance and quality, *dravya* and *guṇa*, there will be no means of apprehending the nature of *dravya*, except through its manifestation. Hence the two must be kept separate in thought, though they cannot be separated in reality. *Dravya* and *guṇa*, substance and quality, may be said to be different from each other from one point of view and yet identical from another point of view. It is both *bheda* and *abheda*, different and yet identical. This *bheda-abheda* point of view is again peculiar to Jaina metaphysics.

In this respect, it is fundamentally distinct from the Vaiśesika point of view, which holds that *dravya* is a distinct *padārtha* from *guṇa*, and the two are brought together by a third principle called *samavāya*. Jīva is a distinct *dravya*, and knowledge, feeling, and conation, as properties of Jīva, exist independently of it, but the two are brought together by the intervention of *samavāya*. Jaina metaphysics completely rejects this view. *Jñāna* and other properties of the Jīva or soul are inseparable from its nature, and hence the presence of properties in the Jīva is not the result of a combination effected by a third principle. If knowledge, feeling, and contain, the properties of the soul, were considered to be existing independently of it, then the soul without these properties would cease to be a conscious principle, a *cetana dravya* (conscious entity), and hence would be indistinguishable from the *acetana dravya* (matter). The distinction between *cetana* and *acetana* among the reals will cease to have any meaning; similarly, properties such as *jñāna* and *sukha* or *duḥkha* (pleasure or pain), since they do not have any relation to a *cetana dravya*, will cease to be the properties of the *cetana* entity, and their association

with the *dravya*, effected by a third principle, may be with matter, an *acetana dravya*, and not necessarily with a Jīva. Thus the absolute independence of *guṇa* and *guṇin*, quality and substratum, is rejected by Jaina metaphysics as an impossible doctrine. The Jīva, which is by nature a conscious or *cetana* principle, is fundamentally different from material substance; and yet in concrete life it is intimately in association with a body.

Jiva or Cetana Dravya

The description of *jīva dravya* as a *cetana* entity is similar to the description of Ātman in the Upaniṣadic literature. Since its nature is *cetana*, or *citsvarūpa*, it has the essential characteristics of perception and knowledge. In itself, it is incapable of being measured by material units or space units. In the concrete world, it is always found associated with a body as an organized being, and has all the characteristics of a living being associated with a body and other sense-organs.

The Jīva as an active agent figures as the operative cause of its own *karmas* and in turn enjoys the fruits of such *karmas*. Hence it is a knower (*jñātṛ*), an actor (*kartṛ*), and an enjoyer (*bhoktṛ*). It has knowledge of objects; it acts either to possess them or to avoid them; and, as a result of its action, is able to enjoy the fuirts thereof. Thus it is endowed with the triple nature of consciousness—conation, cognition, and affection or emotion. In this respect, the Jaina conception of Jīvātman is wholly different from the other views. For example, the Sāṁkhya conception of Puruṣa makes it the knower and the enjoyer, but not the actor. Jaina metaphysics makes the Ātman active in itself, and what it enjoys as *bhoktṛ* is merely be fruit of its own action which it performs as *kartṛ*.

Classes of Jīvas

Throughout the living kingdom, in the botanical and zoological world, life is found in association with matter. The association of Jīva with body, its *śarīra*, is an important characteristic of the concrete living world. Jīva in association with its body is quite different from Jīva in its pure state. The latter is called the pure Ātman and the former *saṁsārī jīva*. This *saṁsārī jīva*, in association with its appropriate body, is said to be of field according to their development. Jīvas, in the biological kingdom, are classified according to their development. Jaina philosophy divides the Jīvas in the world according to the principle of the development of the sense organs. The lowest class of Jīvas consists of *ekendriya jīvas*, or Jīvas having only one sense-organs. Then higher above, we have Jīvas with three *indriyas*. Then there are Jīvas with four *indriyas*, then *pañcendriya jīvas* or Jīvas with five sense-organs, and lastly, *samanaska*, i.e. *pañcendriya jīvas* with *manas* (mind). The first class refers to the vegetable kingdom which is considered to be a part of the living world. Trees and plants all the properties of living organisms, such as assimilation, growth and decay, and reproduction, they are endowed with only one sense organ—the awareness of touch. In addition to the recognition of the botanical world as a part of the biological world, the Jaina philosophy speaks of *sūkṣma ekendriya jīvas*, minute and microscopic organisms endowed with only one sense—the sense of touch. These generally exist in other bodies, and also in earth,

water, air, and light, on account of which such Jīvas are called *pṛthvī-kāyika*, *ap-kāyika*, *vāyu-kāyika*, and *tejas-kāyika*. This doctrine of *sūkṣma ekendriya jīvas*, with their respective places of existence, is entirely misunderstood by some scholars, who go to the extent of attributing to Jaina philosophy a primitive doctrine of animism that earth, water, air, etc. have their own souls.

Worms represent the second class of organisms with two senses—touch and taste. Ants represent the third class with touch, taste, and smell. Bees represent the fourth class with sight in addition to the three. Higher animals represent the fifth class having in addition the sense of hearing. Of course, man represents the highest of these classes, having mind in addition to the five senses.

Saṁsāra and Mokṣa

Again, Jīvas are of four main groups according to the four *gatis* (states of existence): *devas* or divine beings, *naras* or human beings, *nārakas* or denizens of hell, and *tiryaks* or the lower animals and the plant world. These four beings constitute *saṁsāra*, which is the result of kārmic bondage, according to which a particular Jīva will be born in any one of the *gatis*. *Mokṣa* or salvation consists in escaping from the sāṁsāric cycle of births and deaths in any one of these four *gatis* and reaching that safe haven where there is no birth and death. The Jīva that reaches this stage beyond *saṁsāra* attains the goal and realizes the Truth. It is pure Jīva or Ātman, otherwise known as *siddha jīva*. As long as a Jīva is in *saṁsāra*, it is bound by kārmic shackles which lead to the building up of a body for it, and the purity of its nature and strength of knowledge have no chance of complete manifestation. Its knowledge is limited, and nature deformed, accordingly it is bound by various *karmas*. Since there is no scope for its pure nature to manifest itself, it mainly depends upon the sense-organs as to instruction and acquiring knowledge, and its life is mainly determined by its environment consisting of objects presented to the senses. Naturally, it is attracted by the pleasures derived from the sense objects and repulsed by contrary feelings. Till the proper time comes, when it is able to realize its heritage of nobility and purity, it remains immersed in these sense pleasures which only make it move from one birth to another, from one *gati* to another, in an unending series of births and deaths.

Ajīva or Acetana Dravyas

The *dravyas* which belong to the non-living class, the *ajīva dravyas*, are : *pudgala*, *dharma*, *adharma*, *ākāśa* and *kāla*-matter, the principle of motion, the principle of rest, space, and time. All these are *acetana* (insentient) *dravyas*. *Pudgala* or matter is *mūrta dravya*, the corporeal category which can be perceived by the senses. It is associated with sense properties such as colour, taste, and smell. These consist of ultimate entities called atoms or *paramāṇus*. By the combination of these atoms, aggregates are formed which are called *skandha*. Thus the term '*skandha*' in Jaina metaphysics means quite a different thing from the Buddhistic *skandha*. These aggregates may range from the smallest molecule of two atoms to the most important and biggest aggregate or *mahā-skandha*, represented by the whole physical universe. Thus the constitution of the physical universe is entirely dependent upon the ultimate constituent elements, the *paramāṇus*.

The *pañca-bhūtas* (five elements) of the other systems are but examples of these aggregates of atoms. The *paramāṇu* or the ultimate atom cannot be perceived by the ordinary senses, so also the minute aggregates or the *skandhas*.

The peculiar doctrine of the Jaina metaphysics is the doctrine of kārmic matter, *karma*-prayoga pudgala-subtle material aggregates which form the basis for the building up of the subtle body (*kārmanṇa śarīra*) which is associated with every Jīva till the time of its liberation or *mokṣa*. The gross organic body, which is born of the parents, nourished by food, and subject to disease, decay, and death, is known as *audarika śarīra*-the body which is given birth to and is cast away by the Jīva associated with it at the time of death. But the Jīva cannot so cast away the *kārmaṇa śarīra* during its existence in *saṁsāra*. It is inevitably associated with every *saṁsārī jīva* throughout its career in the cycle of births and deaths. In fact, it is this kārmic body that is responsible for the sāṁsāric changes of Ātman which is in itself a pure *cetana dravya*. Its intrinsic purity is thus lost or diminished, because of its association with this kārmic body built up by the psychic activities of the soul itself. Conscious activities such as desires and emotions, according as they are healthy or unhealthy, act as causal conditions for the building up of the kārmic body which then becomes the vehicle for good or evil, and in its turn affects the nature of the psychic experience. Thus the interdependence between Jīva and the kārmic body, acting as cause and effect, each in its turn, continues to keep up the show of the sāṁsāric drama. But this should not be interpreted as fatalism, because the Jīva has in its unfathomable being a mighty potency transcending the limitations imposed upon it by its association with its kārmic body. Each person has the power and possibility of becoming an architect of his own destiny.

Jīva and *pudgala*, soul and matter, thus constitute the main *dravyas*. All activities in the world are ultimately traceable to these two entities. Hence they are called active principles, *sakriya-dravyas-dravyas* which are capable of acting. The other *drvayas-dharma, adharma, ākāśa,* and *kāla* are called *niṣkriya-dravyas-dravyas* without intrinsic activities. Of these, *ākāśa* refers to space. Its only function is to accommodate the other *dravyas*. Space, according to Jaina metaphysics, is infinite in extent. That portion of *ākāśa* which accommodates the concrete world with its *saṁsārī jīvas* and *pudgala* is called *loka-ākāśa*-space accommodating the world. The space beyond, where there is neither matter nor soul, is called *aloka-ākāśa*—the space beyond the world. Thus the physical universe is supposed to have a definite structure, within which are accommodated all the Jīvas and all the *pudgal skandhas* and *paramāṇus*. *Dharma* and *adharma*, the principle of motion and the principle of rest, are two categories peculiar to Jaina metaphysics, and not found in any other Indian system. The two pervade the whole of *loka*-ākāśa. They do not extend beyond it. Subtle and imperceptible in themselves, they are endowed with important properties of serving as conditions for motion or rest. Movement in the world is associated with either a Jīva or *pudgala*, these being *sakriya dravyas*. But while life and matter are both capable of moving of their own accord determined by appropriate operative causal conditions, their movement is dependent upon the presence of the non-operative principle called *dharma*. Remaining in itself non-operative, this *dharma dravya* serves as a condition for making movement possible; and the illustration generally given is the presence of water for the movement of fish. When a

fish swims, the movement is due to an operative cause present in itself. Nevertheless, swimming would be impossible without the presence of water.

Similarly, when a moving object, living or non-living, comes to rest, it is necessary to have the presence of an opposite principle. Such a principle, determining rest, is *dharma dravya*. This also is a non-operative condition of rest. A moving object coming to rest is the result of an operative condition present in itself. A bird must cease to beat its wings so that its flight may come to a stop. But the stopping of activity requires a further condition. A bird ceasing to fly must perch on the branch of a tree or on the ground. Just as the branch of a tree or the ground serves as a non-operative condition of rest, the presence of the *adharma* principle serves as a condition for the moving objects to come to rest.

Without these two principles of *dharma* and *adharma*, there would be no definite structure of the world. The cosmos would disintegrate into primordial atoms, which might spread throughout the whole of infinite space. There would be no distinction between *loka* and *aloka*, the world and the beyond. There would be no permanent constitution of the world. Without constancy in the structure of the world, there would be nothing left but chaos. Hence what sustains the world as world, and what prevents the distintegration of the world into a chaos, is the presence of these two principles.

The last *dravya* is *kāla* or time. In Jaina metaphysics, time is a necessary category of existence. The whole world consisting of matter and soul is in a process of change, either evolution or involution. Changes involving growth and decay constitute the very nature of the concrete world. The process of change without time would be unintelligible and must be dismissed as illusory. Since the concrete world, cannot be dismissed as illusory, the category of time must be postulated as a necessary condition of change. *Kāla dravya* consists of moments or *kāla-paramāṇus* which constitute a time series having only the relation of before and after. There can be no simultaneous moments in the time series. The *vyāvahārika* or conventional time is the time which we use in our social life, the durations being measured by the movements of the sun and moon. This is of different durations, according to different measures, and ranges from the shortest *nimiṣa* to the longest *yuga*.

Kārmic Body

We have noticed already that throughout its sāṁsāric life the Jīva is associated with a kārmic body, which forms the nucleus around which the grosser bodies are built up. According to this conception, the building up of the kārmic body forms the foundation for life in *saṁsāra* and the disintegration of the kārmic body constitutes the final liberation of the Jīva. The process of building up of the kārmic body and the plan of breaking it up are important aspects of metaphysical truth. *Jīva* and *ajīva*, the primary entities, are brought together to build up the body appropriate to each Jīva in the following process : *Āsrava*, which means 'flowing in', of kārmic molecules that are attracted by a Jīva, according to its characteristic psychic experience, is the main basis of the building up of the kārmic body, which like the cocoon of a silkworm, surrounds the Jīva and acts as an impediment against the free manifestation of its intrinsic qualities.

Āsrava leads to the next stage *bandha*, when the kārmic matter gets settled, or fixed up, in the kārmic body. This *karma*-bondage is of various intensity and duration. So long as the Jīva is not alive to its own intrinsic properties, and so long as it identifies itself with objects alien to itself, the building up of the kārmic cocoon goes on interminably. But when the Jīva realizes its nature as distinct from the material world, it endeavours to extricate itself from the trammels of *saṁsāra*, the root cause of which is the kārmic body.

The first step in extricating oneself from the shackles is called *saṁvara*, putting a stop to the inflow of kārmic matter. This is done by developing an appropriate mental attitude characterized by freedom from the attractions of sense objects and concentration upon one's own nature. In other words, yogic meditation or *tapas* is the necessary condition for preventing the flowing in of fresh kārmic matter. When this is achieved, the *yogin* turns his attention to the kārmic deposits already present in his kārmic body. By concentrated attention and endeavour to realize one's own true nature through *tapas*, the bondage of already deposited kārmic matter is loosened and finally shaken off. This process by which the kārmic body gradually gets disintegrated by the attack on its intensity and duration is technically called *nirjarā*. When the *āsrava* of new kārmic matter is shut out by *saṁvara*, and the old kārmic matter, already present, crumbles and disintegrates through *nirjarā*, the kārmic body gradually gets attenuated and finally disappears. Side by side, the intrinsic qualities of the Ātman get expressed more and more, till it shines in full luminosity, in infinite greatness and infinite glory, which state represents final liberation or *mokṣa*. Then the sāṁsāric Jīva, by the process of destroying all the *karmas*, becomes Paramātman, the pure soul with infinite knowledge, power, and bliss. These stages represent critical periods in the life-history of the soul.

Different Classifications of Categories

Technically, *āsrava, bandha, saṁvara, nirjarā,* and *mokṣa* together with the primary entities, *jīva* and *ajīva*, constitute the seven *tattvas* (principles). If we add the two mental attainments, *puṇya* and *pāpa* (virtue and vice), to these, we get the nine *padārthas* (categories). Thus we have in Jaina metaphysics the five *astikāyas*, the six *dravyas*, the seven *tattvas*, and the nine *padārthas*, classified from different standpoints.

II. Jaina Logic and Theory of Knowledge

We have already seen that, in Jaina metaphysics, *jñāna* is an intrinsic property of the Jīva, and that it gets clouded in the state of *saṁsāra* by the kārmic body. As such the process of knowing must be interpreted to be the process of the manifestation of the intrinsic nature of the Jīva. *Jñāna* or knowledge is of five different kinds according to the stages of the spiritual development of the soul, viz. *mati, śruta, avadhi, manaḥ-paryāya*, and *kevala*. *Mati jñāna* refers to the ordinary process of sense experience, which is generally conditioned by perception through the sense-organs and the inferential knowledge based thereon. *Śruta jñānā* is the knowledge revealed by the scripture, the scripture itself being revealed to the world by the Sarvajña. *Avadhi jñāna* corresponds to what is known as clairvoyance. It is a kind of extra-sensory perception, not ordinarily

available to all persons, though it is latent in everyone. Through the instrument of extra-sensory perception, one may actually see events taking place in a distant land or at a distant time. *Manaḥ-paryāya jñāna* refers to the knowledge of thoughts in other minds. It has direct access to the mind of other persons, and this capacity arises only as a result of *yoga* or *tapas*. *Kevala jñāna* refers to the infinite knowledge which the soul attains as the result of complete liberation or *mokṣa*. These are the five kinds of *jñāna* which constitute the *pramāṇas* (instruments of knowledge). Of these, the first two are described as *parokṣa jñāna*—knowledge derived through an intervening medium. The other three are called *pratyakṣa jñāna*—knowledge derived through direct perception by the soul without any intervening medium.

It is the function of these *pramāṇas* to reveal the nature of objects in reality. The external world revealed through these *pramāṇas* consists of real objects, and hence should not be dismissed as illusory. In this respect, the Jaina theory of knowledge rejects the theory of Māyā of Advaitism, as well as the Buddhistic doctrine of illusoriness of the objective world. The fucntion of *jñāna* is merely to reveal, on the one hand, the objective reality which is already existing, and also to reveal itself, on the other hand. Knowledge therefore is like a lamp, which, on account of its luminosity, reveals other objects as well as itself. The external objects so known are independent, in as much as they exist by themselves, and yet are related to knowledge as they are revealed by it. Similarly, the soul is both the subject and the object of knowledge in one. Inner experience reveals this nature of the soul, which is a *cetana* (conscious) entity.

The logical doctrine of Jaina philosophy forms the most important aspect of that school. The fundamental principle of this logical doctrine implies the possibility of a positive and negative predication about the same thing. This doctrine is generally referred to as *asti-nāsti*, is and is not. According to Jaina logic, affirmative predication about a thing depends upon four conditions—*svadravya, svakṣetra, svakāla* and *svabhāva*, i.e. its own substance, its own locality, its own time or duration, and its own nature or modification. Correspondingly, the negative predication about the same thing is conditioned by the four things of an opposite nature—*paradravya, parakṣetra, parakāla* and *parabhāva*, i.e. other substance, other locality, other time, and other nature. This ornament is made of gold, and it is not made of any other metal—are two obvious predications about the same gold ornament, the affirmation (asti) from the point of view of itself (*svadravya*) and the negation (*nāsti*) from the point of view of other substances (*paradravya*). Similarly, it may be said, Socrates was born in Athens, and he was not born in Rome-affirmative predication from *svakṣetra* and negative predication from *parakṣetra* point of view, both referring to the same individual. Likewise, we may affirm the historical period of an individual when we refer to his proper time in history (*svakāla*), and deny his relationship to any other period of time (*parakāla*). Tennyson lived in the Victorian age, and he did not live in the Elizabethan period. In the same way, the last condition, *bhāva* or mode may be explained. Charles I died on the scaffold, and he did not die in his bed.

From these examples, it is quite obvious that both affirmative and negative predications are possible about the same thing from different points of view. From the

same point of view, certainly it would be absurd to talk of affirmation and negation. The affirmative predication is conditioned by one aspect and the negative predication is conditioned by another. It is this difference of aspect that makes the *asti-nāsti* doctrine quite reasonable and enables us to have an affirmative and negative predication about the same object of reality. It may be urged that both *asti* and *nāsti*, affirmation and negation, being applicable to the same thing, the doctrine has to apply even to non-existent things such as the sky-flower and rabbit's horns, and that they too exist in some way, since what can accommodate the negative predication that it is not must also accommodate the positive predication that it is. The reply is that the *asti-nāsti* doctrine is applicable only to existing reals. It is only in the case of an existing reality that one can talk of *svadravya* and *paradravya*, *svakṣetra* and *parakṣetra*, etc. But in the case of a non-existing thing, one cannot apply these different points of view, and hence the doctrine is not applicable to absolute non-entities, but only to the reals.

Based upon this principle is the doctrine of *saptabhaṅgī*, the seven modes of predication. In order to speak of something in relation to its own substance or locality, time or mode, affirmation or *asti* is needed, while in relation to another substance or locality, time or mode, negation or *nāsti* is to be used. If both the aspects are to be spoken of, then both *asti* and *nāsti* are to be used, but one after another. Again, if both the aspects, affirmative and negative, in the same predication, are to be expressed, it becomes inexpressible by language—it is *avaktavya*. These are the four initial modes of predication in the group of *saptabhaṅgī*. By attaching the fourth term '*avaktavya*' to each of the first three, we arrive at the seven modes of predication : *asti, nāsti, asti-nāsti, avaktavya, asti-avaktavya, nāsti-avaktavya*, and *asti-nāsti—avavya*. These are the only seven possible modes of predication that we can have.

Is it possible to make the predication in each case in an absolute sense? Jaina logic does not recognize any such absolute predication. The nature of reality does not admit of it. Any real substance, since it embodies in itself the qualities as well as its modifications, must be described as something permanent in the midst of change, an identity in the midst of difference. One cannot describe a thing as absolutely unchanging permanence, or absolute change without permanence. Similarly, one cannot assert that the qualities are absolutely distinct from the thing, nor that they are absolutely identical, since reality is by nature an identity in the midst of diversity, unity in the midst of multiplicity, permanence in the midst of change. Since reality, while maintaining its identical nature, expresses itself through multiple forms, it is *anaikāntātmata*. A true apprehension of its nature must recognize this aspect of reality and hence should reject any type of absolute predication. It is because of this that Jaina *darśana* is called Anekāntavāda, as opposed to other *darśanas* which are Ekāntavāda. Since absolute predication is impossible, Jaina logic recognized only relative predication. Thus the term '*syāt*', which literally means '*perhaps*', is prefixed to the predication, and it implies from one point of view. It is added on to the seven modes of predication referred to in the doctrine of *saptabhaṅgī*, viz. *syādasti, syānnāsti*, and so on. This doctrine is therefore called by the names Saptabhaṅgī and Syādvāda.

III. Jaina Ethics

The most important teaching of Jainism is Mokṣa-mārga (path to salvation). *Samyak darśana* (right faith), *samyak jñāna* (right knowledge), and *samyak cārtia* (right conduct), known as *ratnatraya* (the three jewels), together constitute the path to salvation. They are wholly different from the Bhakti-mārga of the Bhāgavatas, Jñāna-mārga of the Vedāntins, and Karma-mārga of the Mīmāṁsakas. Unlike these religious schools, which lays all the emphasis either on *bhakti*, or *jñāna*, or *karma*, as means of salvation, Jainism holds that all the three must co-exist in a person, if he is to walk along the path of salvation. The Jaina commentators make the meaning quite clear by bringing in the analogy of medicine as a curative of some malady. Faith in its efficacy, knowledge of its use, and actual taking of the medicine-all these three must be present if a cure is to be effected. In the same way, the universal malady of sāṁsāric misery, which every soul is suffering from, can be cured by this triple panacea, the *ratnatraya*, when accepted as a mixture of the three principles of right faith, right knowledge, and right conduct. If any one element is missing, the other two, though each is valuable in itself, would be useless.

There are two courses of moral discipline or conduct according to Jaina ethics, one prescribed for the householder and the other for the homeless *sannyāsin*. In both cases, the code of morals is based upon the doctrine of *ahiṁsā*. The path of righteousness of *dharma* consists of the *ratnatraya*. *Dharma* would be incomplete if any one of these is wanting.

Of these three, the first, *saṃyak darśana* or right faith, is the basis of conduct and the important starting point in the religious life of a Jain. In order to possess an unwavering faith, the Jaina householder is expected to get rid of the three types of superstitious ignorance and the eight kinds of haughtiness or arrogance. The three types of superstitious ignorance are the three *mūḍhas—loka-mūḍha*, *deva-mūḍha*, and *pāṣaṇḍi-mūḍha*. The first refers to the general superstition among people that by bathing in the so-called sacred rivers, or climbing up the hills, or walking through fire one acquires sanctity. The second refers to the belief of the people in the powers of gods and goddesses who are endowed with human qualities and human emotions, and to the propitiation of such gods and goddesses with the object of securing certain selfish ends. The third refers to devotion to certain false ascetics and acceptance of their teaching as gospel truth. Freedom from these three types of superstitions is the primary condition of right faith. One who has the right faith must be free from the eight types of arrogance, for humility is a necessary condition for entering the kingdom of God. These eight are : arrogance of (1) the possession of intelligence; (2) the ability to conduct a grand type of temple worship; (3) noble family; (4) caste; (5) physical or mental strength; (6) magical powers; (7) *tapas* or *yoga;* and (8) the beauty of one's person.

The householder, thus equipped with right faith and right knowledge, must observe the five *vratas* or abstinences : *ahiṁsā*, *satya*, *asteya*, *brahmacarya*, and *aparigraha*, i.e. he must be free from cruelty, untruth, theft, unchastity, and avarice and unnecessary luxury. They are called *aṇuvratas*, the minor code of morals, when they are of limited application, and when they are applied without limitation, they become *mahāvratas*,

the major code of morals, which are prescribed for the *yatis* or homeless ascetics. Every householder is expected to practise these five *vratas* according to his capacity. He has to pass through eleven stages or grades of a householder's life before he can enter the life of an ascetic.

The first *vrata, ahiṁsā,* means not injuring or hurting in any way any living being, an animal or even an insect, either by thought, word, or deed. It includes forbidding from binding them cruelly with ropes, thus preventing free movement, compelling them to carry burdens beyond their capacity, and not feeding them properly. It is not enough if he does not himself directly injure; he should neither cause injury through an agent, nor indirectly approve of the conduct of others when they indulge in such an act of cruelty. The second *vrata,* not to utter falsehood, is quite obvious. But it is interesting to note that even speaking truth which results in injury to others should be avoided. Thus it is clear that this principle is subordinated to the principle of *ahiṁsā,* which is the primary principle. This second *vrata* of *satya* includes refraining from teaching false doctrines with the object of misleading people; openly proclaiming from sheer wantonness certain secrets such as those pertaining to the private life of people; scandalmongering out of envy; sending anonymous letters containing mischievous insinuations; and suppressing the truth for the purpose of deceiving others. The third vow, *asteya* or non-stealing, has to be interpreted in the same comprehensive manner. A thing may be left by one due to forgetfulness; it may accidentally fall on the road. Such things belonging to others should not be taken possession of, for it may amount to stealing others property. This principle also forbids indirect stealing in five different ways : instigating a person to go and steal in somebody's house, receiving stolen property, accompanying a victorious army in a military campaign with the object of looting the enemy's town, using fraudulent weights and measures, and adulterating things in selling them. The fourth principle, *brahmacarya,* refers to chastity or sex-purity in thought, word, and deed. The last vow, *aparigraha,* refers to limiting one's attachment to wealth and other worldly possessions-*parimita parigraha.* Inordinate longing for worldly goods will never result in contentment and happiness. It prevents spiritual harmony and peace in life. Hence even a householder has to reduce his wants and limit his desires, if he is to pursue his spiritual career and not be altogether lost in the world.

The State of the Homeless

The *pañca aṇuvratas* are but the probation for the *pañca mahāvratas.* The discipline for the householder is specially intended to liberate him from the domestic ties which bind him to his wife and children, to his land and wealth. After completing this period of probation, the householder evidently is expected to enter into a wider realm of activity as an ascetic *yogin.* His love and sympathy, liberated from the sphere of domestic environment, will thereafter become available for the whole living creation. He quits the house to make the whole realm of nature his abode. He has no roof to live under except the star-bespangled canopy of the heavens. The *yogin* has to observe certain principles and adopt certain courses of conduct appropriate to his new surroundings. Since he has no need to associate himself with the ordinary social

occupations, he limits his words and thoughts and refrains from indulging in useless and unnecessary activities. An ordinary person is generally a slave of his emotions; and his behaviour becomes characterized by harshness of speech, hastiness of movement, and general excitment. But in the case of the *yogin*, who has conquered such emotions through *dhyāna* (meditation), gentleness of behaviour comes naturally. His words are soft and soothing; the movements of his limbs are gentle and peaceful. In his presence, timid birds and animals will muster courage, and even wild animals will lose their ferocity.

Thus equipped with an internal peace and harmony, the *yogin* carries about him a spirit full of melody. His whole discipline aims at the conquest of the environment. His pride consists in being unshaken by its changes. His thoughts are fixed on higher and nobler things. The body which may be a source of inconvenience and trouble to the ordinary man ceases to be such in the case of a *yogin*. For, in his case, the body derives its strength and vitality from the inner strength and vitality of the Spirit. To one who carries in himself the universal panacea, there can be neither disease nor decay. This conquest of the environment, including his own body, carries him through the threshold of a newer world, where he enjoys a happiness far surpassing the pleasures of the senses, and he secures the peace that passeth understanding. The ordinary conventions which are made so much of by the man of the world are completely discarded by the superman, the *yogin*. Hence his words and actions become unintelligible to the people at large. He has secured the citizenship of ship of the reality, whereas they are still living in the realm of shadows.

Message of Jainism

The pleasures of a *deva*, however great they be, must end some day. Even Devendra, the king of the gods, with all his greatness, can never enter the kingdom of God, if by the latter is meant that spiritual liberation implied by the term *mokṣa*. He must become a man before he can think of Heaven. For man forms the 'way in' for that paradise wherein is situated the temple of spiritual freedom. This embodies an important truth, viz. that man's heritage as man is far superior to any other riches in the world. It is this wonderful spiritual heritage of man that Naciketas would have from the lord of Death, in preference to the overlordship of the three worlds offered to him. It is this heritage again that Maitreyī preferred to all the accumulated wealth which was offered by her husband, Yājñavalkya. Again, it is to inherit this Kingdom that prince Siddhārtha cast away his father's kingdom as worthless and put on the mendicant's robe, in preference to the royal crown. This is the message of Jainism to mankind. 'Be a man first and last, for the Kingdom of God belongs to the son of Man'. It is this same truth that is proclaimed in unmistakable terms by the Upaniṣadic text '*Tat tvam asi*' (Thou art That).

REFERENCES

1. In the matter of the religious scriptures, there is some difference of opinion between the two sects of the Jains—the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras. About the time of the Maurya emperor Candragupta, on account of a terrible famine in North India, a large body of Jaina ascetics under the leadership of Bhadrabāhu, with his royal disciple Candragupta, who renounced his kingdom and joined the party, migrated to the South for the purpose of obtaining support

and sustenance during the period of the famine. But a large section of the Jaina ascetics stayed behind in North India. When the body of ascetics who migrated to the South returned home to the North, after the famine conditions had been over, they found that their brethren who stayed at home had changed their habits very much. On account of this change of habits, there arose a cleavage between the two, which is supposed to be the origin of a schism within the community resulting in the two sections—the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras—, the former school associated with those that stayed at home and the latter championed by those who migrated towards the South. The books preserved by the northern group were not accepted as authoritative by the Digambaras, who maintained that the original texts revealed by the *tīrthaṅkarā-parameṣṭhin* and preserved by the succession of teachers were lost completely, and what the Śvetāmbaras claimed as the authoritative texts were spurious substitutes for the lost originals. This controversy still persists between these two groups. Of course, this contention of the Digambaras is not accepted by the Śvetāmbaras, who claim that their texts are quite valid, inasmuch as they represent the originals.

2. About the time of the Conference at Pāṭaliputra, after the twelve years' famine, *Dṛṣṭivāda* was lost, and the Śvetāmbaras therefore recognized only eleven. But the Digambara tradition which is followed in South India recognizes all the twelve.
3. For a different account and classification of the canonical works, see *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, VII. p. 467 (Jainism)—Ed.
4. *Samyag-darśanā-jñānā-cāritrāṇi mokṣā-mārgāḥ* (*Tattvārthādhigama-Sūtra* of Umāsvāmin. The Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah).

The Great Apostle of Peace and Non-violence

The birth of Lord Mahavira is unique in the History of India and of Human culture as it commemorates the birth of a Great Teacher of Humanity, an Apostle who delivered a message of Hope and Happiness for all time to come. Lord Mahavira is known to world history as a close contemporary of Buddha in India, Confucius in China and Socrates in Greece. All of them were great wise men who revealed human values of supreme importance and revolutionized human thought and culture by their philosophies. But Lord Mahavira is distinguished by his great gift to humanity in the form of the highest ethical virtue of *Ahimsa,* which has become of first rate importance in the world affairs now. It is therefore necessary to take an account of the life and teachings of this great world figure on the occasion of his 2600th birthday.

Eastern India has been the seene of philosophical thought and activities since times immemorial. It was here that the supreme spiritual thought contained in the Upanishads was born with the Shramanas' cry of revolt against the animal sacrifices which formed an integral part of the Vedic religion marching slowly on towards the East with Aryan expansion. The Kshatriya nobility infused with a belief in the spiritual unity between men and animals, and conscious of their chivalrous duties to protect the sinless and punish the guilty, were the first to be aroused by the pitiful groaning of the innumerable innocent creatures led to the sacrificial altar in the name of religion. The ruling family of Vaishali belonged to one of these Kshatriya dynasties. The prince of *Kundapur* named *Siddhartha* was the son-in-law of *Chetaka* the king of Vaishali, and a brother-in-law of Shrenika Bimbisara, the Emperor of Magadha. It was this prince *Siddhartha* and his wife *Trishala* who were destined to be the parents of the Greatest Man of the Age, namely Lord Mahavira.

The site where Mahavira was born is now mostly in ruins. It is identified with a village called Basarh (a corruption of the ancient name Vaishali) in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar, where an institution has come up for the study of the teachings of Mahavira and the Prakrit literature which preserves them. The young prince was brought up with the usual care in the palace and was imparted the best education of his age. But the growth of years did not promote in him the usual love of royalty. He felt impelled to devote himself to a life of austerity suited for the relief of human suffering and guidance towards supreme realisation. Mahavira left the palace at the

age of thirty. For the next twelve years he devoted himself to a life of severe discipline as a monk. Even the slightest article of luxury and comfort he considered to be a botheration and a hindrance in the way of spiritual pursuits. He therefore assumed nakedness and came to be known as Nigranta or Achela (the clothless). It is by these epithets that Mahavira is mentioned in the most ancient Pali texts of Buddhism which assume Jainism as a well established religion and Mahavira a well recognised teacher. It must, in this connection, be remembered that Mahavira was by no means the first to practise this form of austerity. The most ancient Indian book, the *Rigveda* itself records the existence of the *Vata-rashana* (air-clad) sages and some of their practises are described there. It was in the line of these Vata-rashana Munis according to the Bhagavata Purana, that Rishabhadeva was born as the fifth in direct descent from Svayambhu Manu. The Jaina tradition is that Rishabhadeva was the first *Tirthamakara* who was followed by twentyone others at vast intervals before Mahavira appeared on the scene as the twentyfourth Tirthamkara. The twenty-second Tirthamkara is known to be *Neminatha*, the cousin of Krishna Vasudeva of the Mahabharata fame. He practised penances at Girnar. The hill of that name in Kathiawar is still held sacred to him and is adorned with a large number of magnificent Jaina temples. The twenty-third Tirthamkara is *Parshvanatha* who was born at Banaras and practised penances at Smmeda-shikhara in Bihar, which continues to be the msot sacred place of pilgrimage for the Jainas and is popularly known as the Parshvanatha hill.

At the beginning of indological studies by Western scholars Mahavira was hopelessly confused with Buddha. Later, when in the light of further evidences his personality could not be so drowned, his system of religion was considered to be an offshoot of Buddhism. It ultimately Dr. Herman Jacobi's researches in to Jaina and Buddhist literary traditions which established beyond doubt that Jainism was not only independent of Buddhism, but Mahavira was a senior contemporary of Buddha, That Mahavira only revived a faith which was already current in his time, his own parents being adherents of that faith. It was also proved that the Jaina tradition regarding the twenty-third Tirthamkara Parshvanatha having preached 250 years before Mahavira was true. The high priests of the Vedic cult were known as Brahmanas while the Jaina asceties were called Sharmanas. The latter did not accept the authority of the Vedas, denounced Vedic sacrifices, entertained no faith in divine favour or disfavour, and did not subscribe to the Varnashrama system of social distinctions. The independance of the two orders was as complete as their antagonism at the earliest stage, and this is attested by the authority of the grammarians of the Paninian school who illustrated a rule of compound formation of words signifying irreconcilable opposition (*Yasham cha virodhah shashvatikah*) by the example of *Sharmana-Brahmanam*.

Mahavira was thus the twenty-fourth and the last Tirthamkara of the Jainas. He practised absolute abstention from worldly possessions and preached Ahimsa on the eve of the historical period of Indian history. He devoted twelve years to the disciplining of his body and mind "away from the vibrations of the coach-horn and public opinion". He lived on alms of food offered unasked and contemplated about supreme realities in the peace and quiotude of the forest. The realisation dawned on him and he became a *Kevali* (supremely enlightened). He then reached *Rajagraha* the Magadha capital, and

delivered his first sermon on the *Vipulachala*, a hill in its vicinity, which is still held sacred for that event. The Magadha emperor Shrenika Bimbisara attended on him and put numerous questions concerning the Shramanic traditions. The same were replied by his chief disciple Gautama Indrabhuti, and most of the Jaina puranas and narrative tales begin with an account of his meeting as their preamble. Mahavira then undertook a wide tour through out the length and breadth of northern India. He preached to large masses of people who listened to him with interest, accepted his teachings with faith and practised the same according to their taste and capacity. He organised his followers in a four-fold *Samgha*, Muni, Aryika, Shravaka and Shravika (Monks, Nuns, laymen and lay-women). He continued to preach for a period of thirty years, before he threw off his mortal coil and attained *Nirvana* at the age of seventy-two years, at a place called *Pava*. The site which is now held sacred to the memory of his Nirvana is *Pavapuri* situated close to Bihar Shareef and not very far from Nalanda and Rajgir. A fine temple with water all round exists at the site, and thousands of devotees go to this temple all round the year, but particularly on the fourteenth of the dark fortnight of Karttika to perform the Nirvana worship. According to the Jaina tradition of very ancient origin, the most popular Indian festival the *Deepa-malika* or *Divali* was instituted in memory of Lord Mahavira's Nirvana.

The teachings of Lord Mahavira constitute the Jaina religion which owns about two million followers today. The religion is characterised by a special emphasis upon the freedom of the individual as the architect of his own fate, his moral responsibility for his deeds, synthesis of thought and ideas in arriving at the truth, and *Ahimsa* as the highest ethical virtue. All living beings possess indestructable soul capable of developing and evolving itself by a process of purification in to a *Paramatma*, higher than whom there is none. Each individual is fully responsible for his deeds, mental, vocal and physical, and these three-fold activities have a power in themselves to forget spiritual bonds capable of producing all the multifold events and experiences incidental to this life as well as the next, without the intervention of any other divine agency. The idea is fully explained in the Jaina Law of *Karma* pursuit of Truth is the key to salvation, and truth could never be known by being fanatic or dogmatic. The way to it lies through *Anekanta* according to which all seemingly warring notions and ideas are only the various aspects of a single reality which is many-sided. Understand them and fit them into their proper places and you will get unity, harmony, consistency and completeness which otherwise appear to be unattainable.

Lord Mahavira's teachings, however, reach their pinnacle of glory in his message of *Ahimsa* (Non-violence) as the supreme ethical and moral virtue. All living beings are fellow travellers on the path of Salvation. As such no one has a right to come in the path of another, or cause any hindrance by any kind of violence or injury. A gentleman has been defined as one who has no tendency to do violence to others. Mahavira has tried to transform all into gentlemen of this nature. The moral principle of Ahimsa applied judiciously would purify all fields of human activity including social, political and economic spheres. 'Live and let live' is the sum and substance of Ahimsa. Peaceful coexistence in individual as well as national and inter-national spheres is a message of hope to humanity held out by this principle of Ahimsa. Although Ahimsa has been the

creed of the followers of Lord Mahavira for thousands of years, its practice was confined to the narrow limits of religion. It was given to *Mahatma Gandhi* to apply the principle of Ahimsa effectively in the domain of political struggle for national independance. When that was achieved it became the fortune of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to accept Ahimsa as the basic foundation of Indian Culture, as well as the correct solution of all the political and economic strife that threatens to obliterate humanity itself today. If mankind has to be saved from annihilation, if civilization has to be safeguarded against complete devastation and if progress of knowledge and happiness is to be assured uninterrupted, then the race for armament and competition in devising destructive weapons has to be stopped. Human genius must immediately be diverted from the process of self-immolation which is already started. The genius must now assert itself to arrest the game of suicide. A new force, afresh power and potency must be ushered in to restore human understanding and create confidence in human destiny. Moral force has to be substituted for the military force *Ahimsa* is the proper weapon to use against the prevailing evil. Ahimsa must characterize all national planning and international adjustment. That is the best way to alleviate human suffering and liquidate destructive situations.

Non-aggression, non-interference, respect for the freedom of others, mutual cooperation in peaceful pursuits, renouncing destructive weapons and utilizing knowledge for promotion of happiness and alleviation of suffering are only the positive and negative aspects of Ahimsa in its application to social behaviour of individuals as well as nations. For the propagation of these noble objectives and ideals, there could be no better occasion than the Birth Anniversary of the Great Apostle of Ahimsa, Lord Mahavira, whose message has been ringing in this land for twenty-six centuries. It would also be in the fitness of things if in response to the popular demand Lord Mahavira's Birth Day is also declared a Public Holiday throughout the country and utilized for the spread of his noble teachings based on *Ahimsa*. A time may soon come, let us hope, when the teachings of Lord Mahavira will be accepted universally as the best way to the goal of happiness and peace not only in this land or that, but throughout the *World*.

Buddha and Mahavira

It is a great pleasure to me to accord my most cordial welcome and greetings, on behalf of myself as well as of the entire brotherhood of the Jain faith, to all the followers of Lord Buddha the world over and particularly those who have come to India and to Delhi to participate in the Buddha Jayanti celebrations and share with us the great joy that we fell on this occasion. As we all know the occasion is of supreme importance from the point of view of Indian culture and world civilisation. What Lord Buddha had done for the betterment of our country and now his teachings had enriched human culture practically the world over during the last twenty six centuries needs no elaboration from me on this occasion. It would be enough to say that India is still supremely proud of Buddha as one of its greatest sons and practically the whole of Asia feels the thrill of joy and enlightenment imparted by his teachings.

The Jain brotherhood as a whole feels particularly happy on this occasion because LordBuddha was an expression of that Shramana idelogy which played a very important part in ancient Indian civilisation and which was also the rockbed of Jainism. Students of Indian history would recall from the most ancient Vedic literature and the immortal records of Emperor Ashoka that at the earliest period of our history there were only two cultural and religious organisations, the Brahmanic and the Shramanic and the earliest form of Jainism belonged to the latter class (or group). During the sixth century B.C. it was within this Sharmana sangha that there arose Vardhamana, the Mahavira and Gotama, the Buddha. Both sons of ruling princes, they renounced the pleasures of royalty and adopted the life of poverty in the service of mankind as was the Sharmana ideal custom of those days. It is interesting to note how the two great minds drinking deep at the fountain of the sharmana culture struck two original lines of thought. Lord Mahavira thought the monastic practices of his time were not strict enough to secure a complete detachment from worldly objects. He therefore insisted upon absolute poverty including the renouncement of all forms of clothing. He became Achela (naked) and prescribed the same rule for all his followers who should not possess anything even worth a sesameseed or hush and should abjure all dress. Thus he was responsible for making the monastic practices of the Sharmanas more rigorous so as to conform to the Nigganatha creed.

Lord Buddha's experience and line of thought was different. Having fasted for many days, he became so weak that he fainted. Awaking from the unconscious state

he put to himself the question : Is this self inflicted suffering necessary for one's own purification or the betterment of others? His own answer to it was an emphatic 'No'. Unnecessary selfinflication appeared to him to be the other extreme of sensual pleasures. He thought of abstaining from both these extremes and prescribed the golden 'Middle Path'-the 'Madhyama Pratipada' to be the norm of life for his followers. This was Buddha's enlightenment which he superimposed upon the Sharmana creed and this started a new organisation of his followers.

This split of the Shramana Sangha headed by the two Shramanas had very far reaching consequences. It may appear to be a tragedy, but judging from the results it is found to have been as it were designed by a hidden hand of destiny for fulfilling a great purpose. Buddhism and Jainism became two strong arms of the Sharmanas, the one extended to the surrounding countries, north, east and south, transforming the shape of religion and culture there; the other arm kept confined to the homeland introducing a fresh outlook and adding new virtues to the Aryan culture. Consequently we find today millions and millions of people in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Tibet, China and Japan adhering to the faith of Buddhism and paying homage to Lord Buddha. Similarly in India the Vedic rituals involving animal sacrifice are heard no more, Ahimsa has become firmly rooted in the minds of men and now forms the foundation stone of our national and international relationships and the Varnashrama distinctions have ceased to hold the ground in our social life. The adoption of Ahimsa by Mahatma Gandhi as an instrument for solving all our social and political problems, and the formulation of the Panchashila by our Primeminister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for purposes of coexistence, prove beyond doubt the worth of the fundamental principles for which Jainism has struggled all these centuries. The two arms of the Sharmana Sangha have thus accomplished a good deal and are now converging together as if for a mutual clap on their achievements.

It would however be wrong to think that Jainism has played the full game and could now retire from the field. Our country and the world still needs certain virtues which Jainism wants to offer. It is true that the principle of Ahimsa has been widely accepted but not yet the whole of it. It is yet mostly confined to human relationship. The Jain faith is that all forms of life including the lower animals and birds deserve human sympathy and freedom from violence.

Jainism would still like to continue its efforts to universalize its philosophy of Anekanta. We have yet to promote the mental attitude of recognising the elements of truth in all struggling ideas and warring idealogies and reconciling them in our practical affairs, whether individual or social, national or international. This would pave the way for a real brotherhood of mankind and universal peace. It would be a calamity if Jainism is allowed to go into oblivion without accomplishing this task as well. For the fulfilment of these objectives it is a very helpful sign that our government is affording us the fullest opportunities. Coming as I do for the present from the state of Bihar, I am happy to inform this meeting, if information was still wanting, that the government of Bihar has established three institutions of Postgraduate studies and research, the Mithila Institute for Vedic and Sanskrit, the Nalanda Institute for Pali and Buddhism and the Vaishali Institute for Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa. As we all know, the sacred land

of Bihar had a very special hand in building up the composite culture of our country. The upanishadic philosophy was born in Mithila, at the court of Janaka and the two great Sharmanas Buddha and Mahavira were the citizens of Bihar where both of them obtained their enlightenment and preached to the masses for the most part of their carrear as teachers. I am happy to say that the establishment of the Prakrit Jain Institute had been made possible by a very liberal donation from the patron of this seminar Sahu Santi Prasad Jain who is now devoting his attention towards the necessary buildings at Vaishali. Meanwhile the institute has started functioning at Muzaffarpur where more than a dozen graduates are being prepared for the M.A. examination of the university of Bihar in Prakrit and Jainology. The institute is also planning research in the various fields of Jainology and particularly in a comparative study of the Jain and Buddhist texts which were inspired by the same environments. It has already been realised that the two could not be thoroughly understood in isolation and that they have a flood of light to throw upon the obscure terms, phraseology and ideas in each other.

My hope is that the followers of Jainism will realise their new responsibility and take inspiration from the occasion and function like the present. Let us remember the four Bhavanas or Brahmaviharas and pray :

Satveshu maitrim gunishu promodam
Klishteshu jiveshu dayaparatvam ।
Mahayasthabhavam viparitavrittau
Sada mamatma vidadhatu deva ॥

Oh lord, let myself feel always friendly towards all beings, delighted in the company of the virtuous, compassionate towards the applicated and unfurious towards those who are adversely inlined.*

* Speech delivered on Buddha Jayanti celebration, New Delhi on 25th Birth centenary of Bhagwan Buddha.

The Jain and the Sahajayana Schools of Yoga Philosophy

What we now understand by this word Yoga is a special kind of spiritual discipline leading to the supreme bliss. But this meaning has come to be attached to the word by a gradual process of thought-development. The root from which the word Yoga is derived is 'Yuj'-to join and so the original meaning of Yoga is conjunction or union of course of physical objects. This is the sense in which the word is found used in the Vedas.[1]

The next development in the meaning of the word Yoga is found in the Jaina Karma philosophy prepounded by Lord Mahavira (in 6th cent. B.C.) where it means "all kinds of physical, vocal or mental activity which leads to the inflow of Karmic matter into the soul and causes merit or demerit according to the activity being holy or unholy"[2]. There is also the word 'Upayoga' used in Jaina philosophy conveying the sense of 'Spiritual activity in the form of consciousness and knowledge'.

It is at the third stage of its development, that the word Yoga acquires the meaning of that mental state at which "the five senses along with the mind stand still and the intellect also does not operate. This firm restraint of the senses is called the Supreme approach."[3] This philosophical-system was consolidated as a regular philosophical system of physical and mental discipline by Sage Patanjali in his Yoga Sutra. This work became the basis of a very rich development of thought on the subject of which a very informative review has been given by Pandit Sukhlalji in his article 'Yoga Vidya'.[4]

Patanjali following the lead of the Upanishads defines Yoga as 'Restraint of mental activity'.[5] Although this meaning of Yoga is not identical with what we find in the earlier Jaina Philosophy, there is no doubt that Patanjali has drawn richly upon the system of spiritual purification and Dhyāna. This is also evident from no less than about twenty terms used by Patanjali and his earliest commentator Vatsayāyana, which are peculiarly Jain and are not sufficiently intelligible without consultation of Jain works.

The first Jain writer who imported and integrated this new meaning of Yoga into Jaina Philosophy is found to be Kundakuṇda who in his work called *'Moksha-pāhuda'* has given in a nutshell practically all the ideas that subsequently formed the Jaina system of Yoga. Now, "according to the opinion of Jinavara, a Yogi concentrates upon

his pure self and thereby attains Nirvana; to say nothing of the heavenly world."[6] He defines Yogi as "one who absorb in himself; restrains all impurity; destroys the accumulated Karmas, acquire the knowledge imported by Jaindeva, shakes off all sin, becomes pure and attains Nirvana."[7] Hence forth the Jaina conception of Yoga is that mental and spiritual activity which purifies the self and leads to Nirvana.

Numerous Jaina writers have since expanded the ideas and built up a rich system of Yoga parallel to that propounded in the Patanjali School. The main works on the Jaina system are the Ishṭopadesha and Samādhi Śataka of Pūjyapāda (6th cent.); Yogabindu, Yoga-drishti-Samuccaya and other works of Haribhadra (8th cent); Jñānārṇava of Śubhachandra (12th cent.). Of these the contributions of Haribhadra are very substantial. He reconciles the earlier meaning of Yoga with the later one by declaring that "the cessation of Yogas (i.e. mental, vocal and physical activities) is said to be the highest Yoga, because by its capacity to bring Salvation it is characterised by all kinds of abandonment". It is called Yoga (i.e. union) because it unites one with Salvation. Now "there is no doubt that a Yogi is one who assumes the pose of controlled breath fixed eyes and all activity abandoned."

I now wish to draw the attention of those interested in this study to a few Jaina works which reveal an influence upon them of certain esoteric thoughts and practices which developed in some Buddhist Schools of monachism from the 8th to the 12th century A.D.

A great upheavel was brought about by Nagarjuna (2nd cent.) by his Buddhist Mahayana Philosophy of Sunyavada, which contained germs of a negative as well as positive understanding of reality. We find both of these aspects developed in various ways by the followers of the school. In its wake there grew up the Mantra Yana and Vajrayana schools and about the 8th century a number of Buddhist saints, called Siddhas preached what they called the Sahajayana, as they claimed it to be the easy and sure vehicle for reaching Nirvana. The Siddhas who preached this path were 84, according to the tradition preserved in Tibet, and numerous works by them are preserved in translation in the Tibetan collection called Tan Jur. Unfortunately only a few of these works, have been preserved and published so far in their original form. But even these few works are very important for their bearing upon the evolution of the Neo-Indo Aryan forms of language and literature as well as for the light they throw upon the subsequent development of monestic Sects and their idealogies, such as the Gorakh nathi panth.

The works that are before me for a comparative study are mainly the Dohakoshas of the Sahajayani Saints Tillo, Saraha and Kanhal, and the Jaina works (1) Pahuda Doha; (2) Yoga Pradipa and (3) Dhyana vicara. While editing the first of these works namely PahudaDoha I was struck with the ideas and the terms used there, and I wrote a short note on the subject in the introduction of that work (p. 17-18) drawing attention to the occurrence of words like Shiva and Shakti, Saguna and Nirguna, Ravi, Shashi and Pavana etc. and their relation to similar terms in the Tantric and Buddhist works. With the new material now before me. I make a brief survey of the common terminology in the Buddhist and Jaina Works.

Shūnya

Taking their start from the Madhyamika philosophy of Nagarjuna, the Buddhist Siddhas declare Shunya or Shunya Niranjana as the highest truth. Their dohakoshas are therefore full of references to both these terms separately as well as conjointly. A few examples are as follows:-

१. सचल णिचल जो सअलाचार।
सुण्ण णिरंजण म कर विलार।। (तिल्ल-दो. २)

२. हउं सुण्ण जगु सुण्ण तिहुअण सुण्ण।
णिम्मल सहजे ण पाव ण पुण्ण।। (३४)

३. सुण्ण करुण जइ जोठणु सक्कइ।
णठभवे णठ णिव्वाणे थक्कइ।। (सरह-दो सं. V)

४. सुण्ण विअप्पा सुण्णु जगु।
घरे घरे एहु अक्खाणु।। (सरह-१९ रा. सां. सम्पादित)।

These verses have their echo in the following verses from Pāhuda Doha and Yoga Pradīpa:-

१. उव्वस वसिया जो करइ वसिया करइ जु सुण्ण।
वलि किज्जउ तसु जोइयहु जासु ण पाउ ण पुण्णु।।

(पा. दो. १९२)

२. सुण्णं ण होइ सुण्णं दीसइ सुण्णं च तिहुवणे सुण्णं।
अवहरइ पाव-पुण्णं सुण्ण-सहावेण गओ अप्पा।।

(पा. दो. २१२)

३. यच्छुभं कर्म-कर्तृत्वं तत्कुर्यान्मतसा सह।
मनस्तुल्यं फलं यस्मात् शून्ये शून्यं भवेत्पुनः।।

(यो. प्र. ८०)

Pahuda Doha 212 clearly indicates that to the writer Shunya is no longer a mere negative, but has some positive content. Something like what we find in the Hindi poem of Dadu whose commentators interpret Shunya as peaceful Nirvana or the state of Samadhi.[8] *The Pahuda Doha meaning is near to the latter idea.*

Niranjana

Niranjana was to the Tantric and Hatha Yogis the epithet of the Supreme Self.[9] The word became particularly favourite with the authors of *Pahudadoha* and *Yoga Pradipa*, as it was quite suitable as an adjective of the Supreme Soul. I have noticed it occuring 17 times in the two works. (P. D. 38, 61, 62, 64, 77, 78, 79, 94. and Y. P. 11, 27, 33, 38, 49, 50, 57, 60, & 75). One example from each work may be given here :

१. पाउ ण अप्पहिं परिणवइ कम्मइं ताम करेइ।
परम *णिरंजणु* जाम णवि णिम्मलु होइ मुणे इ।। (पा. दो. ७८)

२. कीदृशोऽस्मि क्व गंतास्मि किं करोमि स्मरामि किम्।
इति योगी न जानाति लय-लीनो निरञ्जने।। (यो. प्र. ७५)

Samarasa

The word *Samarasa* occurs again and again in the Buddhist Dohakoshas in the sense of mental equipoise of the ascetics. For example-

१. सहजे भावाभाव ण पुच्छइ।
सुण्ण करुण तहिं *समरस* इच्छइ।। (तिल्लो-२)

२. जहिं जाइ चित्त तहिं सुणहु अचित्त।
समरस णिम्मल भावापभाव-रहिअ।। (तिल्लो ११)

३. जिम लोणु विलिज्जइ पाणिअहि।
तिम घरिणि लइ चित्त।।
समरस जाइ तक्खणे
तइ पुणु तें सम णित।। (काण्ह ३२)

This same word recurs at least 11 times in Pahuda Doha and Yog Pradeep. (P. 49. 64. &176. and Y. 42, 83, 84, 85, 89 & 132) For example-

१. मणु मिलियउ परमेसरहु परमेसरु जि मणस्स।
बिण्णि वि *समरसि* हुइ रहिय पुज्जचडावउकस्स।। (पा. दो. ४९)

२. देह-महेली एह वढ तउ सत्तावइ ताम।
चित्तु *णिरंजणु* परिण सिहु समरसि होइण जाम।। (पा. दो. ६८)

३. जिम लोणु विलिज्जइ पाणियहँ
तिम जइ चित्तु विलिज्ज।।
समरसि हूवइ जीवडा
काइँ समाहि करिज्ज।। (पा. दो. १७६)

४. ध्यातृ-ध्यानोभयाभावे ध्येयेनैक्यं यदा व्रजेत्।
सोऽयं *समरसी* भावस्तदेकीकरणं मतम्।। (यो. प्र. ६५)

५. संकल्प-कल्पनामुक्तं राग-द्वेष-विवर्जितम्।
सदानन्द-लये लीनं मनः समरसं स्मृतम्।। (यो. प्र. ८९)

Of particular significance is the identical part of Verse 176 of Doha Pauda and verse 11 of Tillopada's Dohakosha which is in unfailing evidence of direct borrowing.

Sun, Moon and Wind

These three elements of nature have a symbolic significance with the Buddhist Sahajayana ascetics. The sun and the moon signifies very much the same as the Ida and Pingala nadis of the Hathayogis, while the wind indicates the mind, together with the senses.

The ascetic has to suppress these in order to reach the Supreme state. Siddha Sarahapa says :-

१. जहिं मण पवण ण संचरइ रवि ससि णाह पवेस।
तहिं वढ चित्त विसाम करु सरहें कहिउ उएस।। (सरह-२५)

२. चंद सुज्ज घसि घोलिय घोट्टइ।
सो आणुत्तर एत्थु पइट्ठइ।। (सरह. ३५ रा. सां. स)
एव्वहिं सयल जाण णिगूढो।
सहज-सहावें णजाणिअ मूढो।।

३. अध उध मग्गवरे पइसरइ।
चंद सुज्ज वेइ पडिहरइ।।
वज्जिज्जइ कालहु तणिअगइ।
वे विआर समरस करइ।। (सरह ५७)

४. जहिं मण इंदिअ पवण हु णट्ठा
ण जाणमि अप्पा कहिं गइ पइट्ठा।। (कर्णरिया)

The Doha Pahuda makes many references to these three along with time kala as follows:-

कालहिं पवणहिं रवि-ससिहिं चहु एक्कट्ठइ वासु।
हउँ तुहिं पुच्छउँ जोइया पहिले कासु विणासु।।
ससि पोखइ रवि पज्जलइ पवणु हिलोले लेइ।
सत्त रज्जु तमु पिल्लि करि कम्महँ कालु गिलेई।। (पा. दो. २१९-२२०)

The sun and the moon (i.e. the Ida and Pingla) are also mentioned as the two paths right and left which have to be abandoned.

वामु दहिण जो खाल विखाला।
सरह भणइ वय उजुवट भइला।। (सरह)
वाम दहिण चापो मेलि मेलि मागा।
वाटत मिलिल महासुह सङ्गा।। (ककणपाद)
वाण दाहिण दो वाटा छाड़ी।
सान्ति बुलथेउ संकलेउ।। (शान्तिपा)

These are also found mentioned in Pahada Doha as followings:

वामिय किय अरु दाहिणिय मज्झइं वहइ णिराम।
तहिं गामडा जुजोगवइ अवर वसावइ गा।। (पा. दो. १८१)
वे छंडेविणु पंथडा विच्चे जाइ अलक्खु।
नहो फलु वेयहो किं पिणउ जइ सो पावइ लक्खु।। (पा. दो. १८)

In Yoga Pradipa the three find mention as follows :-

सोम सूर्य-द्वयातीतं वायु-संचार-वर्जितम्।
संकल्प-वर्जितं चित्तं परं ब्रह्म निगद्यते।। (यो. प्र. ७१)

Nāda-Bindu

The Buddhist Siddhas frequently record their experience of a sound which they call Nada. In subsequent times the idea developed into a sort of 'music of the spheres' called Anahatanada with which the whole Universe was ringing and to get into tune with it became an ideal. In the works of Saraha and others the word Nada is generally associated with another word Bindu.[10]

१. णादह बिंदुह आंतरेओ जाणइ तिआ मेआ।
सो परमेसर परमगुरु उत्तारइ तइलोअ।। (सरह १६४)

2. णाद ण बिंदु ण रवि ससि मंडल वीअराअ – सहावें मूकल (सरह पृ. १७०)

३. बिंदु णाद णहि ए पइठा अणचाहन्ते आणविणद्य।। (कंकणया प्र. नि. १९३)

It has also been called Sabda, Tadhta Nada or Tantri Nada-

४. भणइ कंकण कलकल सादे।
सर्व्व विछरल तथता नादे।। (कंकणया)

५. वाजइ अलि सहि हेरुअ वीणा।
सुन तंतीधनि विलसइ रुण्णा।। (वीणापा. प्र. नि. १७८)

In Dohā Pahuḍa reference to this music of the sky occurs, once only, but it is quite significant-

अंबरि विविहु सदु जोसुकमइ।
तहिं पइसरहुं ण तुच्चइ दुम्मइ।
मणु पंचहिं सिहु अत्थवण जाइ।
मूढा पर मतलु कुडु तहिं जिठाइ।। (पा. दो. १६८)

In Yoga Pradipa Nada is mentioned in about a dozen verses and its varieties such as Anahat Nada, Pranava Nada and Ghanta Nada are also mentioned (Y. 115-123; 127, 131). In one of these he also associates it with Bindu and Kala. In connection with these sounds he also makes mention of Dvadashanta by which he probably means the Brahma-Randhra-

परमानन्दास्पदं सूक्ष्मं लक्ष्यं स्वानुभवात् परम्।
अधस्तात् द्वादशान्तस्य ध्यायेन्नादमनाहतम्।।
तैलधारामिवाच्छिन्नं दीर्घघंटा निनादवत्।
लयं प्रणव-नादस्य यस्तं वेत्ति स योगवित्।। (यो. प्र. ११५-११६)
सौख्यं वैषयिकं तावत् सुरम्यं प्रतिभासते।
अनाहत-लयोत्पन्नं सुखं यावन्न लभ्यते।। (यो. प्र. १२२)
नाद-बिन्दु-कलातीतं परमात्म-कलायुतम्।
द्वादशान्त सदा ध्यायेत् सदानन्दैकमन्दिरम्।। (यो. प्र. १३७)

This is the sound which has attracted the hearth of Kabir when he says-

सबद अनाहत होत है सुरत लगी तहं मोर।

And this is also the sound heard by the English poet Wordsworth when he said-

'Have not we too? Yes we have
Answers; and we know not whence,
Echoes from beyond the grave
Recognised intelligence'.
Such rebounds our inward bar
Catches sometimes from afar,
Listen, ponder, hold them dear,
For of god of god, they are.'

Sahajavastha

It has already been stated that the whole philosophy of the kind described above was called by the Buddhist Siddhas as 'Sahaja Amiya-rasa', 'Sahaja Svabhava', 'Sahaja Svarura'-For example-

१. णउ तं वाअहिं गुरु कहइ णउ तं बुज्झइ सीसु।
सहजामिअ-रसु सअल-जगु कासु कहिज्जइ कीसु।। (सरह-९)

२. कंधभूअ आअत्तण इंदी। सहज सहावे सअल विनंदी (तिल्लोपा. १)

३. सहजें भावाभाव ण पुच्छइ सुण्ण करुण तहिं समरस इच्छत।।

४. चित्ताचित्त विकज्जहु णित्त।
सहज-सत्वें करहु रे थित।। (तिल्लोपा. ३०)

Numerous works were composed by the Buddhist saints on Sahaja Yana, such as Sahajananda-Svabhava of Kankalipada, Sahajamnaya of Medinipa, Sahaja-Shambava Svadhisthana and Sahajepadesha of Shabarpa etc (Puratattva Nihandhavati of R. S. p. 171,300 etc.)

The Shajapantha was quite popular even in the 16th century as is evident from the utterances of Kabir such as-

सहज सहज सव ही कहैं सहज न चीन्है कोइ।
जिन सहजें विषया तजी सहज कहीजै सोइ।।

The PāhudaDoha refers to Sahajāvasthā as follows:-

सहज-अवत्थहिं करहुलउ जोइय जंतउ वारि।
अखइ णिरामइ पेसियउ सइं होसइ संहारि।। (पा. दो. १७०)

Here it appears as if the author is warning the Yogi against joining the Sahaja-Yana sect as such. In the Yoga Pradipa, however, there are no less than four specific mentions of Sahaja as Avasthiti, Sthāna, Laya and Avasthā. (Y. P. 59, 62, 114 & 120) and it is recognised as the way to salvation.

१. भव-भ्रान्ति-परित्यागादानन्दैकरसात्मिका।
सहजावस्थितिः साधोरयं मोक्षपथः स्मृतः। (यो. प्र. ५९)

२. पवनो म्रियते यत्र मनो यत्र विलीयते।
विज्ञेयं सहजं स्थानं यत्सूक्ष्ममजरामरम्।। (यो. प्र. ६२)

३. मणि-हुतवह-तारा-सोम-सूर्यादयोऽपि
क्षिति-विषयमिहाल्पं बाह्यमुद्योतयन्ति।
सहज-लय-समुत्थं द्योतयेज्ज्योतिरन्त।
स्त्रिभुवनमपि सूक्ष्म-स्थूलभेदं सदैव।। (११४)

४. अक्षर-ध्वनि-निर्युक्तं निस्तरङ्गं समेस्थितम्।
यच्चित्तं *सहजावस्थं* सनादस्तेन भिद्यते।। (यो. प्र. २०)

5. राजयोगः समाधिश्च उन्मनी च मनोन्मनी। अमरत्वं लयसात्त्व शून्याशून्यं परं पदम्।।
अमनस्कं तथाद्वैतं निरालम्बं निरञ्जनम्। जीवन्मुक्ति श्च *सहजा* तुर्या चेत्येक वाचकाः
(हठयोगप्रतिदीपिका)

Unmanibhava

In the Hatha Yoga tradition a particular term Unmanibhava, was used for the state of Samadhi or detachment. We find one reference to it in Pahuḍa Dohā and four in Yoga Pradīpa as follows:-

१. *उम्मणि* थक्का जासु मणु भग्गा भूवहिं चारु।
जिम भावइ तिम संचरउ ण विभउण विसंसारु।। (पा. दो. १०४)

२. पूर्वमार्गे न मोक्षोऽस्ति पश्चिमेऽपि न विद्यते।
उन्मार्गं *उन्मनीभावे* मुक्तिः स्याद् मार्ग-वर्जिता।। (यो. प्र. ५८)

३. मनो-व्यापार-निर्मुक्तं सदैवाभ्यासस योगतः।
उन्मनीभावमायातं लभते तत्पदं क्रमात्।। (यो. प्र. ६३)

४. विमुक्त-विषयासङ्गं सन्निरुद्धं मनो हृदि।
यदायात्यु*न्मनीभावं* तदा तत्परमं पदम्।। (यो. प्र. ६४)

५. न किञ्चित् चिन्तयेत् चित्तमु*न्मनीभाव* संगतम्।
निराकारं महासूक्ष्मं महाध्यानं तदुच्यते।। (यो. प्र. ७३)

A few more similarities of Doha-pāhuda and Yoga Pradipa on the one hand and Saraha's Doha-koshas on the other are noteworthy.

1. Saraha symbolizes mind with karoda karabha i.e. a camel. as follows:-

बद्धो गमइ दस दिसेहि मुक्को णिच्चल ठाइ।
एमइ करहा पेक्खु सहि विवरिउ महु पडिहाइ (सरह ९२)

This is almost the same as the following in Doha-pahuda

बद्धउ तिहुवणु परिभमइ मुक्कउ पउ विण देइ।
दिक्खु ण जोइय करहुलउ विवरेरउ पउ देइ।। (पा. दो. १९०)

The words occurs atleast five times more in Pahuda- doha (P. D. 42, 92, 112, 113, 170, 190)

2. Saraha denounces Mantra tantra etc. as follows:-

मंत ण तंत ण धेअ ण धारण।
सव्व पिरे वढ विब्भम-कारण।
असमल चीआ म झाणें खरडह
सुह अच्छेते म अप्पण झगडह।। (सरह ४३)

The parallel verse in Pāhuḍadohā is as follows:-

मंतु ण तंतु ण धेउ ण धारणु।
ण वि उच्छासह किज्जइ कारणु।।
एमइ परमसुक्खु मुणि सुव्वइ।
एही गलगल कासु ण रुच्चइ।। (पा. दो. २०६)

3. Saraha uses the word *Hamsa* for the self as follows:-

धरियउ हंस मइ कहियउ भेअ।
अधा उद्ध दुइ पक्खा च्छेआ।। (सरह ७४)

In Yoga Pradīpa we find :-

स्वहंसमन्तरात्मानं चिद्रूपं परमात्मनि।
योजयेत् परमे हंसे निर्वाणपदमाश्रिते।। (यो. प्र. ४६)

4. Saraha has expressed his anger against the Pandit and his knowledge of the Shastras without discovering the Buddha within himself:-

पंडिअ सअल सत्थ वक्खाणइ।
देहहिं बुद्ध वसंत ण जाणइ।।
गमणागमण ण एक्क वि खंडिला।
तमु णिल्लज्ज भणइ हउँ पंडिअ।। (सरह. ७५)

This may be well compared with the expressions in Pāhudadoha-

तासु लीह दिढ दिज्जइ जिम पढियइ तिम किज्जइ।
अहव ण गम्मागम्मइ तासु भजेसहिं आपणु कम्मइं।।
वक्खाणडा करंतु बुहु अप्पणि दिण्णु ण चित्तु।
कणहिं जि रहिआ पयालु जिम पर संगहिउ बहुत्त।।
पंडिया पंडिय पंडिया कणु छंडिवि तुस कंडिया।
अत्थे गंथे तुट्ठो सि परमत्थु ण जाणहि मूढो सि।। (पा. दो. ८३-८५)

5. Although it can not be denied that the terminology and style of Sarahapāda and other Buddhist Siddhas has influenced the Jain authors of Pāhuḍadoha, Yoga Pradipa and allied works, the ascetics of this category formed a class by themselves cutting across their religions. Therefore it can not be said that all the borrowing was on one side only. Then we read in Saraha's Dohakosha-giti-

जिणवर-वअण पत्तिज्जहु सांचे।
सरह भणइ मई कहिअउ वाचें।। (सरह-११७)

There is a temptation that some of his ideas may have been borrowed from Jainism. Though Jina was an epithet of Buddha also, he is nowhere otherwise found to have been called *Jinavara* which has been the most common term for a Jaina Tīrthaṃkara.

Besides Dohāpāhuḍa and Yogapradipa I had mentioned Dhyāna Vichāra as the third Jain work influenced by the terminology of the Buddhist ascetics. But in the comparative presentation of the texts above, this work has been ignored by me for the reason that in its contents and form it is not a poem like the other works but a technical hand book explaining all the borrowed term systematically from the Jaina point as follows:-

ध्यानं परमध्याने, शून्यं परमशून्यं, कला, परमकला, ज्योतिः परमज्योतिः, बिन्दुः, परमबिन्दुः, नादः, परमनादः, तारा, परमतारा, लयः, परमलयः, लवः परमलवः, मात्रा, परम मात्रा, पदं परमपदं, सिद्धिः, परमसिद्धिः इति ध्यान मार्गभेदाः।

उक्तं च-
सुन्न कल जोइ बिंदु
नादो तारा लओ लवो मत्ता।
पय सिद्धि परमजुया
झाणाई हुंति चउवीसं।। १।।

This is followed by a short explanation of each one of these twenty-four terms beginning with Dhyāna. Shunya is explained as-

शून्यं चिन्ताया उपरमः। द्रव्यशून्यं क्षिप्तचित्रादिना द्वादशधा-
खित्ते दित्तुम्मत्ते राग-सिणेहाइभयमहल्वत्ते।
णिद्दाइ पंचगेणं बारसहा दव्वसुन्न ति।।
भावतो व्यापारयोग्यस्यापि चेतसः सर्वथा व्यापारोपरमः।।

Bindu and Nāda are explained as-

बिन्दुः- द्रव्यतो जलादेः, भावतो येन परिणामविशेषेण जीवात् कर्म गलति।
नादः- द्रव्यतो बुभुक्षातु राणामङ्गुलीस्थगित कर्णानां सुसूत्कारः। भावतः स्वशरीरोत्थ एव तूर्य-निर्घोष इव श्रूयते।

This chapter explaining the twenty-four terms is called Saṃkshepārthah. It is followed by a chapter called Dhyāna Vichāra which explains the several kinds of Bhāvanās on the basis of the following verse from the Bhagvadgīta which is quoted

आरुरुक्षोर्मुनेर्योगं कर्म कारणमुच्यते।
योगारूढस्य तस्यैव शमः कारणमुच्यते।। (भ. गी. ६,३)

In the sequence sixteen Vidyā-devatās-Rohinī, Prajñapti, Vajra Shrankhala, Vajrankushi etc. are mentioned. Bhavana Yogas and Karana Yogas are shown to be of 96 kinds. Of these the 3 mental Karanas are :

मनो विषयं करणमष्टधा-उन्मनीकरणं, महोन्मनीकरणं, परमोन्मनीकरणं, सर्वोन्मनीकरणं, उन्मनीभवनं, महोन्मनीभवनं, परमोन्मनीभवनं, सर्वोन्मनीभवनम्।

Unmanīkaraṇa is explained as :

> **उत् प्राबल्येन गतमिव चिन्ताभावान्नष्टमिव मनो यस्यां सा उन्मना।**
> **उन्मना क्रियते अनेन उन्मनीकरण मनोमृत्युरित्यर्थः।**

Thus the work begun by the authors of Pāhuḍadohā and Yoga-Pradīpa has been completed by the author of Dhyāna Vichāra. These works represent the genius of Jainism to integrate foreign elements into its own system without substantially effecting its basic frame work. The guṇas remain, while the paryayas change.

REFERENCES

1. Rig Veda I, 5, 3; I, 18, 7 etc.
2. काय-वाङ-मनः कर्म योगः। स आस्रवः। शुभः पुण्यस्याशुभः पापस्य (तत्वार्थसूत्र, ६, १.३)
3. यदा पञ्चावतिष्ठनते ज्ञानानि मनसा सह।
   बुद्धिश्च न विचेष्टति तामाहुः परमां गतिम्।।
   तां योगमिति मन्यनते स्थिरामिन्द्रिय धारणाम्।
   अप्रमत्त स्तदा भवति योगो हि प्रभवाप्ययो।। (कठोप. २, ६, १०)
   further details of this kind of yoga are found in Svetashualaropanishad chap I and many subsequent Upanishads including the Bhagavad gitā.
4. Pt. Sukhlal : *Yoga Vidya* (Darshana and Chintan, Para-II p. 230 ff.)
5. योगश्चित्तव।
6. जिणवर-पएण जोई झाणेझालइ सुद्धमप्पाणं।
   जेण लहइ णिव्वाणं णलहइ किं तेण सुरलोयं।। (मो.पा. २०)
7. सग्गं तवेण सव्वो वि पावए किं तु झाण-जोएण।
   जो पावइ सो पावइ परलोए सासए सोक्खं।। (मो. पा. २३)
   झायंतो अप्पाणं परमपयं पावए जोई।। (मो. पा. ४८)
8. H.P. Dwivedi : *Hindi Sahitya ki Bhumika*, p. 39.
9. निर्गुणो बिन्दु रूपश्च सिद्धिकारणमेव हि।
   केचिद् वदन्ति सो ब्रह्मा कैश्चिद विष्णुः प्रकथ्यते।।
   कैश्चिद् रुद्रो महापूर्णो एको देवो णिरंञ्जनः।।
   (षट्चक्र निरुपण)
10. बिन्दुस्तत्र भवेद योगः स योगः परमाक्षरः
    तन्मध्ये परबिन्दु च सृष्टि-स्थिति-लयात्मक।
    शून्य रूपं शिवः साक्षाद बिन्दुः पर कुण्डली।। (देवेन्द्र परिपृच्छातंत्र)

Bihar : Essential of Jain Philosophy

1. Introductory

The Jain tradition embodied in their literature is that the Jain religion is eternal and that it is revealed in each cycle of time by a series of teachers called the Tirthamkaras. In the present cycle of time, there have been twenty-four Tirthamkaras, the first of whom was Rishabha Deva. The tradition is partially supported by the accounts found in Brahmanic literature. According to the Bhagvat-Purana, Rishabha Deva was the fifth in descent from Swayambhu-manu and he belonged to a time of saints called "Vatarasana Munayah". We know that these saints are also mentioned in the earliest part of the Rigveda, where a number of hymns are devoted to them. Some of the practices attributed to these saints are in conformity with the Jaina injunctions. It will thus be seen that the prevalence of Jainism goes back at least to the earliest Vedic Age.

It is also possible that the Vratyas mentioned in the later Vedic literature may have been the followers of Jainism. They are clearly non-Vedic people, but they could be admitted to the Vedic fold by the performance of a few simple ceremonies. The word 'Vratya' may have been derived from the word 'Vrata' which is used for the fundamental vows of Jainism. Another word commonly used for the non-Vedic sect in early Brahmanic literature is 'Shramana' and the antipathy between the Shramanas and the Brahamana is frequently referred to. We know that the word Shramana commonly denoted a Jaina ascetic. Lord Mahavira, the last Tirthamkara is frequently mentioned as the 'Maha Shramana'. In fact all the other sects which were opposed the Vedic cult as Buddhism, were also known as 'shramana'.

The 22nd Tirthamkars Neminatha is said to have been a cousin of Lord Krishna and thus he belonged to the Mahabharata age. The 23rd Tirthamkara, Parswanatha is said to have lived 250 years prior to Lord Mahavira whose parents are mentioned as the followers of his sect. It is now universally accepted that the followers of Jainism were already in existence. When Lord Buddha started his career as a Teacher. An uncle of Buddha himself named Boppasakya, a resident of Kapilavastu, according to the Atthakatha of Anguttara Nikaya, was the follower of the Nigganthas. When Buddha, immediately after his enlightenment at Buddha Gaya, was proceeding to Banaras to deliver his first sermon, an ascetic named Upaka on being told about the enlightenment characterised him as a Jina, and Buddha accepted the compliment. According to the

Mahavamsa, when Mahendra and Samghamitra, son and daughter of the Maurya emperor Asoka, reached Lanka for introducing Buddhism, there they saw the Nigganthа-order already in existence even there. There are numerous references in the earliest Pali books to chatujjama i.e. the four vows of the 'Nigganthas'. These four vows, though named differently, are no doubt, the same as those preached by Pārswanātha. The five vows accepted as the basic faith of the Jaina creed, namely Nonviolence, not to tell lies, Non-stealing, Abstinence from women and Abstinence from wordly belongings, were developed by Lord Mahavira out of the four principles of Parswanatha, who counted the last two under on category, namely, abstinence from all external objects. Mahavira himself is known to have been a senior contemporary of Buddha. The priority of Jainism to Buddhism is thus unquestionably established.

The association of Jainism with Bihar is very ancient and very close. Out of the twenty-four Tirthamkaras, no less than twenty practised penances and attained salvation at Sammeda Sikhara, popularly known as Paraswanatha hills situated in the Hazaribag district of Bihar. Two other Tirthamkaras known as Vasupujya and Mahavira attained Nirwana from Champapura and Pawa, again within the boundaries of Bihar. It was only the first Tirthamkara Rishabha Deva and the twenty-second Neminatha, who attained Nirwana from Kailasa and Girnara respectively, situated outside Bihar. The last Tirthamkara Mahavira, with whom the present day Jainism is most closely associated, was born at Vaisali in B.C. 599, according to the prevailing 'Vira Nirvana Era', which started from the day of his salvation on the Amavasya day of the month of Kartika in 527 B.C. The festival of Dipawali according to Jaina literary tradition going back to the early centuries of the Christian Era, was inaugurated in memory of the great event of his Nirvana. He belonged to one of the ruling dynasties of the Lichhavis. His religious tours were for the most part in Bihar, Rajgira in the Patna district is celebrated as the place where some of his most important discourses were delivered. Jainism took firm roots in Bihar from his time. Jaina images were in worship during the time of the Nandas, who, according to the Kharavela inscription of the 2nd century B.C., brought away to their capital at Pataliputra, a Jain image from Orissa. This image king Kharavela claims to have restored back to Orissa. Numerous archaeological finds, including Jain images from Vaisali and a bronze model of Dharma-Chakra from Ghausa, prove the prevalence of Jainism in Bihar during the early centuries.

According to the account of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang who visited the country during the 7th century A. D., the followers of Jainism called Nigganthа were in predominance at Vaisali, which was at that time on the verge of ruin. During the subsequent period, however, Jainism declined precipitably in Bihar, so much so that even some of the most important sacred places, like the birth place of Lord Mahavira himself, were forgotten. It was only through the efforts of modern scholars that the ancient sites are now gradually being correctly identified.

II Fundamentals of Jaina Philosophy

The Jain Philosophy may be contained in a nutshell as follows-Spirit and Matter are two elements in nature. The are in contact with each other and the contact, under certain specified conditions, forges various energies which bind the spirit and lead it

into the varied experiences and positions of life. This genaration of energies may be stopped and the bonds already forged may be destroyed by the proper regulation of mental and physical activities. The result is that the spirit emerges pure, attains all its inherent powers of supreme knowledge and bliss, and achieves its eternal status of Nirvana.

The acceptance of two fundamental elements, the living and the non-living distinguishes the Jaina system of Philosophy from the monistic Vedanta and associates itself with the Sankhya system with its Purusha and Prakriti as the two fundamentals of nature. The soul's contamination with matter and the consequent bondage are dealt with in the minutest details under the Jaina doctrine of Karma, according to which all the experiences of life are the result of one's own former actions, independent of any superior power such as an Almighty God as the creator, preserver and destroyer of life. The process of terminating the soul's contact with matter and gradually purifying it and freeing it of the bondage, forms the subject-matter of the Jain ethical code for the laymen and the monks. Thus, the seven categories of knowledge, called the seven Tattvas of Jainism, are 'Jiva, Ajiva, Asrava, Bandha, Samvara, Nirjara and Moksha'.

III Jaina Metaphysics

The two ultimate realities, Jiva and Ajiva, are further resolved into six substances (Shad-dravya) by dividing the Ajiva into five, namely, Pudgala, Dharma, Adharma, Akasa and Kala. The Jiva, or the soul, is an independent and eternal reality. There are an infinite number of such souls in the universe. The characteristics that distinguish the Soul and the Non-soul are that while the souls are conscious of their existence and capable of knowing other objects, there is no such capacity in the non-living substances. The numerous varieties of living beings, with the vegetable kingdom at the bottom and hunanity at the top, besides the denizens of heaven and hell, are the result of their internal and external activities. Thus all living beings are the masters of their own fate without any serious compulsion or hindrance from outside. The five senses and the mind are evolved by the soul itself according to the purity that it attains by the removal of the karmic dirt, which obscured its attainment of the highest status of Paramatman characterised by supreme knowledge and bliss, which is thus open to all living being, who maintain their individuality eternally without merging themselves in any other higher entity.

Matter as well as space and time are also substances (Dravya) the last two being immaterial and therefore supersensuous. Time is conceived as an objective reality just like space of which every point is also pervaded by a particle of time (Kalanu). Besides these three non-living substances two more are conceived in Jainism. They are the medium of motion (Dharma) and the medium of rest (Adharma). They also pervade each space-point of the lokakasa which is that part of the infinite Akasa which is occupied by the other five substances namely Jiva (souls), Pudgala (matter), Dharma (medium of motion), Adharma (medium of rest) and kala (time). The rest of the sky called Alokakasa is space, pure and simple, devoid of these other five substances which are responsible for all the variety and change prevalent in the visible world.

IV Jaina Psychology

All living beings are characterised by their four instincts (Samjnas), namely Hunger, Fear, Sex and Greed. (Aahara, Bhaya, Maithuna, and Parigraha). Their knowledge of external objects is derived through the five senses working in association with the mind. The plants and other lower beings have only one sense—that of touch—evolved in them. There are others who have in addition the sense of taste and so they are two sensed beings. In this way there are three-sensed, four-sensed and five-sensed beings as they have the sense of smell, sight, and hearing in addition to the foregoing ones respectively. Amongs the five-sensed beings, some have a mind efficiently functioning in them, and so they are called sa-manaska. There are four passions-anger, pride, deceit and covetuousness, and nine minor emotions namely, laughter, liking, dislike, sorrow, fear, disgust and the three kinds of sexual feelings. The four passions are, each of them, further subdivided into four kinds according to their intensity so as to obscure the rectitude of the mind totally or partially in varying degrees. These passions and emotions are exhibited through the three kinds of activities, mental, vocal and physical, and distinguish a man if he is temperamently the worst-worse, or bad, good, better or the best. These temperaments are called lesyas designated by the names of the colours black, blue, grey, yellow, red and white. The six tempers are illustrated by the parable of a fruitful tree and six men. One man approaches the tree and plans to cut it down to the very root, so that he might gather all its fruit. He is the black-tempered man. The second man, with the same object in view plans to leave the trunk but cut down its main branches. He is the blue type. The third would cut the smaller branches leaving the trunk and the main branches. He is the grey type. The fourth would only cut the fruit-bearing twigs, while the fifth would only pluck the fruit. They are the yellow and the red types respectively. The sixth would not like to injure the tree at all, and would content himself with picking up the ripe fruit which drop down of themselves in the fullness of time. He is the white type, a symbol of goodness and purity, a thorough gentleman.

V. Jaina Epistemology

Self-consciousness and knowledge of external objects are the inherent qualities of a soul, and they are never extinct, howsoever much they might be suppressed or obscured by the dust of the karmas. Knowledge, as we acquire it, is of five kinds. The first two forms of it are quite familiar to us and are easily understandable. Whatever we come to know though perception by the senses aided by the mind, is called matijñāna or sensual knowledge, which included memory and recognition. When we know something which is not cognised by the senses, through what ever is cognised by the senses, it is called *sruta jnana.* All that we learn through words or by an inferential process falls under this category. When, for example, we know about the other countries and their people, whom we have not seen, through the accounts given by others or know about the presence of fire at a particular place only by seeing the smoke emanating from it, then our knowledge is of this category. The third kind of knowledge is Avadhi Jnana, by which objects situated out side the range of sensual perception, or screened from the view, or too minute to be perceived, become known by a direct mental vision

or This kind of knowledge is said to be natural to heavenly beings but capable of acquisition by men only as ṛiddhi. Similarly, when by the special practice of concentration one is capable of reading the minds of others, he has the fourth kind of knowledge called the manah-paryaya Jnana. The fifth and last kind of knowledge is the kevala Jnana by which the Arhats and other supreme saints are able to know all and every thing, about every thing, at any moment of time. The details of the process by which knowledge is acquired through sense-perception, are interesting as they are, for the most part and particularly in their nomenclature, peculiar to Jainism. No less than three hundred and thirty-six different varieties of this form of knowledge, depending upon the senses, the object and the nature of perception, are found explained in detail.

VI Jaina Logic

The system of logic formulated in Jainism goes by the name of Syadvada or Anekanta and Nayavada. The name Syadvada is derived from two words 'Syat' and 'vada'. Syat is the form of the root as 'to be' in the potential mood. 'Syad-vada' therefore means the system of expression according to the potentialities of things. Therefore, when we say about something 'Syadasti', we mean to convey that the thing has a positive existence from a certain point of view, that is, of its own self. When we say 'Syad-nasti', it means that the thing is not different from its own self. Similarly, 'Syad-asti-nasti' would mean that the thing is by itself and is not other than itself. 'Syad-avaktavyam' means that it has so many forms and qualities that it is not possible to describe it fully by any one assertion. The rest of the three Vadas, namely Syad-asti-avaktavya syad' 'na sti-avaktavyam' and 'Syad-asti-nasti-avaktavyam' are obtained by combining the two or three ideas contained in the first four assertions. The purpose of this kind of logic is to arouse the consciousness that a thing can never be fully and impartially understood by getting the mind stuck up with any one phase or aspect of it. And when any particular assertion or denial is made about it, its other aspects may not be forgotten or left out of consideration. By this broad attitude of mind, a person is prevented from being fanatic about his own views and impervious to other ideas. He would, on the contrary, become cautious as well as accomodating and sympathetic in his attitude.

This synthesizing and accomodating attitude is carried a step further and made still more logical by what is called the 'Nayavada'. 'Naya' here means the point of view of the speaker (Nayo jñāturabhiprāyo). Sometimes, one makes an assertion from the point of view of his ultimate objective. For example, when a man who is lighting the fire says he is cooking food, we need not think him to be wrong, for he is right by the *Naigama Naya*. Similarly, on being questioned as to who he is, if he replies that he was a man of a living being, instead of saying that he was a cook, he is right according to *Samgraha Naya* which consists in using the general for the particular. Again, if he says he was an Indian or a Brahmana, he is right according to the *'Vyavahara Naya'* which consists in classifying the general according to certain accepted principles into species. When, however, one makes an assertion exactly in conformity with his activity at that moment, as when the cook says he is holding the match-stick, he is correct according to the *'Ṛitu-sutra Naya'* which concerns itself with the momentary states. These four

Nayas take into consideration the object and hence are called *'Arha Naya'*. The rest of the three 'Nayas' namely *'Sabda Samabhirudha'* and *Evambhuta* look to the usage of language and words. When, for example, one says 'Stri' is feminine, 'Dara' is masculine and 'Kalatra' is neuter, he is only true so far as the linguistic usage or sahda Naya, is concerned, although, objectively, all the three words signify a woman. Similarly when one uses the different words like Nara, Jana or Manusha for the one idea of a human being, he is right according to *Samabhirudha Naya?* which concerns itself with the accepted Synonyms irrespective of their differences in the root meaning and derivation. When, however, one uses a word which truly applies to the object at that particular time, calling, for example a cow, 'Gau' when it goes and 'Dhenu' when it is being milked, he is true and correct according to the Evambhuta Naya. These are, then, the Nayas of Jainism which aim at a correct estimate of the truth implied in the expressions of any man. In this way, all ideas and expressions which have an element of truth in them are analysed and appreciated logically by the system of Anekanta.

VII Jaina Theory of Karma

'As one does, so one reaps' is an old and universal adage to which all subscribe. This has been worked out in its fullest details by the Jaina Philosophers who had to explain all the variety of positions and experiences in life of all beings on that basis alone, as merciful rewards and wrathful punishments by any Almighty Being were excluded. Karma means action, but in Jaina Philosophy it also means the finest mater which the soul, by its mental, vocal and physical activities in the embodied state, absorbs. This absorbed meterial resolves itself into eight kinds of energies capable of enveloping the qualities of the soul. The 'Jnanavaraniya' Karma obscures right knowledge, the 'Darsanavaraniya' obscures the right attitude of a self conscious mind, the 'Mohaniya' arouses passions and emotions and suppresses right faith and right conduct. The 'Antaraya' cripples the capacity for giving, earning, enjoying and exerting, the 'Nama' Karma gives rise to numerous physical and mental conditions, the 'Ayu' Karma binds the soul down to a particular bodily form for a specified period, the 'Gotra' Karma determines its high or low status and the 'Vedaniya' creates miserable or enjoyable conditions. These are main eight classes of Karmas which are further split up into manifold varieties of each kind, so that all the conditions of and experience are accountable by their fruition, or pacification, conversion or destruction, etc. in the natural process as well as by the conscious efforts of the individual self. On this basis both fate and effort stand justified. One is partly circumscribe by the latent potentialities generated by his actions in the past and he is also partly free to neutralise or sublimate the same by proper mental and physical exertions.

VIII Jaina Ethics

The Jaina idea of good and bad, virtue and vice, is based primarily upon sanctity of life. All forms of life, even the smallest flies and insects, are manifestations of the soul which is capable of evolving and purifying itself into Godhood. The visible differences are due to the effects of individual Karmas. Never-the-less all are marching towards the supreme goal of Nirvana with periods, ofcourse, of advancement as well as

retrogression. It is therefore the duty of every one to help, as far as possible, the onward march of his fellow beings. If no help is possible, we must, atleast, avoid putting hindrances in the way of others. Any kind of obstacle in the way of others progress, be it a small injury or deprivation of life, is morally wrong. Thus whatever action is conductive to the spiritual benefit of oneself and others is good, and whatever is injurious to oneself and others is wrong, Ahimsa is, thus, the supreme ethical virtue and all other vows, whether of the negative or positive character, are only special modifications of the same for affording practical hints to safeguard oneself against all sinful acts which means safeguarding against injury to others. The five main vows which form the basis of the entire Jaina ethical code are non-violence, not to tell lies, nonstealing, abstaining from sexual acts and restraint on worldly possessions. They are to be observed both by the householders as well as the monks, with this difference that the former observe them grossly while the latter observe them most minutely for example, the householders may have to cut trees and plunk fruits and flowers, but the monks would not even pluck a blade of grass or tread upon it so as to injure it, as for as possible. The householders could carry on their household duties and professional occupations as well as protect their life and property, even though these duties might involve some injury to others with the best care and caution. The necessary precaution is that he should not indulge in any wanton destructionor violence, and must try to discharge his duties with the minimum injury to others, where it is inavoidable. There are eleven stages of moral purity for the householder culminating in his abandonment of all works, involving some kind of violence and injury and restricting his worldly belongings to the utmost minimum. After the last stage of the householder, the ascetic code begins and the monks are prohibited from possessing any thing or resorting to any violence even to save their life. They have to lead a life of absolure poverty and utmost mental purity. Since they keep nothing with themselves, they have to bear patiently the twenty-two 'Parisahas' including hunger, thirst, cold, heat, mosquito bite, hard ground etc. Forgiveness, kindness, straight-forwardness, frankness, freedom from greed, self control, forebearance, charity, abandonment and self concentration are the ten positive virtues to be cultivated by all religious minded people whether householders or monks, men or women.

IX Spiritual Progress

All religion aims at spiritual purity and advancement. It is particularly so in the case of Jainism where all worldly achievements are made subservient to it. There are fourteen stages of spiritual advancement leading to the *summum bonum* of life which is Nirvana. The lowest stage is called '*Mithyatva*' in which there is no realisation of the soul as distinct from the body, and consequently no attempt at leading any spiritual life. Thus knot of mithyatva, as it is called is by some chance of spiritual enlightenment, broken and the soul suddenly ascends the fourth stage of right faith (Samyaktva). This however, may not be his permanent achievement so he may fall back to the first stage through the third and the second which are called Samyak-mithyatva and a sasadana respectively. At the third stage he is in two minds right and wrong mixed, while at the second stage he has left to himself very slight taste of the right faith, being on the

precipice of a down fall to the first stage of falsehood. At the fourth stage he has the right faith, but there is no effort to regulate one's conduct in accordance with the householder's moral code which constitutes the fifth stage called Desa-virata. When he renounces all worldly belongings and he takes himself to the life of a monk he is at the sixth stage called Pramatta-virat. Henceforth his ascent is essentially inward. At the seventh stage (Apramatta) negligence of moral observance comes to an end. At the eighth and ninth stage (Apurva karana and Aneortti karana) extraordinary purity and progress of the soul is felt by sages, so that when they reach the tenth stage (Suksma Samparaya) all the passions and emotions have ceased and only a very slight touch of attachment remains. At the eleventh (Upasanta Moha), even that little feeling of attachment is pacified; while at the twelveth (Ksina-Moha) it is altogether eliminated, so that there is no more any fear of a fall as is inevitably the case at the eleventh stage. At the thirteenth stage (sahogi Kevat) supreme knowledge (Kaivalya) is revealed and gradually all the rest of the Karmas exhaust themselves, so that he is the verge or salvation with all the mental and physical activities assuaged at the fourteenth stage, A yogi kevali Beyond that is the stage of Nirvana or salvation which means eternal knowledge and bliss for the soul untrammelled by any physical bondage. The treatment of the Gunasthanas or spiritual stages of advancement as they are within the reach of beings in the four gatis, five-senses and other conditions of mental and physical makeup, forms a very deep and serious study in the Jaina siddhanta.

X Message of Jaina Philosophy to Humanity

It may now be asked what is ultimately the benefit that one might derive from the study of this philosophy. This is not a question which faces Jainism alone. It is a challenge to all faiths, religious forms and philosophies. So far as Jainism is concerned, it tries to humanise humanity. Some one has defined a gentleman as one who had no tendency to do violence. The aim of Jainism is to produce such gentlemen everywhere. The some might be claimed by the other faiths, but the special claim of Jainism is not to confine the charitable a kind disposition towards man alone; the lower animals are equally entitled to it. Is it beyond man to confine himself to forms of food that involve no butchery of poor dumb creatures. If we study the biological process of nature, utility of life had advanced with non-carnivorous tendencies. Look at the elephant, camel, cow, and similar other useful animals which are purely vegetarian, and contrast then in their utility with the lion, tiger, wolf and the like which feed themselves on flesh. Jainism wants to force this issue in our march of civilisation.

Secondly, Jainism wants to make people, self reliant. There is no being to look to for mercy and grace. One must reform his own self if he wants to progress. A true democracy means no domination by any superior being. But how can this be acceptable in practice so long as the belief in an Almighty All-dominating and mostly tyrannical God persists. The mind has to be absolved of this fear complex if humanity has to be lifted to its fullest stature. Man must feel fully responsible for his own actions and realise that ultimately the fruit of his labour is commensurate with his own performances. One should learn to expect what one deserves for himself.

Thirdly, Jainism aims at economic justice through spiritual enlightenment, so that it may be lasting. All efforts made to bring about just and proper distribution of

wealth by constitutional and legislative measures, have resulted in the moral degradation of mankind. Take, for example the measures adopted for rationing of food and control of prices. People, not feeling convinced of the justice, tried to frustrate the purpose by every means open to them, whether fair or foul. Some people in charge of anti-corruption found it a good occasion to serve their own ends; so there was felt the necessity of anti-anti corruption. The process would be endless and result in the addition of one more class of extortionaty persons at every step Jainism had tried to cut this Gordian knot by setting the policeman, not after the man but in the man. The fifth fundamental vow of Jainism was Aparigraha which enjoined abstention from all belongings on monks and abstention from too much belongings on householders. What may be the proper limit for each was left to himself to determine and declare according to the needs of his family, and he was required to devote his extra income to such causes as medical relief, education, protection of life and distribution of food. Although it could not be claimed that the follower of Jainism, as a class, observed this vow in letter and spirit, never-the-less the injunction was there and cases are not wanting where conscience of rich people being aroused by it, they voluntarily utilized their wealth for the alleviation of suffering. If economic justice has to come and take firm roots, it will only be when the spirit of the vow of aparigraha seizes man.

Lastly, the consciousness of the eternal soul, its onward march from age to age and birth to birth the goal of perfection, have exercised a refining influence all its own and set all mundane values at their proper level. It has not only given solace through life but also in death. The feeling of brotherhood throughout the living world is the necessary corollary of it. And what is more necessary than this in the age of atomic bombs to-day?

Conception of Soul in Jaina Philosophy

In summing up his 'Last Words on Evolution' Earnest Haeckel says, "the very intersting and important phenomena of impregnation have only been known to us in details for thirty years. It has been conclusively shown, after a number of detailed investigation, that the individual development of the embryo from the stem cell or fertilised ovum is controlled by the same laws in all cases'. Continuing, he says "One important result of these modern discoveries was the phenomena given to one fact that the personal soul has a beginning of existence and that we can determine the precise moment in which this takes place; it is when the parent cells, the ovum and the sptermatazoon, coalesce. Hence what we call the *soul* of man or animal has not *persisted;* but begins its career at the moment of impregnation. It is bound up with the chemical constitution of plasm which is the vehicle of heredity in the nucleus of the maternal ovum and the paternal sptermatazoon. One can not see how a being that has thus a beginning of existence can afterwards prove to be immortal." In these words, Haeckel has laid bare before us the phenomenon of life as analysed by Modern Science. Another similar but more important research of modern science was explained to us by our great scientist Dr. Dhar qnly the other day when he showed how animal life actually begins with the chemical process of oxidation and how it comes to an end with the stoppage of this oxidation in our system. No body can be blind to the claim of science to be a safe means for revealing truth. Its claim is so wonderfully substantiated by its achievements that we can say that modern life and modern thought are mainly the result of modern science. To discuss, however, the above view of modern science on its merits, is beyond the scope of this article and much more beyond the power of this writer. But it is very desirable that side by side with the latest scientific researches about life we take stock of what the ancient masterly minds of the East have bequeathed us in the field. The idea of there being nothing beyond matter in the phenomenon of life, is not new to India. One of the very ancient sages of this country has taught that there is no plausible reason or evidence to demonstrate the existence of soul as something distinct and separate from matter and material forces, and that, consciousness is merely the resultant of the concussion of the brain matter. Just as liver secretes bile, so brain produces consciousness. But inspite of all it modern colour this conception of Charvaka has never appealed to the better sense of the country. To our best minds, the phenomena

of consciousness, of feeling, willing, memory and intellection have appeared to be fundamentally connected not with matter but with an altogether distinct substance which in its nature and character is consciousness and nothing else. This substance they hold to be the centre and basic of life. A general recognition of Atma, as this life-substance has been called, is the earliest and the greatest triumph of metaphysical research in India of which we have any trace. How through a ground the idea has gained in the country is evinced by the fact that it forms the first principle of the various philosophical schools that developed here from time to time through a long course of not less than thirty centuries. The materialistic school of Charvaka, on the other hand, has never seen any potent exponent after its originator and has never commanded any appreciably large following in the country; while those schools that recognised the existence of Atma or soul, have flourished well having stood the test of time. What these schools concern themselves mainly with is the origin and ultimate goal of this life substance, the Atma or the soul. On these two points—the origin and the ultimate goal of life—the philosophical systems differ widely from each other. I shall here attempt to explain very briefly what the Jain system has to say on the subject.

The question of the origin of life, which has been the subject of so much dispute and discussion among other systems, is once for all set at rest in Jain Philosophy by the assumption that life is beginningless. This means that the soul substance of an individual has not come in to existence at any particular point of time, but has always, from times beginningless, existed in a conditioned state. There is no evidence neither direct nor inferential, to show us to a time when all this was not. This same view we find expressed by Lord Krishna when he teaches to Arjun नस्वेवाहं जातु नासं, न स्वं, नेमे जनाधिपा: 'Nor at any time, verily, was I not, nor thou nor these princes of men!' And when once it is believed that this order of the universe has no point of origin, the necessity of assuming a creator is *ispo facto* gone. Hence consistently with its view of the beginninglessness of life the Jain system does not recognize any creator.

The definition of soul, according to the Jaina philosophy, is that it is "characterised by consciousness (that is, knowledge and perception), is incorporeal, is an agent, has the same extent as its body, is the enjoyer of its actions, exists in *Samsara*, and, in its liberated state, has an upward motion."

This definition establishes the Jaina view of the soul and at the same time distinguishes it from that of other systems. Commenting upon the above definition Brahmadeva observes that the "existence of Jiva is asserted to refute Charvaka, its characteristics of Jnana and Darshana are meant to refute the followers of 'Nyaya', (who hold that a thing and its qualities are permanently distinct), its formlessness is asserted against the Bhatta school, that it is an agent is said against the Sankhyas, that of having the same extent as its body is expressed against the three, *viz.*, the Nyaya, Mimamsa and Sankhya views, that it is the enjoyer of Karma is said to refute the Buddhistic view, that of being in *Samsara* is said against Sadasiva, that of being Siddha, to refute Bhatta and Charvaka, and that of having an upward motion, to refute the view of all other writers."

Thus, the nine attributes, that characterise a soul, are that it is a substance, a substratum, of the quality of consciousness, incorporeal, a doer of actions, an enjoyer of the fruit of its actions, continues in the cycle of metempsychosis so long as it is conditioned by a body, pervades the body that it occupies, when it becomes liberated it has a tendency to move up since it is immaterial substance, and is not cognisable by any of the senses. In practice, a soul may be recognised by the outward signs of the senses and the phenomenon of respiration. Where these are observable, there is life and consequently a soul. In essence, what distinguishes the soul from the non-soul is consciousness (चेतना) which is possessed by the one and not by the other, and this consciousness reveals itself in such phenomena as feeling, memory, will, desire etc., from which, in fact, the existence of soul has been inferred, in as much as pure matter proves to be incapable of producing these phenomen.

A soul is a simple unit, and, as such, is indestructible. There is an infinite number of such units in the universe, and these always continue their separate existence. On this point, Jainism differs from Vedantism which declares that all life is animated by one conscious being in to which all merge their individuality at the time of Nirvan; but it agrees with the Sankhya view which recognizes a Plurality of Purushas. All existing souls are divisible into two classes the liberated(Siddha) and the non-liberated (Samsari). Leaving aside the first for the present, the second are those that are revolving in the cycle of metempsychosis, that is, are conditioned by physical bodies on account of which they are subject to frequent births and deaths and constant pleasure and pain. The bodies that fall to the lot of souls on earth are either mobile (Trasa) or immobile (Sthavara). Trees are the instances of the latter class, while those of the former class need not be told. In plant-life a soul has only one sense manifest i.e. the sense of touch. The mobile beings are either two sensed, three sensed, four-sensed or five sensed, possessing, in due order, the senses of taste, smell, sight and hearing. Worms, oysters, conches etc, are examples of two sensed being; bugs, lice etc., of three sensed; mosquitoes flies, bees etc., of four sensed, while men, birds and beasts are examples of the five sensed beings. Five-sensed beings are either Samjni or Asamjni, that is, either those with mind or without it. Those that can be taught to reproduce words or sounds and actions are samjni, while those that can not be so taught are Asamjni. Samjna consists in attempts to gain what is beneficial and leave what is harmful i.e. a discrimination between good and evil. The division seems to be equivalent to that between rational and irrational five sensed animals, but the scope of the former is more wide here, as a dog for example, is counted as irrational, while in the Jaina classification it is Samjni.

The class of one sensed beings does not exhaust with plant life alone. Jainism recognises forms of life even lower and more minute than plant life. These are found in the element-bodied beings. Like the plants, the minutest particles of earth, water, fire and air possess life, and they are respectively called पृथ्वी कायिक, जता कायिक, अग्नि कायिक and वायु कायिक Jivas. These, together with the Plant-Jivas (वनस्पति कायिक) are called the five Sthavara (immobile) Jivas. This theory of elements possessing life has been technically called Hylozoism by the Westerns. It is peculiar to the Jaina system as nothing like it exists in other systems of philosophy. Though it is possible to point out

passages from the ancient Brahmanical texts like the Upanishads in which elements have been spoken of as animated, we nowhere find the principle clearly and systematically formulated in any of the Brahmanical Philosophies.

Still more peculiar is the Jaina theory of Nigod beings. This form of life is one degree lower than even that of the single-sensed beings. Here, even the bodily sense or the sense of touch is not manifest, and the soul inhabit a part of another's body. An infinitesimally small globe ensouls innumerable Jivas which thus possess a common body and have their respiration and nourishment in common. You can not kill one without killing all. Every point in the bodies of all living beings, with the exception of a very few, is the seat of such a colony of innumerable souls. Many herbs, plants, fruits and roots that possess no continuous nerves in their organism are said to be the seats of uncountable Nigod beings. These Nigod Jivas furnish the supply of souls in place of those which have reached Nirvana. The supply, thus, is inexhaustible. An infinitesimally small fraction of a single Nigod colony has sufficed to replace the vacancy caused in the world by the Nirvana of the souls that have uptill now become liberated. These Nigod Jivas are in the lowest and the most miserable state of existence. Their life-span is very short. In one Svasa or breath, they are said to undergo no less than eighteen births and deaths and so in about three quarters of an hour they finish over 3500 lives. Most of these Jivas are such as have never so far entered higher forms of life. These are called Nitya Nigod. Others having sometimes gone forth in to higher conditions of life, have been recondemned to the same wretched state by their very inauspicious Karmas. From this lowest grade of life to the highest state of soul in liberation, Jainism recognises eightyfour lakhs of species of living beings.

As has been said above, Jainism does not admit the agency of any supreme being in creating and ruling the Universe. As for creation, the necessity of any supreme being is obviated by the assumption that it is beginningless. The question now is how birth and death, happiness and misery, migration from life to life that we have tacitly assumed, are brought about. What is the agency that causes these frequent changes in a more or less consistent, uniform and orderly manner? Jain philosophy answers this by its elaborate theory of Karma.

In all forms of life that have been explained above we have to deal with souls not pure in their substance but contaminated with matter of which the grossest form is the bodily organism. The simplest, indivisible unit of this matter or Ajiva is of infinitesimally small dimensions. The nearest approach to the final Atom or Paramanu is the electron of modern science, which Sir Oliver Lodge thus describes "If an electron is represented by a sphere an inch in diameter, the diameter of an atom of matter on the same scale is a mile and a half. Or, if an atom of matter is represented by the size of a theatre, an electron is represented, on the same scale, by a printer's full stop". Such paramanus are pervading the whole space and are constantly in motion under the influence of their inherent process of attraction and repulsion. When these paramanus come in contact with the soul substance and are absorbed by it, they forge Karmic energies that are potential enough to carry the soul from condition to condition and existence to existence. The greater the amount of this Karmic matter in the soul, the less manifest its quality of consciousness is and consequently the lower the form of its existence. The lesser the amount of the matter, the greater are the soul's powers of knowledge and the higher

its state of existence. Taken by itself, a soul is an immaterial substance and as such should be invulnerable to any matter howsoever fine. It is in fact so. Hence a soul that has once become pure and liberated can never again be caught in to the shackles of karmic matter. But in its impure and imperfect state in which we find it in the world, it is liable to be disturbed within itself. By such disturbance its integrity is broken, an unctiousness is produced within it which draws to and lets settle upon it a certain amount of matter which, combining with soul particles, generates Prakrities or Karmic energies that we just mentioned of. The disturbance takes place by thought, deed or word activities, which in their turn have their root in Kashayas or passions such as pride, anger, greed and deceit. These are sentiments that arouse activities and set afoot an inflow of Karmic matter. These sentiments themselves are no part of a pure soul; they are only the resultants of previous Karmic forces. Thus, the force of previous Karmas arouses passions and passions create fresh Karmas. Consequently, inflow of fresh Karmas can not be stopped without exhausting or mitigating the force of the previous Karmas. Thus a soul is bound by a continuous chain of Karmas.

Different kinds of stimulus in the soul forge different kinds of Karmic energies. Thus the kinds of energies are innumerable but 148 varieties of them have been recorded, falling within eight wider classes. Jnanavarniya Karma obstructs the manifestation of the soul's inherent quality of knowledge, Darsanavarniya affects its perception, Mohaniya obstructs the grasp of right principles and right conduct, Antaraya, meddles with the achievement of success in one's undertakings, Nama Karma determines one's position in life, Ayu Karma one's duration of life, Jati, the class of its birth, while Vedaniya brings about the experiences of pleasure and pain. Of these, the Nama Karma alone comprises forty-two energies which explain most of the incidents of life and birth. Every little incident, howsoever insignificant, can be explained in the light of these *Prikrities*. Good and bad activities, alike, produce Karmic energies. The former produce Punya prikrities which bring about agreeable experiences, while the latter produce Papa prikrities which cause disagreeable experiences. Both, nevertheless, are material bondages, the only difference being that in one case the chains are golden while in the other they are iron.

The accumulated Karma-matter constitutes the first body or casing of the soul, and it is called Karmana Sarira. This subtle material body is held together with the immaterial soul substance by another fine body called Taijasa Sarira, a sort of electric or magnetic body. The soul together with its Karmana and Taijasa Sarira forms the nucleus or primary germ of life. These two forms of bodies accompany the soul always in Samsara, even in its state of transmigration which is brought about by these two bodies. Death only severes the connection of a soul with its outermost gross body which in the case of worldly animals is called Audarika sarira, in the case of heavenly and hellish beings is called Vaikriyaka, and in a special condition some-times occasioned in mighty sages is called Aharaka Sarira. Every organism of a Samsari Jiva is thus an organic unity of two distinct entities Jiva and Ajiva, soul and body. All mental states like Buddhi, Manas, Ahamkara are the affections or modifications of the conscious soul caused by the Karmic matter; and similar are the various sense-perceptions. They are simply special manifestations of soul's consciousness. Soul and body are here

brought together in causal interrelation and a change in one always involves two antecedents, one physical and the other psychical.

Having said enough with regard to the Jaina view of the phenomenon of life, I now pass on to the consideration of the ultimate goal of life as laid down by Jain seers. The condition of subjection to birth and death, constant change and decay, to varied forms of experiences of pleasure and pain, is not a happy one, and it has failed to satisfy the minds of the aspiring sages of the East who, with Wordsworth, have always longed 'for a repose that ever is the same'. As seen above, all worldliness of the soul is due to its connection with matter. By itself, soul is immutable and endowed with the quality of consciousness. "Consciousness being the very nature of the soul, and all things being knowable by nature, perfection in knowledge that is omnicience, is predicable in respect of the essential nature of each and every individual. As to the knowability of all things the proposition I think must be accepted on all hands that all things in nature are knowable, which means not that there is nothing unknown to us today, but that, that which will never be known by any one at all, is non-existent, for that which will never be known to any one will never be known, much less proved to be existing." Now since all knowledge is a form of consciousness, it follows that every living being is endowed with the potentiality to know all things unlimited by time and space. To realise this state of purity and consciousness and thus to become all knowing and immune from all the varied experiences of life, is the Goal that is set for every living being in Jaina philosophy. It is the state of perfection, Nirvana or Moksha, and it is achievable by absolutely freeing the soul from the shackles of matter. This is to be achieved by stopping the inflow of fresh Karmic matter into the soul, and by shaking off the Karmic matter that already clings to the soul. And how can the inflow of matter into soul be stopped? Of course by remedying the cause that gives rise to the process. We have seen above that this inflow is caused by a condition of receptivity produced in the soul by certain impellent forces, the forces of passion. Hence passions have to be controlled and gradually eliminated altogether. The ethical system of the Jains has this end in view. As to the destruction of the existing Karmas, it has to be brought about by letting them spend their force and fall out without arousing in the soul the receptivity for fresh Karmas. The Jaina system of monasticism *i.e.,* of Tapa and Yoga, has been designed for this purpose. How the various practices and vows help one in stopping the inflow of Karmas and in consuming the existing bonds, involves the discussion of the whole theory of Samvara and Nirjara and is a subject by itself.

When a soul is absolutely absolved from matter, it moves upward. It is a very light, incorporeal substance, the lightest of every thing, and it is a scientific fact that a light thing has a tendency to move up. How far, then, does the soul go upward? The space is limitless, infinite, and it would seem that it may ever remain moving upward. It is not however so. Motion in space is possible only by the existence of a substance called 'Dharma' in Jain philosophy, as rest in space is possible on account of the existence of another substance called 'Adharma'. These substances, the Jaina seers have declared, exist only in a limited portion of the infinite space called Lokakasa as distinguished from the limitless void called Alokakasa. A pure soul, with the help of this principle of motion (Dharma), moves to the highest point of Loka kasa. There in the abode of the

Siddhas, the liberated, the Gods of the Jainas, Mukta Jivas dwell for eternity, in a state of infinite knowledge and perception, unbounded happiness and unlimited power. They have for ever passed out of the cycle of metempsychosis.

One thing more, and I have done. The Jaina theory of six leshyas of soul has wrongly been interpreted to be the same as the division of the Ajīvakas of souls into six classes according to their colour. Jainism does not at all recognise, has in fact no space in its system to admit, that the incorporeal soul can have any colour. All souls in their true character are thoroughly homogeneous and alike, and made up of similar stuff. The six leshyas or colours have been spoken of in Jaina philosophy to symbolise the different worldly natures which living beings develop by their Karmic energies. The distinction altogether ceases with the Karmic energies. The idea of speaking of the psychical nature of living beings in terms of physical colours may have been borrowed by the Jains from the Ajivakas, or as is equally possible by the latter from the former, the principle however has entirely different significance in the two systems and should not be confused.

To recapitulate. The soul is an independant substance and is eternal. Matter is another independant substance and is eternal. The connection of soul and matter is beginningless and is the cause of all worldly misery and trouble. This connection is always being renewed, in as much as matter flows into the soul and keeps in fact its Karmana Sarira. By stopping the inflow of Karmas and by destroying the existing bonds, the supreme status of Godhood is achieved. "Jainism, thus, not a making man kind irresponsible for their doings, nor at turning them in to an army of hungry beggars constantly begging boons from some real or imaginary super-human agency, nor yet at converting its votaries in to fanatics of unrequited love, revolving mothlike round some luminous spiritual 'magnet' to be ultimately absorbed by it, but at raising every one who cares to follow its method to the supreme status of Godhood." What Jainism discards is the idea of the governance of animal destinies by any supreme agency; what it lays emphasis on is that every living being is the architech of his own fate. The most natural interpretation of some of the lines of the 'Lord's Song' leads us to the same view.

न कर्तृत्वं न कर्माणि लोकस्य सृजति प्रभुः
न कर्म-फल-संयोग स्वभावस्तु प्रवर्तते।।
नादत्ते कस्यचित्पापं न चैव सुकृतं विभुः।
भज्ञानेनावृतं ज्ञानं तेन मुह्यन्तिजन्तव।।
उद्धरेदात्मनात्मानं नात्मानमवसादयेत।
आत्मैवह्यात्मनो बंधुरात्मैवरिपुरात्मनः।।

'The Lord does not create the idea of agency, nor the actions, nor yet the union of action with its fruit, it is the nature of things that prevails. The Lord does not remove the sin of any-body nor take away his meritorious doings. Knowledge is enveloped by Nescience, hence mortals are deluded. One should raise the soul by the exertions of the self; let not any body depress his soul. The soul is verily the friend of the soul, the soul is also the enemy of the soul.'

Suffering and The Way out of it

Suffering and the way out of it is, I think, a problem which is most vital and of the deepest interest from the point of view of humanity as a whole. Probably, there is no other problem equally universal, because there is hardly a man in the world who may not have suffered in one way or another, at some time or other. Therefore there is no religion in the world which may have neglected the problem and directly or indirectly may not have offered its solution to it. As for Jainism all its philosophical thinking starts on the proposition that there is misery all round in the world and it is a matter of universal experience. Not only this but all beings suffering from it are struggling to avoid it or find a way out of it. But due to their ignorance of its basic factors they are not only notable to overcome it but act in such a manner as to strengthen their bonds of sufferings.

Jainism investigates the problem by trying to analyse the natural forces that give rise to it. As we look around us we find a great variety of objects and events. The objects of world might be classified as the living and the non-living (Jiva and Ajiva) on the logical principle of dichotomy. The first kind is distinguishable from the Second by the quality of knowledge and understanding which is utterly lacking in the Second Kind. The system of philosophy could therefore be called dualistic. Experience of pleasure and pain is absolutely a characteristic of the living beings and the nonliving or material objects are utterly lacking into. In fact the qualities of good or bad, pleasant or unpleasent beneficial or harmful are meaningless so far as the material objects are concerned apart from the living beings whose own reaction to them is registered as such. This may be explained by an example of poison and sugar are good or bad beneficial or harmful? The question can at once be answered: Poison is very good in certain medicinal doses while it is fatal as an article of food. As against this Sugar is very delicious and nourishing as food normally but it is very harmful in some sicknesses and particularly diabetes. A pin is very good for stitching papers but very bad if it penerates any part of our body. Similarly heat and cold are suitable or unsuitable pleasant or unpleasant to different people and classes of living beings own in varying degrees according to their peculiar moulds and habits. These examples show clearly that the material objects are not as great a factor in the causation of pleasure and pain as their application by the persons who utilise them, and in this process the psychology of man plays the most important part.

We all know that many physical ailments could be avoided if we pay our due attention to the problem of health try to understand our own constitution, know what suits or does not suit it and determine to provide the necessary safeguards and remedies. As is the case with individual ailments, so also is that with the social ills and evils, with the difference that here the understanding of the problem and the exercise of the necessary safeguards has to be effected by not merely an individual but the whole class or classes concerned. Many of our sufferings, perhaps most of them, are only psychological. Take, for example, our material wants. The actual requirements of the body are few and for most part, the same for all. But over greed is insatiable and no amount of accumulation gives us full satisfaction. Jainism suggests that the corrective to it is setting a voluntary limit to the instinct of accumulation. (Parigraha Parimana Vrata). The cavity of greed in every man, says a teacher, is so vast that the wealth of the whole universe is like a particle. How can then it satisfy all merely by dividing if unless the desires themselves are controlled.

It is now generally accepted that violent methods do not solve problems but only aggravate or suppress them. Violence has therefore to be abjured and non-violence Ahimsa ought to be accepted as a universal creed. Differences of outlook and clashes of interests have to be resolved with a sypathetic understanding and mutual adjustment for which Jainism has preached the logic of Syadvada which means a readjustment of over values and points of view so as to synchronise them into a harmonious system of a comprehensive truth. Many other social evils, which cause suffering to individuals and groups of people could similarly be avoided or cured by the cultivation of virtues like honesty and truth, absention from misappropriation and sex discipline.

Psychological factors which create clashes and strifes have in particular got to be controlled. Anger, Pride and Deception in addition to Greeds are very potent sources of misconduct and disputes. They are not a part of man's real nature as is clear from the fact that they are only result from excitement and subside soon or late. So they are not normal but abnormal mental conditions which sometimes disturb peace of the individual and the society considerably. It is also well known that they could be controlled to a very large extent by proper training.

Jainism holds that the right attitude of mind, correct knowledge and understanding as well as proper conduct constitute the triple path leading to salvation from the world sin and suffering. All suffering is the result of sin for which none but the man himself is responsible. There is no external grace according to the Jaina doctrine of Karma, which can absolute man from the result of his own evil deeds. But the man can so discipline himself that either he removes all causes of suffering so far as the himself is concerned or is the suffering comes he is mentally so strong that the suffering loses all its sting.

This we are told, was the case with many great souls who were put to torture by ignorant and evil-minded people but still remained calm and peaceful to the end. And to some extent we all know that many bodily ailments are not equally painful and intolerable to all. Men who have practised self-control are not so much effected by pleasures and pains as children and undisciplined people. The more we understand ourselves and the forces of nature surrounding us, the better we can avoid or atleast

lighten to a very large extent the pangs of suffering. It is on this account that very great importance is attached to the acquisition of knowledge and practice of self-control.

It may now be asked whether a time might come when all people might become so enlightened and self-controlled that all suffering may cease and happiness prevail. Theoretically this is possible. If all people could be taught to practise the vows of non-violence, truth, honesty, chastity and contentment the Penal Code would become a dead letter. But from the practical point of view this ideal could never be realized. The life process, according to Jainism, is eternal. Some people become so perfect in knowledge and control of the senses that for them all suffering comes to an end. They are the perfected beings, the Siddhas or Paramatmans. But large masses of people will ever be there to suffer from the ills that are to a very large extent the consequences of their own ignorance and indiscipline. They sin against nature, against society and against themselves. They will continue to fabricate bombs and explode them to the misery of many and ultimately of themselves. One who wields the sword dies by the sword is an old proverb the truth of which supported by continuous experience. However, our hope is that with the efforts of the enlightened more and more people might come to understand the fundamental nature of suffering and learn the art of life so as to overcome the rigours and inclemencies incidental to life and nature.

The Problem of the Mindless (Asanjñi) Living Beings

One of the divisions of living beings, according to Jainism, is between those who possess a mind and those who do not. In support of this the following authoritative texts may be noted:-

(1) Samanaskāmanaskah (T. S. 1, 11)

(2) Saṇṇiyāṇuvādena atthi saṇṇī asaṇṇī. (Sat. 1, 1, 172)

Mind is possessed by a section of the five-sensed beings only, while the other section of the five-sensed beings as well as all those that possess four, three, two or one sense only are devoid of mind.

Eindiyā bīndiyā tindiyā caurindiyā asaṇṇi-pancindiyā ekkammi ceva micchāiṭṭhi-tthāne. Saṇṇī micchā-iṭṭhippahuḍi jāvā khiṇakasāya-vīyarāyachadumatthā. Asaṇṇī eindiyappahuḍi jāva asaṇñi-pancindiyā tti. (*Sat.I-36*, 173+174).

Now let us inquire what kinds of knowledge are possible in these categories of living beings. In this connection the following Sūtra of Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama, Satprarūpaṇā, may be noted :-

Modi-aṇṇānī suda-aṇṇanī eindiyappahuḍi jāva sāsana-sammāiṭṭhi tti. Vibhaṅga-ṇāṇam saṇṇimicchāiṭṭhīṇam vā sāsaṇa-sammāi.ṭṭhīṇam vā. Ābhinibohiyaṇāṇam sudaṇāṇam ohiṇāṇamasaṃjada-sammāiṭṭhi-ppahuḍi jāva khiṇakasāya-vidarāga-chadumatthā. Manapajjava-ṇāni pamatta-saṁjadappahuḍi jāva khīṇakasāya-vidarāga-chadumatthā. Kevalaṇaṇi tisu ṭṭhāṇesu sajogi kevali ajogi-kevali siddhā cedi. (*Sat.I*-116, 117, 120-122).

Briefly stated, these Sutras lay down categorically that of the eight forms of knowledge recognised in the Jaina scriptures, the first two, namely, Mati-ajñāna and Śruta-ajñāna, are possessed by the mindless creatures beginning with the one-sensed beings right up to the fivesensed ones, while the rest of the forms of knowledge are possible in the *saṃjñi* Jīvas only. In this connection it might be noted that these two forms of knowledge present in the Asaṃjñī Jīvas do not imply the absence of *Mati* and Śruta Jñāna, but their presence without, however, the presence of *Samyaktva* or Right Faith. This explanation by the commentator of Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama is as follows :

Bhūtārtha-prakāśākam jñānam. Mithyādṛstinām kathaṃ bhūtārthaprakāśakamiti cenna; samyag-mithyādṛṣṭināṃ prakāśasya samānatopalambhāt. Kathaṃ punaste ajñānina iti chenna,

mithyātvodayāt pratibhasite'pi vastuni saṃśaya-dhyavasāyanivṛttitasteṣāmajñānitoketh. (*Sat. I. P.* 142).

So we find that the two forms of knowledge *Mati* and *Śruti* without, of course, Samyaktva or Right faith, exist amongst the Asaṃjñī Jīvas also, and even in the lowest of them, namely, the one-sensed beings of the *Nigoda* variety.

> *Suhuma-nigoda-apajjattayassa jādassa padhama-samayamhi.*
> *Phāsindiyamadipuvvam suda-ṇāṇam laddhi-akkharayam.* (*Gomat. Jiva.* 321)

Here a question arises; How could *Mati* and *Śruti* forms of knowledge arise in the *Asaṃjñi* Jīvas without the instrumentality of mind? The nature of the *Mati* and *Śruta* Jñāna, as well as the texts bearing on the subject, unmistakably make the mind indispensable for the processes involved in those two forms of knowledge. The Mati Jñāna is formed in four stages. Firstly, one of the senses comes into contact with its appropriate object and some agency has to take cognisance of something existing. /This is called *Avagraha*. Then the desire to know the details about the object is created, and this is called *Īhā* which is purely a mental process. After this comes the determination of the object, called *Avāya*, which is again a mental operation involving as it does, the process of selection and elimination of the qualities pertaining to the object and those not belonging to it respectively. And lastly, comes the memory of the object cognised-*Dhāranā*, which in its turn leads to a favourable or unfavourable reaction in the Jīva, called *Hitāhita-pravritt*. Here are a few texts bearing on the subject :-

(i) *Matih smrtih saṃjñā cintā bhinibodha itya-narthāntaran.*
(ii) *Taddindriyānindriya-nimittam.*
(iii) *Avagrahehāvāya-dhāraṇah.* (*Tat. S. I*, 13-15).

Viṣaya-viṣayi-sannipāte sati darśanaṁ bhavati. Tadanantara-marthasya grahañamavagrahah. Yathā cakṣuṣā śuklaṁ rūpamiti grahaṇamavagrahah. Avagraha-grahīte'rthe tadviśeṣakānkṣañamīhā. Yathāśuklaṁ rūpaṁ kiṃ balākā patākā veti. Viśeṣa-nirjñānānādyathātmāvagamanamavāyah utpatananipatana-pakṣa-vikṣepādibhir-balaki-veyam, na patāketi. Avetasya kālāntare avismarañaṃ dhāraṇā. Yatha, saiveyam balākā pūrvānhe yāhamadrākṣamiti. Eṣāmavagrahā-dīnāmupanyāsakarmah utpattikramakṛtah. (*Sarva. S.*)

As regards the Śruta Jñāna, it is avowedly a mental operation starting from the object cognised by Mati Jñāna and dēveloping, through an inferential process characterised by the indication and the indicated, into the knowledge of another object. Here the following texts might be noted :-

Śrutaṃ matipūrvam dvyaneka dvādaśabhedam. Śrutamanindriysays.

(*T. S.*, 1-20, 21).

Śruta-jñāna-viṣayorthah śrutam. Sa visyao'nindriyasya. Pariprāptaśruta-jñānavaraṇa-kṣayopa-śamasyātmanah śrutasyārthe' nindriyālambana-jñāna-pravṛtteh. Athavā, śrutajñānaṃ śrutaṃ tadanindriyasyāthah prayojanamiti yāvat. Svātantrya-sādhyamidaṁ prayojanamanindriyasya. (*Sarva, S.*)

Śrutam śrotrendriyasya viṣaya iti cenna, śrotrendriya-grahaṇe śrutasya matijñānavyapadeśait. Yadā hi śrotreña grahyatc tadā tanmatijñamavagra-hādivyākhyātaṃ

tata uttarakāiam yattatpūrvakaṃ jīvādi-padārtha svarūpaṃ tacchrutamanindriyasyety-avaseyam. (*Tattva*, R.V.)

Sudaṇāṇam nāma madi-puvvaṃ madiṇāna-padigahiyamatṭhaṁ mettūṇañatthampi vāvadaṁ suda nāṇāvaranīyakkhayovama janidm.

(*Dhavalā* p. 93)

Śruta Jñāna, as it is defined in the Jaina scriptures, requires the instrumentality of mind for its formation, and hence the mindless beings like the *Asaṃjñi* Jīvas could not be excepted to acquire the same. But if these Jīvas are accepted to possess the two forms of knowledge, then it would be illogical to assert that they have no mind. The learned author of the Saṭkhaṇḍāgama commentary called Dhavalā, had an inkling of this dilemma when he discussed the nature of the Śruta Jñāna.

Kathamekendriyaṇām śruta-jñānamiti cet, kathaṃ ca na bhavati? Śrotrābhāvānma śabhāvagatitadabhāvānna śabdārthāvagama iti, naiṣa doṣh; Yato nāyamekānto'sti śabdārthāvahodha eva śrutamiti. Api tu aśabdarūpādapi liṅgālliṅgi-jñānamapi śrutamiti. Amanasām tadapi kathamiti cenna, mano'ntareṇa vanaspatiṣu hitāhita-pravṛttī nivṛttyupalambhāto'nekāntāt. (*Dhavala*, I, p. 361).

Here Viraśena has raised and tried to answer two questions. Firstly he asks 'How could the one-sensed beings possess Śruta Jñāna when they possess no sense of hearing? To this, he replies that there is no absolute rule that Śruta Jñāna should arise from the cognisance of an object of hearing only, but that any object percepitble by any other sense might as well serve as an indication leading to the cognition of an object associated with that indication, and it is this second cognition that constitutes the Śruta Jñana.The second question is far more important for us here. He says "How can this cognition through as indication arise in the case of beings devoid of mind?" To this very pertinent question, his only reply is the objection raised is not valid, beacuse among the plants is noted the tendency to act for their own benefit and desist from harm, even though they do not possess a mind. Hence there is no absolute rule that mind was essential for Śruta Jñana. The same question occurs to him when he discusses the nature of Saiṇjñī and Asṃjñi beings under Sūtra 1, 1, 35 where he syas :-

Atha syādarthāloka-manaskāra-cakṣurbhyah sampravartamñaṃ rūpa jñānam samaṇaskeṣūpalabhyate, tasya katha-main esvavirbhava iti naiṣa dosah, bhinnajātitvāt.

(*Dhavala* I, p. 261).

That is, the cognition of colour produced by the association of the object, light, mind and the eye could be found in beings that possess a mind. But how could it be possible in beings that have no mind? His answer to this question, however, is This is no fault, because the cognition of colour by the Asaṁjñī creatures is of a different category".

Here, the author of the Dhavalā realises the difficulty involved in attributing the *Mati* and the Śruta Jñana to mindless creatures, and his answers to the questions raised by himself need some scrutiny. With regard to Śruta Jñāna, he denies that mind is for its acquisition. But this is not tenable in view of the fact that the Śrūta Jñāna is purely a mental process as explained above, and it has uniformly been recognised as the

object of mind (śrnatmanindrinsya) Tattv. Sūtra II, 21. we have also seen above that the various processes involved in Mati Jñāna are not possible without the functioning of the mind. The answer of the author of Dhavalā that the Mati Jñāna of the mindless beings belongs to a separate category, does not explain any thing. If this category of Mati Jñāna falls within the varieties explained in the scriptures, then it does require the presence of mind as pointed out above. But if it does not fall within those varieties, then either the scope of Māti Jñāna should be enlarged or a separate kind of Jñāna ought to be recognised. So long as this is not done, all efforts that have been made to explain away the difficulty prove futile.

Now the question is how to resolve this puzzle. Any solution suggested must reconcile the two conditions, namely a large class of beings that are Asaṃjñī, and secondly that inspite of their being Asaṃjñī they are capable of *Mati* and *Śruta* Jñāna The only solution that suggests itself to me is to interpret the word Asaṃjñī or Amanaska, not as devoid of mind, but as having a very limited mind. This sense is obtainable by taking the prefix 'A' to be used in the sense of 'Alpatā' and not in the sense of negation. This sense of the negative particle 'Na' of which 'A' is only a diminutive form, is very well recognised by the Sanskrit lexicographers as is evident from the following verse :-

Tatsādṛśyamabhāvaśca
tadanyatvaṃ tadalpatā.
Aprāśastyaṃ virodhaś-ca
nañarthā ṣat prakīrtitāh.

The prefix 'A' used in the sense of 'alptā' is not unknown to Jaina philosophers who have frequently adopted it in that sense. I would recall here a few examples of this usage :-

(1) One of the terms very frequently used for mind itself is snindriya.

For example-

(i) Tadindriyānindriya-nimittam.
(ii) Na Cakṣuranindriyābhyām.
(iii) Śrutamanindriyasya. *(T. S. 1-14; 1-19; 2-21).*

Explaining the term anindriya in the first sūtra quoted above, *Pūjyapāda Devanandı* in his *Sarvārtha-siddhi-tikā* says :-

Anindriyaṁ manah antakharaṇamityanarthāntaram. Kathaṁ punarindriyapratiṣedhena indraliṅge eva manasi anindriya-śabdasya pravṛttih? Īṣadrathasya nuñah prayogad īṣadındriyam-indriyamiti. Yathā anudarā kanyā iti. Kathamīṣadarthah? Imānindriyāṇi pratiniyatadeśa-viṣayāṇi kālāntaravasthāyīnica, na tathā manah.

i.e. the inner sense mind is also called '*Anindriya*' because the particle which usually has the sense of negation has been used here in the sense of iṣad i.e. small or little. As for example, we call a girl anudarā not because she has no belly, but because her belly is very thin. Even so the mindis a sense in so far as it cognises objects, but it is unlike the other senses which have a definite fixed shape and cognise objects that come within their well defined range.

(2) While explaining the word akaṣāya in sūtra VIII, 9, Pujyapāda says :

Cāritramohaniyaṃ dvidhā, akaṣāya-kaṣāyabhedāt.
Īṣadarthe nañah prayogāt iṣatkassyo' kaṣayah.

i.e. of the two divisions of cāritra-mohaniya karma namely akaṣāya and kaṣāya, the former is so called because here the kaṣāya is slight and this is the sense expressed by the negative particle 'a'.

(3) The same is the case with the word spratyākhyāna which reveals itself in the soul by the removal of the passions in their apratyākhyānāvaraṇa form at the fifth spiritual stage called saṃyatāsaṃyata guṇasthāna. Here if apratyākhyana is taken to mean the total absence of pratyākhyāns, then no samyama would follow, and there would be no difference between the fourth and the fifth Guṇasthānas. Apratyākhyana is therefore taken to mean 'elna' or 'iṣat' pratyākhyāna which distinguishes the fifth stage of spiritual advancement from the fourth on the one hand and the sixth on the other which reveals pratyakhyāna in its fullness.

Thus, taking into consideration the names of *Mati* jñāna and *Sruta Jñāna* on the one hand and the Asaṃjñī Jivas on the other, it is justifiable to interpret the prefix 'a' in the terms Asaṃjni and Amanaksa in the sense of iṣat or alpa and understand the words as meaning possessed of a small undeveloped mind which just enables them to have the first two kinds of knowledge in their lower forms. What distinguishes them from the Saṃjñī Jivas is the lack of that development of the mind which could make training, performing specifc actions, repetition of sounds and advice possible. In this connection the following remarks of the author or Dhavalā are noteworthy :-

Samyag Jañātīti saṃjñaṃ manah, tapasyāstīti saṃjñī. Naikendriyadinātıprasaṅgah, tasya manaso, abhāvāt. Athawā, sikṣā-kriyapadeśā lāpagrāhī saṃjñī, Uktam ca-sikkha-kiñyuvadesālsvaggāhī maṇovalambeṇa/jo jīva so saṇṇī tayvivarīdo asaṇṇī du//

(Dhavala I, p. 152*)*

Here Vīrasena explains the word saṃjñam as the sense organism that performs the act of proper understanding, i.e. the mind, and from that word he derives the terms samjñī in the sense of one who possesses the mind. But then he apprehends that according to this derivation of the term, the one-sensed beings and others would also have a claim to be called '*saṃjñī*'. Therefore he clarifies his views further by saying that the term would not apply to beings possessing one sense only and the like, because they have no mind. Realising, however, that the interpretation of the term Saṃjñī gives by him could not by itself exclude those beings from its application, he provides an alternative explanation of the term Saṃjñī as meaning one who could receive training, could be taught to act in a particular manner, could reproduce sounds and utterances and receive advice. Obviously, Vīrasena implies here that the mental operations of a standard lower than those mentioned above are performed by creatures called Asaṃjñī.

Similarly, the comments of Śrutasāgara on Tattvārtha-Śutra II, 24 (Saṁjñinah samanaskāh:) are significant. He says :-

Saṃjñinām sikṣālāpagrahaṇādikṣaṇā kriyā bhavati. Asaṃjñināṁ siksālāpagrahaṇādikaṃ na bhavati. Asaṃjñināmapi anādikālaviṣayānu bhavanābhyāsadārḍhyādāhāra-bhaya-maithuna-

parigraha-lakṣaṇopalak ṣitāścatasraḥ saṃjñāh abhilāṣapravrityādikaṁ ca saṁgacchata eva, kintu sikṣālāpagrahaṇādikaṃ na ghaṭate. i.e. the *Saṃjñi* Jīvas show activities like grasp of Sikṣā, Ālāpa etc, while the Asaṃjñīs do not. Yet the Asaṃjnī Jīvas indulge in the four instincts (Saṃjñās) of eating, fear, mating and appropriation of external objects (Āhāra, Bhaya, Maithuna and Parigraha) as well as in actions directed by a desire etc. on account of their confirmed practice of the experiences since eternity. But in their case, proper response of *sikṣā Ātapa* etc. does not take place.

These remarks of the commentators go to prove that a certain amount of mental activity is indispensably implied in the acceptance of *Mati* and *Śruta* Jñāna in the lowest class of beings and yet they are called Asaṃjñīs because the degree of mental development required for any kind of training, or practice of an act, or reproduction of sound and utterances of others, or receiving advice (*Sikṣā, Kriyā, Ātapa* and *Upadeśa* is) lacking in them. The proposition of the total absence of mind in the Asaṃjñī Jīvas is, thus, quite untenable, and it has to be accepted that they also possess a mind which functions adequately enough to enable them to enjoy the *Mati* and *Śruta* forms of knowledge.

Non-Violence in Jainism

Jainism is one of the oldest religious systems of the world. In India its fundamental ascetic practices find mention in the earliest literature, namely, the Rigveda, and its first prophet, namely, Rsabhadeva, is recognized in the Puranas as a great ascetic of the hoary past. The most ancient literature of Buddhism mentions the *Nigganthas*-the Jain ascetics as a flourishing institution in the time of Buddha. The last prophet of Jainism was Mahavira who was a senior contemporary of Buddha, and scholars are now agreed that Mahavira did not preach a new religion but reformed the old faith of the *Nigganthas*. Jainism has thus flourished in this country for the last twenty-six centuries, and is actually much older than that.

The fundamental creed of Jainism is non-violence as the highest ethical virtue. In order to understand this fully, it is necessary to take note of the metaphysical aspect of the system. According to Jainism the universe consists of two ultimate realities, namely, the living and the non-living. Each living organism of which there exists an infinite number in the universe, possesses a soul which is eternal and retainsits individuality for ever. Consciousness and knowledge are its characteristic features, but these qualities are obscured by the soul's contact with matter. Perfection of life through knowledge, which is the highest spiritual goal, could be achieved by the soul only by a process of purification which frees the soul from the material bondage called *Karma*.

Ethics of non-violence is based upon this fundamental position. All souls are potentially the same and they are struggling for evolution towards the goal of perfection, according to the circumstances and opportunities imposed upon them partly by the forces of nature and partly by their own previous activities. Thus, their mutual relationship is similar to that of the travellers whose destination is the same, though they might choose different paths. It is their duty as fellow beings to help each other; at any rate no one should place an obstacle or impediment in the path of the other. Violence of any kind-in deed, word or thought-is a hindrance to oneself as well as others. Hence it must be carefully abjured, in order that there may be peace in society and progress in the individual promoting happiness which is sought by all.

Jainism propounds a complete scheme of life in accordance with the above spiritual and moral principles. For this purpose human society is divided into two classes. Firstly, there are men who renounce worldly interests and devote themselves

to spiritual purification. They are called ascetics, monks or *Munis* (sages) devoted to contemplation. For them Ahimsa is the *sine qua non* the absolute indispensable vow in all their activities. They have not to injure even a fly-to say nothing of human life-in thought, word or deed, even at the cost of their life. They maintain the highest standard of Ahimsa carried to its full logical conclusions. Secondly, there are the householders, men of the world, who have to earn their livelihood, maintain their families and organize civic life. For them it is only the intentional and deliberate injury to life (*Samkalpi himsa*) which is prohibited; while the injury involved in the everyday pursuits of life such as walking, sweeping, cooking, etc. (*Arambhi himsa*); in the discharge of occupational duties such as agricultural operations, transport, etc. (*Udyogi himsa*); and in self-defence, *i.e.*, safeguarding life and property (*Virodhi himsa*), is considered unavoidable. An average citizen is a true Jaina so long as he discharges all his duties taking care that no wanton destruction of life in any form is involved, and where injury cannot be avoided it is kept at its minimum.

This practice of Ahimsa is not possible without the cultivation of certain other allied virtues calculated to remove or at least reduce the causes of strife and consequent destruction. Malevolent speech, greed for property and undesirable sex relations are the most outstanding and patent causes of enmity amongst men. Hence the spirit of Ahimsa has to be reinforced by sincerity, clarity and truthfulness in speech (*Satya*), non-stealing (*Achaurya*), chastity (*Brahmacharya*) and limitation of one's worldly belongings strictly in accordance with one's own essential requirements (*Aparigraha*). These four along with Ahimsa constitute the five vows of a Jaina layman as well as a Jaina monk—for the monk in their strictest form, and for the layman in their relaxed or modified form so as to make them consistent with his other duties. Cultivation of these virtues, I am sure, will safeguard a man against the application of the penal code of any civilized country.

The last of these five vows, namely, *Aparigraha* or limitation of worldly belongings deserves a little more consideration here, because almost all the ailments of the world to-day belong to the sphere of property. In the moral scheme of life propounded in the five virtues it is not only enough that one should abjure theft of another's belongings, but he should also set a limit upon what he would possess and hold as his own. The ethical consideration behind this is that every man's desire or greed is limitless, while the world and its physical contents are limited. Therefore, it is impossible to satisfy everyone's desire in its crude form. In the interest of the individual and the society it is, therefore, necessary to prescribe limits to the possessions of an individual. But when this is forced from above by the state without the moral and active support of the people or a large class of them, it leads to the adoption of unscrupulous business methods and even the demoralization of the administrative machinery itself. Therefore, the policeman must be inward in one's own conscience, to induce him not to hold for himself what he really does not need. And if he happens to get more in his ordinary honest way of life, he should devote the surplus to charitable purposes like medical relief, spread of education, measures against loss of life and feeding the hungry. Limited as the material resources of the earth are, they are sufficient for the needs and reasonable comforts of all, provided they are properly distributed and utilized.

The proper frame of mind for recognizing our duties and other' rights in this matter could be prepared by the broad outlook promoted by the philosophy of *Anekanta*, *i.e.*, regarding truth as many-sided and admitting even opposite views on any subject as containing partial truths which have got to be co-ordinated and harmonized into one system which would represent the reality in all its aspect.

It may naturally be asked whether society could be organized according to these principles of Ahimsa. The answer is-certainly it can be. If the virtues could be inculcated in the individuals who form the society, the latter is automatically reformed. The attempt to shape and mould the individual has gone on in India for centuries and to a large extent Indian society has become permeated with the ideas and ideals of Ahimsa. But, unfortunately, the refined fabric has again and again been spoiled by an influx of brute force and selfish ideas from outside dazzling the common men and alluring them by the prospect of immediate gain. The lesson to be learnt from the experience is that no country can be pacifist in isolation. If this was true in the past it is much-more so now when the international contact has developed so vastly in all spheres of human activity. The pacifist scheme of life should, therefore, be planned on a universal scale and the active co-operation of all leaders of society in different countries should be sought. It would have been enormously helpful if in this task we had to-day in our midst Mahatma Gandhi who not only understood and practised what was the best in the Indian culture pertaining to Ahimsa, but could apply its principles to the solution of most baffling problems of life to-day, including those in the sphere of economics and politics. But if, unfortunately, the Mahatma is not in our midst, his teachings as well as all the ancient preachings of Jainism pertaining to Ahimsa are luckily with us. It was Jainism which had imparted to Indian culture the noble principles of non-violence and retrieved the country from the cult of animal sacrifice in which it was once steeped. Mahatma Gandhi had himself been inspired by the Jaina teachings through Shri Muni Raichandraji to whom he has openly acknowledged his debt. In spite of severe opposition and persistent storms, Jainsim has kept the torch of Ahimsa lit up for millenniums. Luckily, the task is now shared by a large band of pacifists from all parts of the world. Let us hope that the efforts which are now being made to root out the evil of enmity and war will succeed and we would be able to establish universal peace and goodwill for which the world is very much pining to-day.

Section - V

Contribution of Jainism to Indian Thought

The Jainism

If we minutely look at all the religions of India, we shall find that efforts have been made to base every religion on some philosophy or the other. All religions whether sponsored by a spiritual preceptor or based on adoration or consisting of spiritual knowledge have been installed on proper investigation of (God's) creation and essential nature of truth. For those religions which consider God to be the doer or creator or personified, He is one single individual and in order to uphold the prestige of His philosophy His command must be obeyed.

But Jainism has a different cult and for that reason Jainism tries to expound experience of life and on that establishes the pre-eminence of the philosophy. When man sees around him, he finds things which can be brought under two everlasting categories: the first category consists of things that are inert and have no power of hearing or understanding. They are known as lifeless. In the other category we include such objects, call them substances or animals, which have the power of thinking and understanding. They exhibit such characteristic traits as lead to prove that they have been inspired by some special philosophy. They have senses, mode of leading life or attitutde, they have feeling of touch. They have eyes (specially eye of knowledge) and ears. They have mind, speech, vital breath and power of inhalation and exhalation which all have been bestowed on them by Nature. They are born, they grow, become emaciated and ultimately die. Thus in our living experience we come across many many such objects or individuals. On this basis Jainism propounds two fundamental principles by which the whole universe is divided into two classes. These two classes of things are respectively described as Jiva and Ajiva i.e. the senescent and inert, the conscious and unconscious, the living and nonliving or the spirit and nonspirit. These two categories are eternal in creation and are not inter changeable. Jiva is existence or reality. The word Jiva, however, is a little illusory, for it is manifestly regarded as the combination of five subtle elements, the body being amalgamated with it. But the element whose essential nature is eternal or immortal is really the animate or sentient. The chaste word to be used for it is Atman or Soul. Therefore, Jiva or soul or spirit, and Ajiva or non-spirit or inert, the two prime elements of the visible universe constitute the lease, or are the basic cause of the whole existence. They have many divisions, and identifications. For example, all the visible lifeless objects that we see are in essence

the forms of one and the same which in Jain lexicon is known as Pudgal or matter which is the prime cause of all the visible objects. Another category of Ajiva or lifeless substances is that of invisible objects which also include Kala (Time) and Ākāsha (space). These two elements have been recognised in all other systems of philosophy. Besides these two, Jainism accepts two other principles which are known as Dharma and Adharma. But Dharma and Adharma do not stand here for merit or demerit, virtue or sin, as are commonly understood. In consonance with special Jaina technical terminology, they are principles of motion and stability. They pervade the whole universe or that part of space which is called Lokākasha. Ākāsha or space only provides a place or things, gives them a resting or dwelling house as it were. That which makes movement possible has been conceived of as another element known as Dharma. Dharma as such, therefore, stands for motion, throbbing, pulsating activity. There is however, another power which can arrest, with-hold or inhibit motion. That is termed as Adharma or stability or inactivity. Ordinarily, these two may be regarded as different attributes of Akasha or space. But in cardinal thinking it has been stipulated that one element in its purest form should do one act only. Those that have many activities are in fact multi-movement complexes. Thus, the Akasha is to provide space. Dharma is like water in the case of a fish. It is only a medium which does not move the fish, but makes it possible for the fish to move. It pervades the whole of lokākash (universe) and helps movements of animate and inanimate objects. In the same way that which helps in stopping the movement or to restrict motion is known as Adharma.

Thus there are these four formless inert elements known as Dharma, Adharma Ākāsa and Kāla. Pudgal is matter which manifests itself in all forms of visible things which are governed by sense perception. They can be seen, touched, heard, smelt or tasted. All that can be sensed is synonymous with Pudgal. Strictly differing from these five is Jiva or Atman, a living force, what lives or is animate. These six go to form the cardinal elements which constitute the whole universe. They strike or influence, act and are acted upon by each other with the result that all this variegated world is produced.

Now brushing aside the theory or aspect of Jaḍa (inert substances), let us exclusively turn to Jiva. Soul is pulsating every living creature, and for that reason alone, it is considered living or having life. It is independent. It has its own existence, and this existence of it remains constant eternally. Ajiva (or lifeless or nonspirit) and Jiva (spirit) both these elements, with their six fold divisions or distinctions, are all without beginning and end i.e. eternally existent. They have, in fact, an eternal flow, unimpeded influx. Hence in Jainism, as in other religions or other systems of philosophy, there is no controversy as to when and where this creation begain? When did God create it? If created, how was it done? or which element was produced first, and so on? Innumerable controversial views are expressed in this connection. But Jainism sets all doubts and apprehensions at rest by offering a simple solution that it is a beginningless and endless flow. It is axiomatic, eternal and fundamentally basic. It may however, be noted that prima-facie changes are definitely visible. In this connection Jainism defines Sat (reality) as that which is characterised by Utpāda (birth), Vyaya (decay) and dhrauvya (persistence) "Utpāda-vyaya-dhauvya-yuktaṃ sat." This means that though

instrinsically eternal, they undergo modifications which are subject to birth, death and persistence. The dravyas (or enduring substances) have eternal existence of Sattā. "To suffer change and yet endure is the privilege of existence." The changes or modes or Paryāyas come into beings, persist and ultimately disappear. But through all these changes runs one element which is constant and eternal. Along with eternity is also present birth and death. This duality (substance and mode) in objects is the result of the nature of existence as defined above. Thus all modification (Paryāyas) are deep-rooted in attributes (guṇas) which themselves are endless and are naturally found in all things. This duality may further be explained by a simple example : If I draw your attention to the furniture here, we can say that in a physical sense there are tables, chairs, almirahs, doors etc. They are all made of one substance wood. But their full connotation and practical knowledge or shape will not be revealed by calling it wood, because it has assumed several forms, undergone many changes known as Paryāya or modification. It is apparent that by its peculiar shaping and size we begin to call it chair, or table or almirah. Thus through all the various changes we still find "birth (utpāda), vyaya (decay) and Dhruvya (persistence)-in the original wood and its new forms. This is all due to birth and death which are known as Paryāya (modification). Modification or transformation is found in all things and if we were to look from this angle of vision, we shall find that the current of change runs constantly through every substance, and the whole creation is subject to the various attributes such as new, old, temporary and persistent for a short or longer time are the Paryāyas, but through the changes there runs self-same perennial under-current of one-ness. Suppose a person wants to portray himself. I take my own example. I, Hiralal, was born some 50-60 years ago. But since then perhaps not one of that biological atom which I inherited from my mother (got from my mother's womb) is present now. they are all metamorphosed and are still in the state of transformation. But verify there is one thing, or correctly speaking one current by which not only my parents but friends and relatives recognise and call me by the same name and know me as the same person. In the same manner all this metamorphosis is inherent and underlies existence of everything and has influenced all.

It has already been pointed out that Sat or reality is characterised by Utpada (birth) Vyaya (death) and Dhrauvya (persistence). All these are found in every existence or every existence has these qualities (guṇa). The same gold when changed into ornaments, we call bracelets, necklaces or rings. But one and the same gold is present in all the ornaments. Such *transformation* is taking place in every entity; and as a result, we find all the variety or diversity or manifoldness. Thus, the second tenet of Jain doctrine which is proved *sine dutrio* is that if we wish to comprehend or correctly understand the objects around us we should bear in mind the two postulates known as Dravyārthaka and Paryāyārthaka. These are technical terms and may be a difficult to understand at the outset. But they are simple in meaning. The idea is that when our intellect probes into the inherent commonness or evenness in things, we see equality or similarity or one-ness. But when looking from an adverse angle, we find dis-similarity or oddness. In the former case we look to its intrinsic nature, its reality (dravya); and in latter case its different forms (Paryāyas) come into view, and through them we

different objects, begin to experience variety, varigated-ness and specialities. To revert to my previous example, what difference intrinsically is there between a table and a chair? Both are made of wood. In all such things wood is the highest common factor. Our intellect will thus move in one straight direction i.e. take into account only same-ness or oneness. If we straight direction i.e. take into account only same-ness or oneness. If we stretch our imagination from wood to human beings or all other visible objects we shall find in all forms (Paryāya) of the substance (dravya) of Pudgal (matter). In short we can say that they are forms or changeable modes of the enduring substance or reality. In the present set up or in the present age of science we might mention Electrons and protrons which give birth to objects. But when we consider their different forms or specialities, we find that no two things or objects are equal to each other. The reason is that Nature is always changing. It has no static mould or matrix of one type which should bring out the same cast every time. Nature does not frame two things of the same type. There is lot of variation and it is accentuated by Paryayas (modes). These two factors underlie the whole creation. One may be regarded as the aggregate (Samashṭi) which is considered to be made up of parts, each of which is the same as the whole; the other being its natural form where qualities or properties are absent. In one case our intellect is drawn towards oneness but in other we are led away by variations. The same idea promulgated in Vedanta which tells us "Ekaṃ Sat Viprah vahudhā vadanti". "Reality is one, the wise describe it in many forms." In short Samahti kyashti go to form the nucleus of the whole universe: unity and diversity.

As has been pointed out before, no two objects in creation are produced identical. We may paradoxically asert that men have striking similiarity. We have eyes, ears, nose and body exactly all alike. We practically eat the same kind of food, seeing, hearing and other sense perceptions of human functions are verily the same. This leads us to same-ness or equality and dis-similarities are equally astounding. For in regard to complex of one is fair, the other is dark, clothes are different, likes and dislikes, merits and demerits knowledge, experience understanding, conduct behaviour, reaction and reflexes, deliberations. Oh! how wonderfully diversified. Thus this similarity and dissimilarity are the two channels or directions two phases or facets of creation When we consider the Dravya (the substance or ingredient) we are led to equality or one-ness. But when our attention is drawn towards Paryayas we find untold diversity.

Therefore the Jain Rhetoric has established one unparalled principle that if we want to understand any object in its entirity or in its true perspective we can not assert its essential nature in one word or in one breath. Endless are its qualities or characteristic properties and mysterious are its propencities. But even when we are able to describe some (although we must have many others in mind) outstanding features only it may be enough for our practical purpose and this gives us great power. We can, in no way, describe all the qualities or peculiarities in one lot. But we must be within limits no matter whether we are stressing only one point or absolutistic giving conclusive proofs or whether we, like a sceptic are advancing vociferous arguments, osciliating from side to side, which may apparently look false, contrary of even contradictory. But even in such cases we shall find a logical sequence, consistence or propriety. This is the trend of thought.

This is one reason why even the greatest exponents of scepticism have claimed that the so called feded objects in a collective sense bring out their true nature and all that is claimed to be false is only one sided. What is considered to be false is so from one point of view or experience in one way. It is not universal. Hence in such a position neither can we understand nor say anything. Whatever we say, ask or think is based on one sided thinking or understanding its onesided existence. What we surreptitiously or hastily declare as false is one of the fact that we are not able to understand truly the angle of vision. We do not exactly know the view point with which it is described. If we can intelligently understand and exactly grasp the proper insight, the ture significance, the fullest connotation, perceive without malice other's view points, then all that at one time all considered to be psychological opposition will readily change into consistency and the true nature of the substance will be revealed and emerge forthwith. This is what is known as anekantvada i.e. in order to understand an object fully, we must always take into consideration its true nature and peculiar qualities. This is the discriminating conception in Jainism.

Now let us consider another important point. Just as in an entity there is the sense of doer and is always subject to transformation, in the same, as the Jain's believe, the soul also undergoes a change every moment. But it can never lose its identity. Upayoga is a technical word used in this connection. Upayoga means "active consciousness" upayoga therefore is the defining characteristic of soul. This active consciousness may be two fold i.e. sakara (determinate) and anakara (indeterminate). In Jain terminology the first is known as Jnana and the second as darshan, or in other words Jnana is determinable knowledge and darshan is indeterminable intution. Darshan and Jnana and the fundamentals of life and distinctive marks of Jiva. Darshan or intution is that self-consciousness which gives us experience, that "I am". We accept that the table cares for its own existence but living beings experience "I am" first and then can notice all others objects existing around them. The experience or understanding of outside objects is dhyana or concentration and realizing one's own existence is darshan or intution which gives self-consciousness and self experience to oneself and perception of external objects.

This leads us to another important step. This self consciousness pervades the whole universe. Not only animals, birds or insects but also the smallest particles of elements, earth fire water and wind are endowed with souls. There may be difference in degree i.e. some may be low, mediocre or developed. The highly developed souls subdue their ego and knowledge and nonself. They belong to the category of sages, spiritual saints, contemplators etc. who have become conversant with ultimate reality. This is really the true nature of souls knowledge is their very nature. They get the power to acquire omniscience. This in other words is known as Kaivalya (final emancipation), absolute and eternal. It is known as Kaivalya because it is unalloyed, it is self-isolation when the so-developed soul become omniscient it realizes its own true nature and is ultimately raised to pedestal of highest divinity. The inner self becomes the transcendental self.

Thus in the stages of development, there are three states of the self, viz bahiratman (the exterior self), antaratman (the interior self) and Parmatman (the transcendental

self). Before the dawn of spiritual attainment, before the knowledge of self and nonself, the exterior self wrongly believes that it is none other than body and consequently concentrates on worldly objects and worldly pleasures. A man would foolishly say, "I am, this is my son, my house, family and other belongings". The interior self begins to distinguish itself from the physical and discriminates itself from the body and sense organs. He begins to apprehend the distinction between Swa (self) and Par (nonself). That is an extrovert atman. This is also known as granthi-bheda i.e. it cuts the knot and experiences the spiritual vision. It is thus mid-way between the exterior and the soul before the attainment of omniscience. On the attainment of omniscience, it becomes transcendental self. It is thus that the interior self after attaining cardinal virtues and incessantly and carefully treading on the path of spirituality attains Kevaljnana (perfect knowledge) and Kaivalya (final emancipation). This is the highest attainment for the soul or self. It, in this way, becomes Paramatman, the Supreme Soul. In fact, of the self the bahiratman, antaratman and Parmatman and the three manifestations (one higher than the other) which bestow on it the highest perfection. Jainism lays down simple but effective course of conduct or paths as they are commonly known to guide us how we can convert the bahiratman to Parmatman. They have prescribed customary observances which together in the layman's eyes is termed as dharma (religion). The real dharma in fact is to eradicate by means of perfect knowledge the exterior and interior self in order to completely realize the transcendental self i.e. to proceed from the exterior and ultimately attain transcendental or the ultimate. In the practical field, these accomplishments, in ordinary sense, are known as religions performances or ceremonial acts or rites. Right conduct, however, is the wall on which in whatever shape or colour we want to paint ourselves, we come to realize that man's true nature is his atman which is definitely other than his physical self and which pervades all living creatures right from the tiny insect to the highest being. It is common in all and for that reason they all endeavour to attain parmatmahood or highest perfection. And just as there is common affinity and right sense of cooperation and mutual help among the travellers on the same path, in the same way such sense among all souls is adorable. This is the main reason why, from the point of morality or spirituality, killing, even as a common practice, is tabooed and considered to be a heinous crime, because when we kill or destroy any other creature we become an impediment in his manifestation towards or attainment of perfection. This sort of an obstacle is a real sin. For this reason non killing is greatly emphasized and considered to be the highest dharma (or duty). For the full manifestation of the soul, we have to curb certain physical elements also. Satya (truth), Shanch (purity), Brahmacharya (celibacy), Aparigrah (non-possession or non-acceptance) and Ahmisa (non-killing) are the five vows that are extolled by every religion. But Ahimsa (non-killing) has been given supreme importance in Jainism. In the matter of distribution of common property, group wealth worldly riches or even means of livelihood one must exercise proper restraint. Aparigraha (non-possession) is used in two senses i.e. as long as one is a householder he should have Alp-Parigrah which means that he can possess or collect as much as is sufficient for the bare necessities of life and proper maintenance and welfare of his family. He can hoard food-grains and other forms of wealth just as much as is required for peace, tranquality

and happiness of the members. Even when more than this is collected or comes to his possession by legitimate means he should use the extra for giving protection and food to the needy. If we get more wealth, we can get temples erected, can sink wells, establish educational centres and make provision for their continuance and maintenance. In practical life this has become a well-grounded tradition among the Jains and is considered to be a valuable principle and is being observed in some form or the other. But if we are really inspired by indomitable doctrines of Jainism, their spirit and not the form should be adhered to. This is only possible when we begin to look upon the whole world as Kith and Kin nay as ourselves. We should make honest efforts to make the family, society and all the beings of the world at large comparatively happier than what they would be otherwise. We should be genuinely interested in their welfare and sympathy, in the real sense, should spontaneously spring from the core of our hearts. How can others tolerate our effulgence and cosy life if they are miserable? Provision of medicines, teaching of Shastras, giving protection and food should not be done with an idea of display or exhibition or catching other's attention. It should bring succour and cheer to the destitute we should in fact be the mirrors on which others happiness should be reflected. This would bring solace to them and will be a real source of happiness to us as well.

For this reason the Jain Acharyas (spiritual teachers and guides) have from time immemorial, professed and laid emphasis on Sarvodaya (advancement and prosperity of all). Acharya ya Vi ba Bhave, the Sarvodaya leader, by launching his Bhoodan movement (voluntary gift of land to the land-less) has tried to mitigate and bridge the gulf of inequity of wealth between the rich and poor. Sarvodaya, by the way, is not a new word. In Jainism its pre-eminence was recognised 1500 years ago. In his hymn of praise, Samant Bhadra-acharya, in the 5th or the 6th century, has called Jainism as the holy place of Sarvodaya. He says, "Oh! the Divine and the glorious Jaina, Jainism is your Sarvodaya-holy place for it brings about mutual connections in the convictions of all living creatures, and among different religions and qualities. No other Dharma, worth the name, is such as can be sloley taken as final and as can remove distinctions among different souls and establish harmony and mutual understanding among them. Therefore may this Sarvodaya Tirth (a holy place for bringing about prosperity to all) be propicious and beneficial to all."

This is in short is a simple narration of elegant Jain doctrines which I have placed before you. It will be seen from the above that all religious knowledge, conviction of the people, modes of adoration and the like do in some form or the other, bear a stamp and are influenced by these principles and will seek completion on these principles.

Prakrits and Jainism

One of the results of the great ferment in our national life during the struggle for independence is the application of the utilitarian and scientific standard to every sphere of thought and activity. If religion is to be regarded as valuable, it must be proved that its fundamentals are true to nature and that its teachings can lead to a solution of some problems of life. If a study is to be promoted and pursued, it must be shown capable of yielding tangible result for the betterment of life, both socially as well as individually. Naturally, Jainism also had to be subjected to examination from this point of view. The first and greatest social value of the new age is liberation and freedom. This is also the cardinal principal of Jainism. All its other virtues are mere aids to achieve it. In this connection it is worth noticing that according to Jainism, no true liberation and freedom can be achieved except through knowledge; and right knowledge and understanding could never be divorced from good conduct. Knowledge and conduct of the right type are therefore not only essential but sina-qua-non of true freedom.

Equality of opportunities is, again, in great demand in the present order of society. Jainism upholds this virtue as a natural corollary of the doctrine that no distinctions of caste and creed attach to human life from birth. All are entitled to the fullest development of their personality and he who stands in their way is a sinner. It is violence to bar anybody's progress. This is the basic idea on which the most important ethical virtue of Jainism namely Ahiṁsā is based; and even in the social and political sphere it has now come to be regarded as very essential to peace and prosperity.

This naturally raises the question of clash of interests which is a patent factor in all strife, whether individual or social or international. Toleration based on the understanding of the opposite party's point of view is the only remedy of this disease; and this is exactly what Jainism has preached under its system of *Syādvāda* and *Anekānta* or *Nayavāda*. No two things are identical in nature : variety is nature's glory. But a close scrutiny cannot fail to reveal the underlying common elements in seemingly different varieties. Similarity and variety are two aspects of a continuous reality, and the true art of life lies in the process of selection and elimination of the common and the uncommon elements as occasion demands.

A wave of dissatisfaction has spread all over, on account of economic hardships. Real shortage of essential commodities is one cause of this. The shortage in this case

can only be removed by hard and honest work in producing more. But in many cases the trouble is not due to shortage, but hoarding. In either case the remedy sought is through rationing and controls with their accompaniments of monopolies, quotas and permits which in their turn create fresh problems and public resentment as well as underhand dealings publicly known as black-marketing. Corruption is sought to be remedied by anti-corruption measures which open fresh channels for corruption and bribery. Government finds no other way to check it. But this government from outside not only fails in achieving the object, but tends to demoralise the people. Jainism emphasises the necessity of self-government or *Ātmasaṁyama* in the individual, so as to make him averse to hoarding. A sense of limit to one's own possessions or *Parigraha-parimāṇa vrata* is the proper remedy for restoring economic balance in society.

These are some of the problems of the modern age and their remedies as propounded in Jainism. And it is not without significance that one of the Jain ascetics Ācārya Tulsī has organised a country-wide movement for the propagation of the Jaina ethical virtues known as *Aṇuvratas* as a code of conduct suitable for all classes of people so as to purge the society of its corrupt practices and unbenevolent dealings. Progress in an undertaking of this kind by an ascetic organisation is bound to be slow. But what is of importance in the matter is that it is a move in the right direction. Numerous books and pamphlets have been published and widely circulated. A fortnightly journal called *Aṇuvrata* was also being issued, besides a weekly magazine called *Jaina Bhāratī* which keeps us informed about the progress of this movement as well as of many other literary and religious activities of the Terāpanthī Jaina Saṁgha.

Another powerful centre of Jaina studies of its own kind has developed at Sonagarh in Kathiawad, round the personality of Shrī Kānjī Swāmī. The studies at this centre are based chiefly upon the Prakrit texts of the ancient and great Digambara Ācārya Kundakunda, and more particularly, his out-standing work of great celebrity namely *Samaya-sāra-Prābhrit*. A good deal of literature in the form of books and pamphlets has been published, and a controversy has been going on about the views propounded by Shri Kanji Swāmi. His proposition is purely philosophical and idealistic. Taking his text from the Samaya-sāra, Swāmījī holds that all phenomenal changes in the soul or the external material objects take place by a process of self-emanation in which there is no causal link with any external agencies. To put it in the technical terminology of Jain Philosophy, there is nothing like a *Nimitta Kāraṇa*. It is only the *Upādāna Kāraṇa* which produces all changes, although the so-called Nimitta is always present through its own latent forces. The philosophy has been propunded at length, and equally forcefully it is being controverted. To me the controversy appears to be futile. In its ultimate analysis it will be found that Shri Kānjī Swāmī has over-emphasised the potency of Upādāna or the material cause, and minimized the role of the efficient cause or *Nimitta Kāraṇa* in producing the phenomenal changes in objects. The practical value of this approach, according to the Swāmījī, is that it helps in detaching the mind from the obsession and arrogance that one can make or unmake things. But apart from this, the services of Shri Kānjī Swāmī are remarkable for giving a fresh impetus to the study of the works of Ācārya Kundakunda who has been commemorated by a temple at Sonagarh, and for inspiring numerous adherents all over the country who study his writings with great devotion and zeal.

In the field of Jaina Philosophy I have before me the doctorate thesis of Dr. T.G. Kalghatgi on 'Some Problems in Jaina Psychology' published by the Karnatak University (1961); Dr. Y.J. Padmarajiah's 'Comparative study of the Jaina Theories of Reality and knowledge' on which the author won his doctorate from the Oxford University (Jain Sāhitya Vikāsa Mandal, Bombay 1963) and Dr. Upendra Thakur's 'Studies in Jainism and Buddhism in Mithila' (Chowkhamba Pub., Varanasi, 1964). The subject matter of the first two books is sufficiently clear from the titles and they bear the impress of deep study and systematic exposition. In the last book only 25 pages out of a total of 161 have been devoted to the rise and growth of Jainism and Jaina antiquities in Mithila. The rest of the book is occupied by the Vedic schools and Buddhism. Siddhasena Diwakar's *Sanmati Tarka* is a monumental Prakrit work on Jaina Logic. It was first edited with Abhayadeva's Commentary bv the veteran scholar Pandit Sukhalal Sanghavi (Ahmedabad 1921) and its Gujarati translation was published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha in 1932 and the English translation by the Svetāmbara Jaina Conference in 1940. Panditji has now given us its very valuable Hindi Translation (Jñānodaya Trust, Ahmedabad, 1963). For a historical study of *Sanmatisūtra* and Siddhasena we have recently received Dr. Upadhye's English translation of the long and valuable monogram on the subject by Pandit Jugal Kishore Mukhtar (Delhi 1965). The historical materials presented by Pandit Sukhalalji and Pandit Jugalkishore Mukhtar when put together help us in understanding better a number of problems associated with this author and his work.

Jain Philosophy has been treated in a number of contributions as follows :-*Jaina Nyāya kā vikāsa* by D.L. Kothia (*BHU* Oct. 1965); K.C. Sogani's Fundamentals of Jaina Mysticism. The Negative and positive Sides of Conduct according to Upaniṣads, Gītā and Jainism (VSJ, III 1965). Some Religious Concepts of Bhagavadgītā and Jainism (*Bhāratīya Vidyā* 24, 1964) and the Concept of Devotion in Jainism (*VSJ*, IV, 1966). The subject of *Sarvajñatā* according to Devotion in Jainism (*VSJ*, IV, 1966). The subject of *Sarvajñatā* according to the Jaina point of view was discussed at a symposium at the Philosophical Conference at Faridkot by Pandits Kailashchandra, Darbarilal Kothia and Ramji Simha and is reported fully in the *Dārśanika Traimāsika* (XI, 1, 1965).

With the advancement of studies in Indian Linguistics and publication of ancient texts, interest in Prakrit languages and literature has also grown. This is to some extent reflected in the place which is being given to the teaching of Prakrits at the University stage. The *University of Bihar,* for example has provided a full course for its Master's degree in Prakrit and Jainology and the teaching is being conducted at the Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahiṁsā. This Institute was so far functioning at Muzaffarpur, but it has now recently moved to its own buildings at Vaishali, the birth place of Lord Mahāvīra. Research work in the subject of Prakrit and Jainology is being conducted at this Institute, and one Ph. D. thesis on 'Studies in the Bhagavati Sutta' an important work of the Jaina Ardha-Māgadhī canon by Dr. J.C. Sikdar and another on "A critical study of the Prakrit Narrative Literature of Haribhadra" by Dr. Nemi Chandra Shastri have already been published by the Institute (1964-1966). Two other theses on *Pauma-cariam* of Vimalasuri by R. Chandra and 'A critical study of the works of the Apabhraṁśa poet Raidhu' by Rajaram Jain had been accepted for the award of the Ph.

D. Degree by the Bihar University, and it is awaiting publication. One great deficiency in the University of Bihar is that this study of Prakrits and Jainology at the Post-graduate stage is not linked up from below, as the study is not provided in the under-graduate courses. As a result of this a sufficient number of qualified students is not available at the post-graduate stage, and a high standard of knowledge is difficult to be achieved. I hope the Director of the Institute Dr. N. Tatia is making efforts to remove this shortcoming. The *Magadha University* has, however, provided courses in Prakrit, right from the first year of its Under-graduate studies, and it is also promoting research work at the highest stage, as is evident from the fact that the thesis of one of the teachers of its constituent college at Arrah, Dr. Nemi Chandra Shastri on the subject "The contributions of Jaina Poets to Sanskrit Poetry" has been recently accepted for the award of the D. Litt. Degree. Another thesis for the D. Litt. Degree on the subject of "Theory of Matter in Jaina Philosophy" is nearing completion by Dr. J.C. Sikdar Ph. D., who is at present working as a Senior Research Scholar of the University Grants Commission at the University of Jabalpur. At this University combined courses of Pali and Prakrit are provided right from the beginning of the Three Year Degree Course up to the Master's degree, and research work is being conducted at its Institute of Languages and Research. Similar combined courses in Pali and Prakrit from the beginning upto M. A. are provided by the Nagpur University. There the Head of the Department of Pali and Prakrit, Dr. Bhag Chandra Jain, had submitted his thesis on "Jainism in Buddhist Literature" at Vidyodaya University of Ceylon. It remains yet to be published. A few other Universities, the Bombay, Gujarat and Karnatak, and also Baroda, Sardar Patel, Poona, Kolhapur, Mysore and Vārāṇaseya, have prescribed full courses in Prakrit from the Pre-University up to M.A., and research work in Prakrit Languages and Literature as well as Jainology is also being conducted there. But in the rest of the Universities either there is no provision at all for the teaching of Prakrit or it is given a very significant position in one paper at the M.A. stage along with Linguistics, Pali or Modern Indian Language. Thus the study of Prakrit is not uniformly well-established in our Universities.

In this connection we welcome the establishment of *Prakrit Vidyā Maṇḍal* with its head office at the L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad. The aims and objects of this Mandal include efforts for the introduction of Prakrit in schools, Colleges and Universities, encouragement of students to study the subject, by financial help towards books and fees, as well as scholarships and prizes; publication of suitable text books as well as conducting classes for teaching Prakrit. It also intends to make efforts for inclusion of the subject for Public Service Commission Examinations like Sanskrit and Pali. It is very gratifying to know that the Mandal has been duly registered under the Societies Registration Act, and has started on its career of work by announcing numerous aids and scholarships to students all over the country. They have already published one book *Mahāvīra Cariam* of *Guṇa-candra* to serve the purpose of a text book (Ahmedabad, 1965). For this achievement, the Hon. Secretary of the Society Shri Dalsukhbhai Malvania deserves our best thanks.

Shri Malaviya, Secretary, the *Prakrit Text Society* is continuously progressing in fulfilling its publication programme. According to the progress report which has

recently reached our hands, three works, namely, *Nandi Cūrṇi, Nandi Vṛtti* with *Ṭippaṇa* and *Pāsanāha-Cariu* were published during 1965-66 while seven other works, namely, *Sūtrakṛtāṅga Cūrṇi, Daśavaikālika Cūrni, Pṛthvī Candra-Carita, Mūla-Śuddhi prakaraṇa, Pauma-cariam* Part II, *Vajjālaggam* and Prakrit Grammar by Kramadīśwara were making good progress in the printing press. A complete press copy of *Uvāsaggadasāo* and a part of *Vyavahāra Sūtra Bhāṣya* were also ready. Editions of *Sthānāṅga Sūtra, Antagaḍadasao* and *Anuttarovaiya Sūtra, Uvavāiya Sūtra Prakrit Prakāśa* of Vararuci and *Harivaṁśa* of Svayambhu have also been planned and assigned to eminent scholars like Dr. S.B. Deo, Dr. N.V. Vaidya, Dr. V.M. Kulkarni, Dr. P.L. Vaidya and Dr. R.S. Tomar. All the titles mentioned above are quite familiar to the scholars of Prakrit and the importance of the publications will be readily realised.

The cause of Jaina Studies and Research in Prakrit literature is being notably advanced by the activities of *Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology*, Ahmedabad, under the able Directorship of Shri D. Malvania. A very large number of old manuscripts and their microfilms have been collected and a word index of the Ardha Māgadhī canonical works was in progress. A Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Series has been started and its first publication *Saptapadārthī* came into our hands some time back. Though the original work had been published before also, its commentary by Jinavardhana Sūri who flourished in the 15th Century has been brought to light now for the first time. The editor Dr. J.S. Jetley has done his job very well. Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. of Muni Punyavijayaji's Collection already published by the Institute, is very valuable for researchers, and so also the *Yogaśataka* of Haribhadra with his own commentary (1965). The monumental work *Viśeṣāvāśyaka-Bhāṣya*, with the author's own commentary is also expected to be out soon. The future of the Institute is thus full of hopes.

The *Pārśvanātha Vidyāsharma*, Varanasi has been maintaining a good library and promoting research work by awarding aids and scholarships. One of its scholars Dr. G.C. Chowdhury got his Ph. D. Degree on his work 'Political History of Northern India from Jaina sources (650 to 1300 A. D.) and it is now published (1916). It is very valuable and indispensable for all studies in Indian History of that age. Another scholarship-holder Shri Gokul Chandra Jaina earned the Ph. D. Degree of the Banaras Hindu University for his thesis on a cultural study of Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka Campū* last year, and this year yet another scholar Shri Komal Chanda Jain has recently been awarded the doctorate for his thesis on "The position of women in Buddhist and Jain canonical works". This scholar had earlier given us a book '*Prākrit Praveśikā* (Varanasi 1964) intended to fill the gap caused by the non-availability of Woolner's 'Introduction to Prakrit' on the model of which this work is planned. It contains sufficient grammatical and readable material for a three-year degree course in Prakrit or for first year post-graduate study. The Pārśvanātha Vidyāshrama also has its own scheme of Extension Lectures on topics relating to Prakrit and Jainology. The first series of lectures were delivered by Dr. Prabodha Pandit and they were published under the title *'Prakrit Bhāṣa'* (P. V. B. 1954). In the second series Pandit Bechardas Doshi spoke on the Jaina Āgama, and Dr. H.C. Bhayani delivered the third lecture series which are now available to us in a consolidated form under the title "Studies in Hemachandra's *Deśī nāmamālā*" (P. V. B. 1966) in which he has commented upon 597 words from Prakrit lexicography

which is of great value for all research work and study in that field. The Vidyāshrama also publishes a monthly magazine called *Śramaṇa* which is now running in its 17th year. Almost every issue of this magazine, besides keeping us informed about the activities of the Institution and some readable matter of popular interest, has one or two articles of original study and research in the field of Prakrit and Jainology. For example, even a casual persual of the *Śramaṇa* for the last few months will attract the attention of any scholar by its articles on Paumacariam and Paumasiri-Cariu ke mūla śrota by Dr. K. Chandra, Concept of *Ahiṁsā in the Śānti Parva* by Shri Bs.N. Sinha, Dr. Jacobi and *Vāsī-Candana Kalpa* by Muni Mahendra Kumar, *Ācārānga men ullikhita paramata Ārsha Prakrit Vyākaraṇa* by Pandit Bechardas Doshi. Under the able direction of Dr. Mohanlal Mehta the institution is developing very well.

The Jaina Siddhānta Bhavan, Arrah is a very old institution with a good library of old manuscripts and published works. It celebreated its Diamond Jubilee two years back. It also used to issue a good quarterly journal called *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara* in Hindi and *Jaina Antiquary* in English. It also published many works on Jainology. Unfortunately the activities of the Bhavana had become stagnant for many years. We are glad to know that the institution is now trying to resume its activities. Efforts are being made not only to restart publication of the Journal, but also to develop the institution as a centre for research work in Jain philosophy and literature.

A Jain research centre was established by the *Mahāvīra Kṣetra Saṁsthāna* at Jaipur in 1947. The Society did very good work in cataloguing the manuscript stores at Jaipur and other places which have been published. They bring to the notice of research scholars numerous Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṁśa and Hindi works, thanks to the efforts of Pandit Chainsukhadas and Dr. Kasturchand Kasliwal-who earned his doctorate by his researches about those manuscript stores of Rajasthan. His thesis is announced to be published soon by the society. Efforts are now being made to publish important works so far unknown. Amongst its publications, besides the catalogues, the *Pradyumna Carita* and the *Jinadatta-Carita* (1966) are, from our point of view, of very great importance, since they advance our knowledge of Hindi poetry and language about two centuries earlier than Jāyasi and his work Padmāvata. The language shows how the Apabhraṁśa transformed itself from the Middle-Indo-Aryan into the Neo-Indo-Aryan. They also prove beyond doubt that the Apabhraṁśas, as we find them in earlier literature, were not merely formal linguistic developments, but were actually the usage of the people for centuries before they evolved themselves in the Modern Indo-Aryan form. Let us hope that the *Mahāvīra Sāhitya Śodha Vibhāga*, will continue to bring to light many more valuable and unknown works. Our humble expectation is that more care and attention should be paid to the edition of these texts, because from the modern linguistic point of view even the minutest difference in reading, such as a long or short vowel, is of great significance.

We owe a deep debt of gratitude to the *Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha*, Varanasi, for numerous critical editions of very important Jaina works with accurate translations and informative introductions. Their latest publications brought out during the period under review are as follows :-In the Sanskrit series *Bhoja-caritra* of Shrīrājavallabha edited by B.S. Chhalda and S. Shankar Narayana (No. 29, 1964) and Vidyānandi's

Satyaśāsana Parīkṣā edited by Dr. Gokul Chandra Jain (No. 30, 1964) : in the Prakrit series, Nemi Chandra's *Karma-Prakṛti* edited by Pandit Hiralal Shastri (No. 11, 1964) : and in the Apabhraṁśa series, Kanakāmra's *Karakaṇḍa Cariu* (No. 4, 1964), Harideva's *Mayaṇaparājaya-cariu* (No. 5, 1965) and *Sugandha-daśamī Kathā* (No. 6, 1966), all these three edited by Dr. H.L. Jain. With a view to secure accuracy and uniformity, the General Editors of the Series Dr. Upadhye and H.L. Jain have now issued instructions to the editors about the general pattern of editing, translating and orthographical discipline to be observed in editing Sanskrit, Prakrit & Apabhraṁśa texts.

A very valuable trend is worth noticing here. Nayasena's *Dharmāmṛta* is an ancient and important Jaina work in Kanarese verse and prose. This has now been translated and extensively commented upon in Hindi by the Jaina ascetic Acharya Deshabhushana. The published work also contains the Kanarese text in Nagari Characters (Delhi 1965).

Throughout the ages of its history Jainism had always done justice to regional languages and promoted literature in them. Kanarese language had attracted Jaina scholars from very ancient times and some of the earliest and most important classical works of that language are by Jaina authors. Consistently with this tradition of Jainism, the Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha authorities have recently drawn up a scheme for the publication of critically edited Kanarese classical works with translation in modern Kanarese. The ultimate aim is to further translate them into Hindi, and if possible into other North-Indian Languages. Twelve works like *Pampa Bhārata, Vikramārjuna-Vijaya,* Poona's *Śāntināthu Purāṇa,* Ranna's *Gadāyuddha* and *Ajitanātha-Purāṇa* have already been selected for edition and translation for which co-operation of scholars like Prof. M. M. Bhat, Madras; Shri H. Devirappa, Mysore; Prof. K. S. Dharanendrayya, Bangalore; Dr. R.C. Hiremath, Dharwad; Prof. K.G. Kundangar, Belgaum, has already been secured, and the translation work has already started. The General President of this Oriental Conference and Dr. H.L. Jain were made responsible for the implementation of this scheme.

The most exhaustive and ancient Prakrit work *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* was completed in sixteen volumes in 1958. It contained the original Prakrit Sūtras of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali, Prakrit commentary of Vīrasena and complete Hindi translation of the Sūtras and the commentary in Hindi. We now have a handy volume of all the Sūtras only with their Hindi translation edited by the learned lady Pt. Sumatibai Shah, with an index of all the technical terms used in the Sūtras, (Sholapur 1965). It will be a *handy reference volume* but owing to the highly technical nature of the subject-matter very few would be able to understand it, in the absence of the commentary.

The *Jīvarāja Jain Granthamālā* had already produced sixteen volumes of texts and translations of ancient Sanskrit and Prakrit works, as well as critical and historical works in English such as *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, Jainism in South India and some Jaina Epigraphs,* and *Jainism in Rajasthan.* Its latest work *Viśwatattva prakāśa* with its well-documented review of Jaina Nyāya and the text bearing on it by Dr. V. Johrapurkar will be found to be very helpful for all future researches on the subject. This is what might be expected from a publication series which is specifically taken care of by a scholar of no less eminence than Dr. A.N. Upadhye.

The *Jaina Svetāmbara Terāpanthī Mahāsabhā*, Calcutta, has now instituted a series of publications called *'Agama Granthamālā'* and the first flower of it has recently reached our hands. The *Dasaveyaliya sutta* is an important work of the Ardhamāgadhī canon and it is planned to be published in three volumes. The second volume is issued first. It contains complete Prakrit text, Sanskrit Chāyā and Hindi translation side by side, followed by extensive explanatory notes on important words and phrases. A very valuable feature of the volume is that it contains a verborum word-index of the text as well as of the notes and also an index of the quarters of the verses. The first volume is promised to contain the text, with the various readings and their discussions, while the third volume will give us the Cūrṇi tales with complete translation. For this scheme we are very thankful to Ācārya Tulsi for inspiring it and Shri Shrichand Rampuria who is responsible for carrying it out.

We are very glad to know that a critical edition of the entire Ardhamāgadhī canon has been undertaken by the Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya, Bombay. In this Series the *Nandī Sūta* edited by the distinguished scholar Muni Punyavijayaji is expected to be published very soon. Let us hope that other volumes will follow in quick succession so that source material may become easily available to research scholars working in the field.

Two useful publications of the Āgama Aṇuyoga Prakashana, Delhi (1966) have just reached our hands. They are the *Samavayāṅga*, the fourth Aṅga of the Jaina Ardhamāgadhī canon, text with Hindi translation together with a detailed table of contents and two appendixes containing a subjectwise classification and concordance with the other Āgamas. The other publication is *Jaināgama Nirdeśika* containing in about a thousand pages detailed tables of contents of all the fortyfive Āgamas.

To the *Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute*, Jodhpur, we are indebted for a very large number of rare and important ancient classical texts brought to light. Some of their recent publications are worth noticing here. Padmashri Muni Jinavijaya Purātattvācārya has given us a catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. in the ROR Institute in two volumes in Roman characters for the benefit of the Western scholars. The value of this catalogue is highly enhanced by the selected extracts given in the appendix (No. 71 and 77). Muniji's edition of Raghunātha Kavi's *Prakritānanda* (No. 34), is an important and interesting work on the Prakrit Language and grammar. Our knowledge of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa metres is considerably advanced by Prof. H. D. Velankar's editions of *Svayambhū Chhandaḥ Vṛtta Jāti-samuccaya* of Virahāṅka and *Kavidarpaṇa* (No. 37, 61 and 62). Though these texts were already published by him in Journals they were not easily available to scholars. Prof. Velankar's survey of the development and character of the classical metres is masterly, as is usual with his writings. Some of Rajasthani Hindi works published by the Institute, particularly those belonging to the earlier period of Hindi literature, are interesting and valuable even from the point of view of the transitional stage of the language from the Middle Indo-Aryan or Apabhraṁśa to the Neo-Indo-Aryan form, more specially Hindi and Gujarati.

The *Pārśvābhyudaya* of Jinasena which incorporates within itself the whole of the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa by the process of Samasyāpūrti, is edited with English translation by Prof. N.G. Kothari. In the introduction, he holds that Nannarāja referred to in the

praśasti of *Harivaṁśa-purāṇa* as the builder of a Jaina temple at Vardhamānapura is the same as Nanna the minister of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Krishna III mentioned in the *Nāyakumāra cariu* of Puṣpadanta. This thesis as well as the chronological conclusions on which it is based are difficult to be acceptable in the absence of more convincing evidence. Dr. Paramanand Shastri has given us an edition of the *Gāthā-saptaśatī* with Hindi translation and introduction (Prakāśana Pratiṣṭhāna Merrut). We welcome the edition but feel that more attention was required to present a critical edition of such an important work.

It is very gratifying that the two volumes of Jaina Śūtras (Vol. XXII and XLV) of the Sacred Books of the East series have now been reprinted (1964) under the scheme of the Indian Translation Series of the UNESCO Collection of Representative works jointly sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural organisation and the Government of India. As was already well known, these volumes contained Dr. Jacobi's English translations of the Ardha-Māgadhī canonical works, namely *Ācārāṅga Sūtra, Kalpa Sūtra* and *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra,* together with very valuable footnotes, indexes and introductions indispensable for research work in the field. They were first published from Oxford in 1884 and were out-of-print for the last three decades and more. This means that numerous batches of research scholars have passed without having an easy access to these works. Some might have had no access at all. It is such situations which make research work in our Universities very difficult and of not a very high standard. It should be the duty of educational authorities that basic works of importance for study and research do not remain unavailable for a long time. *Jaina Yoga* by R. Williams (London Oriental Series Vol. 14) is a unique compendium of the Jaina *Śrāvakācāras* details from which are presented in a well documented form with historical prefaces.

Very valuable is Dr. Colette Caillat's Les Expiations dane le Ritual ancien des Religieax Jaina (Paris 1965) in which an exhaustive study of Prāyaścitta according to *Vyavahāra* and other texts has been made. This author's discussion of *Phāsu-vihār* and *Parihāra* in *Asiatic Journal* is also noteworthy. Dr. L. Alsdorf had read an interesting paper on the *Ākhyāna* Theory at the *International Congress of Orientalists* at Delhi and an amplified version of the same has now been published (*JOI* Baroda, XIII p. 195 ff. 1964). It discusses the nature of the Jātakakathās as well as the legendary chapters of the *Uttarādhyayana* in the light of Oldenberg's Ākhyāna Theory as well as other views on the subject. Dr. Alsdorf's review of the present position of Jaina Studies in College de france, 1965, is very useful. His latest contribution in *Akademic der wissinschaften and der literature,* Wiesbaden 1966, is, on the Āryā stanzas of the uttarājjhāyā-contributions to the Text History and Interpretation of a canonical Jaina Text. Thus Dr. Alsdorf is very well keeping lighted the torch of Jaina and Prakrit Studies in Germany so well established by Dr. Jacobi and Schubring. In fact his series of *Uttarājjhāyā* Studies (Indo-Iranian Journal Vol. VI, No. 2, 1962) had made it necessary that a number of contexts in that important text of the Ardhamāgadhī canon should be reedited and reinterpreted.

The *Mahānisīha* text, chapter, 1-5, edited by W. Schurbring and J. Deleu is a very valuable addition to our knowledge about the Ardhamāgadhī Canon (Hamburg-1963). Chapter 6-8 of this work had already appeared in 1951, edited by Schubring in 1918.

Thus the veteran German scholars have given us the fruit of their study of this important work over a period of 45 years.

Recently, Prakrit languages, grammar and history have received a good deal of attention. Hamacandra's Prakrit Grammar has now been published with an extensive Hindi commentary by Shri Pyarchand Upadhyaya from Beawar (V.S. 2020). Dr. Nemichandra Shastri gave us his critical study of *Siddha Hema Śabdānuśāsana* (Vidyabhavan Rastrabhasha Granthamala, Varanasi) and *Abhinava-Prakrit-Vyākaraṇa* in 1963 (Tara Publications, Varanasi), and *Prakrit Prabodhan* in 1965 (V.S.G. 130). His *Prakrit Bhāṣā aur Sāhitya Kā Ālocanātmaka Itihāsa* has very recently come out (Tara Pub., Varanasi, 1966). Dr. Shastri has still more recently won his D. Litt. degree from the Magadha University on his thesis "Contributions of Jaina Poets to Sanskrit Poetry" which now awaits publication. History of Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa is further enriched by the publication of Dr. Ramsingh Tomar's *Prakrit aur Apabharṁśa Sāhitya* (Hindi Parishad Prakashana, Allahabad University, 1964) and *Apabhraṁśa Bhāṣā aur Sāhitya* of Dr. Devendra Kumar Jain (Bhāratīya Jñānapītha, Varanasi, 1965). These two works were written as doctorate theses some years back and therefore naturally they are not quite upto date. But they no doubt present valuable material for studies of the subject. Acarya Narendra Nath's *Prakrit Bhasāon Kā Rūpadarshana* (Lucknow, 1963) and *Apabhraṁśa Bhāṣā Kā Adhyayana* by Shrivastava (Delhi) indicate a keen interest in Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa Studies which is commendable. Some of the works mentioned above are open to the charge of not making sufficient acknowledgement of their sources, while in some the Prakrit forms given by way of illustrations might be easily questioned. We, however, hope that the lapses of the first attempts will not be repeated in their subsequent edition and the new writer will be more careful in this respect.

In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, July-September, 1965 (Vol. 85 No. 3, p. 350 ff.) Dr. L.A. Schwarzsehild has discussed, "The Middle Indo-Aryan Prefix 'Vo' 'off' and some phonological problems associated with it.

In the *Journal of Oriental Institute, M.S. University of Baroda*, June 1964 (Vol. XIII, No. 4) Jarl Charpentier's paper in German on the Hathi Gumpha inscription of Kharavela has been translated into English by S.N. Ghosal. Here we find a full Sanskrit Chhāyā of the famous Prakrit inscription, its English translation and very illuminating notes. Charpentier supports the view of Sircar that the inscription mentions the first Jina carried away by king Nanda from Kalinga. In the same Journal Dr. K.R. Norman's articles on Middle-Indo-Aryan studies (from Vol. IX-XV) shed very valuable light upon the etymology of many Prakrit words; so also Dr. S.N. Ghosal's article on "Development of the Sanskrit conjunct 'ry' in Prakrit" (Vol. XIV, p. 440).

Other noteworthy contributions in elucidation of Prakrit language and grammar are as follows :

Bhāratīya Ārya bhāṣa aur Ardhamāgadhī by Vidyanand (*J S Bh.* Arrah 24, 1, 1964): *Agamon ke pāṭha-bheda aur unke mukhya hetu and Daśavaikālika ke cāra Śodhaṭippaṇa* by Muni Nathmal (*Anekānta* XVII, 1964); The word Ahacca in Uttaradhyayana by A.P. Jamkhedkar (*Velankar C. Volume*, 1965), Dr. H.C. Bhayani's A few problems of Apabharṁśa reconsidered (*In. Ling.* 25, 1964), and Prakrit Vigutta and Gujarati Viguta Etc. (SW. 1, 1, 1963), Dr. Ratna Shriyan's Some Foreign Loan Words in Pushpadant's

Apabhraṁśa (*Bhāratīya Vidyā* 25) and a study of Deshya words from Mahapurāṇa of Puṣpadanta (*JBU* XXXII, 1963); Bhartṛhari on Apabhraṁśa by Subramania Aiya (*VSJ* II, 2, 1964); Kannaḍa Words in Desi stock and Kannada Elements in Dhatvadeshas (*JKU* VIII and IX, 64 and 65, by B. K. Khadavadi; Interpretation of some difficult passages and words from Bhavisayattakhā of Dhanapal by L.G. Parab (*JOIB*. 14, 1965) and Paramamitra Shastri's Apabhramśa Aur Deśī (*NPP*, 32, 1963). An obscure Apabhraṁśa verse quoted in the Daśarūpa has been discussed by Dr. G.K. Bhat (*Vel. Com. Vol.* Bombay, 1965); but in this connection the earlier observation of Dr. A.N. Upadhye and Dr. P.L. Vaidya may be noted (*J. Univ. of Gauhati. XI*, pp. 126-127). 'Hemacandrācārya ke Vyākaranoddhrita Apabhraṁśa Dohon kā Sāhityika Mūlyāṅkana' by Shaligram Upadhyaya (*JS Bh*. 24, 1964) and Cultural Ethnography from Vasudevahindi by A.P. Jamkhedkar (*D. C. Bulletin* 23) may also be noted here. Dr. K.R. Chandra had received his doctorate on the basis of his critical study of Vimala Śūri's *Paumacariaṁ*. Although the thesis had not been yet published we have many glimpses of it in a number of his published articles in Hindi, Gujarātī and English, such as Paumacariraṁ kā kathāvastu (*Shramaṇa* 17, 11, 1966), Videshi Rāma Sāhitya par Jaina Rāmakathā kā prabhāva (*JS Bh*. 24, 1964), P.C. ke racnā kāla Śambandhī katipaya aprakāshita tatthya (*Muni H. M. Com. Vol*); Vimala Sūri Kṛta P. C. nā deśya ane anukaraṇātmaka śabda, and Vimala Sūri ane Raviṣena-Pūrvāparatā nirṇaya (*Svādhyāya* 3, 1 and 2, 4); Metres in the PC (*JOIB* XV, 2, 1965); Literary evaluation of PC (*Jaināshrama*, Varanasi, N. 17 1966) and Sources of Rama story (*JOIB* XIV, 2, 1964). In this context the two articles of Dr. P.M. Upadhye are also noteworthy: Geography known to PC and Maxims and Pithy Saying in PC (*JOIB* XIV, 1963, 64).

Dr. Devendra Kumar Shastri has given us a number of articles : Apabhraṁśa Kathākāvya (*Śodha Bhāratī* I, 1965, and *Medhā*); Apabhraṁśa kā eka pramukha Kathā Kāvya-Bhavisayattakahā (*Bhāratīya Sāhitya* 8, 2, 63), Apabhraṁśa aur Hindi kosha, and Hindi par Apabhraṁśakā prabhāva. The thesis of Dr. Devendra Kumar Shastri for the Degree of Ph. D. was on a critical study of Bhavisayatta kahā of Dhanapala-a well-known Apabhraṁśa work originally edited by Dr. Jacobi (Germany, 1914) and later by Dalal and Gune (Baroda; 1923), quite interesting and revealing is Shri M.J. Kashalikar's article on the story of Draupadī's Svayaṁvara, in the *Mahābhārata* and some Jaina works (*JOIB* XV, 2).

In the field of general history we welcome Dr. Jyoti Prasad's *Jaina sources of the History of Ancient India* (Delhi 1964). On reading it one feels that some details need verification in the light of the original texts. Another welcome publication is Dr. Jagdish Chandra's Jaina Āgama Sāhitya men Bharatīya Samāja (Chowkhamba Vidya Bhavan, Varanasi, 1965). This book is a Hindi Translation of the author's own doctorate thesis 'Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jaina Canons' published earlier (Bombay 1947). The work before us is not merely a reproduction of the English version, but it incorporates fresh material which the author could not include in his thesis or which was not then available to him, and in many places the statements have been revised. *The Religion of the Tirthaṁkaras* is an exhaustive survey of Jainism by the late Shri Kamtaprasad Jain who presided at Prakrit Jain section at the Ahmedabad session of the Oriental Conference.

Dr. A.N. Upadhye's edition of *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotana Sūri was published some years back (*J.* G. Bombay, 1959). But owing to its importance from the linguistic as well as literary point of view it is even fresh in our minds, particularly in our expectation of its promised Introduction which we are told is awaiting publication in the press, but of which we are given a foretaste by a number of other publications. His edition of Ratnaprabha Sūri's Sanskrit digest of the work has already appeared and Shri Hemasāgara Gaṇi's Gujarati translation of it is also published (Anand Hemagranthamala, Bombay). Dr. Upadhye's articles on the Palaeography of the palm leaf mss. of KM (*Central Museum Nagpur Commemoration Vol.* 1964); Languages and Dialects used in the KM (*JOIB*, 1965), Geographical Background of KM (*Barua Comm. Vol.* 1966) and works and Authors referred to in the K.M. (*V. Indological Papers Series*-146, 1965). It proves how a simple Prakrit expression when wrongly Sanskritised, can mislead and play hide and seek for long with eminent scholars like C.R. Devadhar, Motichandra, V.S. Agrawal and A.D. Pusalker.

In this connection I am sorry to bring to the notice the unfortunate tendency to change the Prakrit passages in the classical dramas into pure Sanskrit throughout, and relegate the Prakrit portions to footnotes, as if they were not their original part. It is against all the dramaturgical rules, ancient as well as modern. It is in fact ridiculous to make every actor, even a domestic servant or a child, to speak chaste Sanskrit. The effect of this upon the students of Sanskrit is very disastrous as they remain quite ignorant and unfamiliar with the Prakrits the language of the people who always formed the major part of society in which only some highly educated persons spoke Sanskrit.

A few compilations containing useful and interesting articles may also be noted. The Jaina Śvetāmbara Terāpanthi Sabhā organised a Jaina Philosophy and Culture Conference at Bikaner in October 1964, and its proceedings have now reached our hands. It contains articles in Hindi, Bengali and and Englie of which are based upon deep study and thought. The Appendix contains titles and some information of no less than 81 papers and magazines pertaining to Jainism, the oldest being the *Jaina Śodhaka* (No. 62) a Marathi weekly from Sholapur which had completed 81 years of its file. There are five others which are more than sixty years of age and could, therefore, claim to be respectably old. They are, in their order of age, the Hindi Weekly *Jaina Gazette* (70 years), Hindi Weekly *Jaina Mitra* (66) the Gujarati Weekly *'Jaina'* (64), the Marathi Weekly *Pragati āṇi Jinavijaya* (64) and the Gujarati Monthly *Ātmānand Prakāsh* (62). In the commemoration Volume of Munishri Hazarimal (Byawar) as well as of Gurudeo Ratnamani (Jaina Bhavan Lohamandi, Agra, 1964) we find a number of important articles on Jainism and Prakrit Literature.

A number of doctorate theses have recently been prepared and degrees on them have been awarded. Some of these have been mentioned above in the context of the institutions at which they were prepared. A few more may be noted here. Dr. A.P. Jamkhedkar's study of the cultural aspect of *Vasudev Hindi* and Dr. N.T. Punde's study of the Political Ideas in the *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena were sumbitted to the University of Poona. Dr. S.M. Patil's Study of the Philosophy of Shrimad Rajchandra, was submitted to the Baroda University. Dr. K.K.C. Acarya's critical edition and Study of *Prakrit Sarvasva* was submitted to the Utkal University, while Dr. Narendra Kumar Vidyārthi's

comparative study of the Lives of Rishabha and Bharat on the basis of the *Mahāpurāṇa* of Jinasena, was submitted at the Saugor University. At this University another doctorate candidate has prepared his thesis on a critical study of *Ācārāṅga* Sūtra. The question is how to get them published. It is becoming increasingly difficult to find private publishers for such works, because they cost much and command a very limited sale. So the only way is for Universities to publish them with the aid of the U. G. C. Unpublished research work brings no credit to the University concerned and fails in its object of advancing and disseminating knowledge.

Lastly, so far as the writer is concerned, his edition of the rare allegorical work in Apabhraṁśa. *Muayaṇaparājaya-cariu* with Hindi translation and introduction; *Karakaṇḍa-cariu*, 2nd edition with Hindi translation added and the introduction revised; and *Sugandha Daśami-Kathā* in Apabhraṁśa, Sanskrit, Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi and sixty-seven old illustrations, have recently been published (Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Varanasi, *Apabhraṁśa Series,* Vol. V, 1962, Vol. IV 1964 and Vol. VI 1966). About the latest publication *Sugandha D. K.*, the opinion of Dr. L. Alsdorf, Professor of Indology, Hamburg University, has just reached my hands. He says : "There is nothing to equal it among the many hundreds of texts that have appeared in the last decades. It was as excellent idea to combine five different versions of this interesting story in five languages. You have acquired very special *puṇya* by reproducing in full the illustrated Nagpur MS. This is a most interesting and valuable contribution to Art History in general and the history of Jaina book illustrations in particular." Two more works of Dr. H.L. Jain of Apabhraṁśa texts are of importance. The *Sudaṁsana-Cariu* of Nayanandi besides its other special features, illustrates numerous metres. It is to be published by the Research Institute of Prakrit and Jainology, Vaishali. The other work is the voluminous *Kathākośa* of Śrichandra which is particularly valuable in support of Hemacandra's rule about the cerebralisation of the dental nasal. This work will be included in the Prakrit Text Society Series. Dr. Jain's three research papers of this period have been published in the *Madhya Bhārati,* Bulletin of the Institute of Languages and Research, Jabalpur University (No. 1, 2 and 3). They are : A contemporary Ode to Candragupta Vikramāditya, The sources of Padmāvata, and Identification of Vardhamānapura and the ruler of Avanti in Śaka 705.

Even this brief survey will, I hope, suffice to carry conviction to the scholarly world that this field of study and research is not barren as some persons believe, and the work turned out in a short period of two years is not insignificant in quantity or quality. There is a good deal of Prakrit literature which needs to be critically edited, translated and studied. In this respect the Apabhraṁśa literature has been more lucky because it came late in the field of study and from the beginning a high standard of editing such works was set by a very competent German scholar Dr. Jacobi. Scholars like Dr. Schubring and Alsdorf in Germany, and Dalal, Gune, P.L. Vaidya, Upadhye, Bhayani and many other fresh scholars in our country have tried to maintain that level. But a critical study of the works published from the linguistic and cultural points of view has only now begun, and there are still numerous works which remain to be edited and published. Thus the scope for research in the field is very vast still.

What Jainism Stands For?

1. According to the Jain Puranas there was a time when the whole society of men lived in peace and harmony, without any trouble and without any struggle, every one getting what he wanted and being satisfied with what he got. There was then no distinction of the ruler and the ruled, the master and the servant, and no idea of mine and thine. There was then no religion. But the happy state of things was disturbed when the idea of private property and ownership caught the fancy of man. The harmony of society was then broken and an era of struggle for life and existence, with its consequent warfare and trouble, commenced. It was at this stage that the great teachers of the age preached religion in order to avoid, or, at any rate, to control, as far as possible, the clashes of worldly interests by placing before men certain higher ideals. Thus, according to Jainism, religion originally came in, not for safeguarding the future life of men in heaven, but as a measure to keep peace on earth, promote goodwill amongst mankihd and inspire hope of a higher life in the individual.

2. Various systems of religion have grown in the world at different times in different lands. If analysed closely and intelligently, they will all be found to contain the same truths and the same morals. Differences will be found to exist in details and for the reason that particular aspects of truth and morality are emphasized in one in a particular manner and no so emphasized in another. Jainism has attempted a "rapprochement" between these seemingly warring systems by a breadth of vision which goes under the name of Syadvada or Anekanta. The Doctrine of Anekanta draws attention to the fact that there are innumerable qualities in things and beings that exist, and ever so many sides to every question that may arise. We can talk about or discuss only one of them at a time. The seeming differences in statements vanish when we understand the particular point of view. I say, "I am mortal". Another man says, "I am immortal". These are diagonally opposite statements between which there seems to be very little common ground. Can we accommodate both in one system? Jainism says, "Yes; please try to understand the view point of each statement before declaring them to be irreconcilable. Is it not that the one who says he is mortal is emphasizing the phenomena of birth and death of this body, about which there can be no dispute; while the other who says he is immortal is thinking of the imperishable nature of things in their essence. The form of things may change, but their substance, call it the

soul or the primal matter, continues to subsist. Nothing that is, can be annihilated. In the Jain terminology, the one who calls himself mortal is true from the point of view of form or acquired qualities; while the other who calls himself immortal is true from the point of view of substance or inherent and essential qualities. Thus, what is irreconcilable opposition in the eyes of others is, to a Jaina, not only a mere difference of point of view but a necessary stage in understanding a thing in all its aspects. The two statements are supplementary of each other and go together to convey the truth. It is because a part is mistaken for the whole that the difference arises. Jainas illustrate this by a significant story. Seven blind men went to get an idea of the elephant. Each of them could feel with his hands only one part of the huge animal, and when they sat down to compare notes, they began to quarrel. The one who had only felt the elephant's leg said that the animal was like a huge round pillar; the other who had felt the tail declared the animal to be merely like a stick; while the third who had felt the elephant's ear affirmed on oath that both of them were wrong, for, he was sure the elephant was like a winnowing basket. Thus they quarrelled without any hope of coming to terms, for each had the conviction of personal experience in the matter, till, at last, a man with eyes told them that they were all right, and all wrong. They were right because each of them had stated a part of the truth; and they were wrong because they wanted to pass a partial truth for the whole truth. Put all the partial truths together and you get the whole elephant. Every difference in religious and philosophical ideas—in fact, in all opinions and beliefs—may, in this light, be understood to furnish not a cause for quarrel, but a welcome step towards the knowledge of the real truth. It is from this point of view of its synthetic outlook that the Jaina system has been claimed by its own logicians as a synthesis of the so-called false beliefs.

3. We have seen above how a difference, or, to be more accurate, a seeming difference of opinion may arise between two persons when they are actually speaking about two different aspects of the truth. There would, similarly, be a great manifestation of difference when they both use the same word in different senses. One says, "God is the creator of the universe". Another says, "God is not the creator of the universe". In spite of their utter difference the two statements can very well be reconciled if the idea of God in each case is analysed when it will probably be found that the one who believes God to be the creator means by God the ultimate power of Nature which is at the root of all that exists; while the other means by it the absolved soul, the ideal of peace and supreme bliss which his opponent perhaps calls by some other name such as the Muktatma or the like.

4. There can hardly be anything of practical value in life which will hold good for all times and all places in exactly the same way. Yet these important factors of time and place are frequently neglected or forgotten in estimating the truth of different statements, and this furnishes yet another fertile source of misunderstanding. A time was, for example, in the history of the Aryan people when animal sacrifice on a large scale might have been necessitated by the circumstances, namely, extension of colonies, clearing of forests and making the land suitable for agriculture. Similarly, when one kind of profession began to attract too many people, irrespective of their capacity for it, while other important and vital professions began to be neglected on account of the

hardness of life involved therein, it became justifiable to bring into force the law of Varnasrama, so that there might be men enough for all kinds of necessary work in society. It would, however, not be just nor fair to maintain and emphasize these institutions of animal sacrifice and caste-restrictions when the time for them is passed.

5. We might feel inclined to blame Islam for its unsparing enmity to idol-worship and the institution of cow-sacrifice. But if we study the conditions prevailing in Arabia at the time when its great Prophet Muhammad preached these ideas, they become intelligible to a reasonable mind. At that time the most barbarous brutalities were in vogue for idol-worship, and even human sacrifice was prevalent. If to suppress this barbarism Muhammad preached against idol-worship, and if, not being able to make people give up animal sacrifice altogether he substituted the cow for man, we have to thank him rather than censure him. It must be remembered in this connection that the cow was not as useful to the Arabs as it is to the Indians; it was the camel that was more useful to them. Similarly, the marriage laws and the law of divorce that the Prophet promulgated, howsoever unfair they may appear to us to-day, were, no doubt, a great improvement upon the conditions that prevailed there before him. But what was right in Arabia at a remote age cannot be claimed to be equally right to-day and in India. We must take into consideration the difference in time and place.

6. This is the doctrine of Syadvada or Anekanta or view points which forms the basis and the *sine qua non* of the Jain system of thought. It requires that all facts and assertions should be studied in relation to the particular point of view involved and with reference to the particular time and place. If these differences are clearly understood, the differences in principles will vanish and with them the bitterness also. Obviously, this is the best means of promoting common understanding and goodwill amongst the followers of different faiths. One might say that this is mere common sense and that the principle is pre-supposed in every system of thought. It must, however, be remembered that the principle if kept in the background is always forgotten when needed most, and that common sense, unfortunately, is a thing which is most uncommon. In the Jaina system the principle is always kept in the forefront, and hence, *religious toleration and fellowship is the essence of Jaina philosophy*.

7. I shall now deal with another principle of Jainism which is also of very great importance and of universal application, but which has frequently been misunderstood and misrepresented. This is the principle of Ahimsa or non-injury to living beings. Primarily, the preaching of Ahimsa was directed against the institution of animal sacrifices in which hundreds and thousands, nay, millions of dumb and harmless creatures were butchered in the name of religion. This necessarily set the Jaina saints a-thinking and they asked the question, "Is this shedding of blood really necessary for the betterment of the soul?" They received an answer from their inner conscience that the shedding of blood was *not only not* necessary but it was against all canons of settled and peaceful religious life and holy conduct. But when the mind is blinded by fanaticism, reason, which alone can guide us as to the requirements of time and place, becomes obscured and superstition and custom take its place. So the Jaina saints decided to reawaken people as to their duty towards themselves and towards all other beings.

They emphasized Ahimsa as the rule of good conduct. Briefly stated, it comes to mean this : Life is sacred in whatsoever form it may exist. Therefore, injure no life, and let this be the highest ethical principle. Be a gentleman : a gentleman is one who has no tendency to do violence. Every religion worth counting recognizes the sanctity of human life : Jainism wants the same feeling to be extended to the other forms of life as well, namely, beasts, birds, and smaller creatures. But one might say that life in the world is wellnigh impossible with absolute abstention from injury to all forms of life. So Jainism distinguishes various kinds of injury according to the mental attitude of the person committing it; for, it is the intention that causes sin. It is conceded that a good deal of injury to life is involved even in the daily duties of an ordinary man, such as walking, cooking, washing, and the like pursuits. The various operations of agriculture and industry also cause destruction of life. Life, again, may have to be injured and even destroyed in the act of defending one's own life and property. So, with the catholicity which characterizes all its rules, Jainism does not prohibit a householder from committing these three kinds of Himsa which may be called accidental, occupational, and protective; rather, shirking from them would be considered a derelication of duty. It is only the injury for injury's sake, for the merest pleasure or the fun of it without any thought and without any obvious higher end to serve, that a householder is recommended to guard himself against. Whenever the occasion arises, let him ask himself the question, "Is it necessary for me to injure this being, and if so, what is the minimum amount of injury that will serve the need?" This much care and caution would save him from a lot of wanton destruction.

8. It is not the infliction of physical injury alone that constitutes Himsa, but violence in words and violence in thought is also Himsa, and one must abstain from these too. Would these be called by reasonable men principles calculated to weaken communities and nations? In this age of armament and bitter struggle, one feels inclined to say "Yes" to this question. But if religion has to fulfil its mission of bringing peace on earth and goodwill amongst mankind, it must always emphasize the ultimate good, and declare evil as evil howsoever unavoidable it may appear at any particular time. Consistently with this view, Jainism wants abstention from injury to life to be established as a rule of good conduct; it wants to make people gentlemen who have no tendency to do violence to anybody. With its outlook of Anekanta, Jainism recognizes that it is not always easy or good to abstain from inflicting injury; in such cases it recommends us to go by the rule of minimum of injury.

9. The other Jaina ethical vows are truthfulness, abstention from stealing, and sex-fidelity which need no comments here. They, together with Ahimsa, it might be said in passing, constitute such a nice and simple code of good conduct that a reasonable observance of it would leave no scope for the application of any of the sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. The fifth and last vow requires some explanation here. It is called "Parigraha Parimana Vrata" or the vow of setting a limit to the maximum wealth that one would possess. As said above more than once, the aim of Jainism is to avoid, as far as possible, undesirable clashes in life and consequent disharmony in society. Under the present vow, a householder is recommended to fix beforehand the limit of his worldly belongings which he would never try to exceed. If and when he has reached

that limit, he will either try to earn no more, or, if the earnings come in spite of himself, he would devote the surplus to charitable purposes the recognized forms of which are medical help, spread of education, distribution of food and other measures of relief from suffering. The spirit of the vow is clear. One should not be too greedy or selfish. The common wealth is limited, and so, in fairness to others, one should take to himself only as much as, according to his own reasonable estimate, he needs. This is good for the individual satisfaction as well as for the society. One cannot fail to recognize in this vow a very quiet and peaceful attempt at economic equalization by discouraging undue accumulation of capital in individual hands. It is, however, no fault of the religion itself if such noble principles have frequently been recognized in their violation rather than in their observance. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the vow has created in the Jaina community a very charitable disposition as a result of which large amounts of money are devoted every year to deeds of philanthropy and so many charitable institutions are being permanently financed by the community.

10. Yet another principle of Jainism might be mentioned here. Jainism does not preach that there is any special power ruling over the destinies of men from behind or above. On the contrary, it teaches that every individual works out his own destiny by his own mental and physical exertions which, by themselves, generate energies that bring to him agreeable or disagreeable experiences. This is the *Karma* theory of Jainism which has been worked out in great detail. According to it, nothing, as a rule, will come without effort, and no action will go without its appropriate result. It makes each individual fully responsible for his progress or decay-a sort of complete individual autonomy. The Jains worship, not the creator or the destroyer of the universe, but those great saints whom they believe to have known the ultimate truth and to have preached it to humanity. These saints they call *Tirthankaras,* that is, those who made it easy for others to cross over the ocean of life.

11. It will be seen that in a religious system like this there is no place for a distinction of caste and creed, and for a struggle for form and ceremony. But if within the Jaina community these weaknesses exist, they are in spite of specific religious injunctions against them and as a result of the close association of the Jainas with communities where these play an important part. In its philosophy as well as ethics Jainism has close affinities with Hinduism and Buddhism, and, in fact, with every other religion such as Christianity and Islam which have the same end in view, namely, the salvation of mankind. It, however, stands to the credit of Jainism that it actively seeks a synthesis with all other systems through its outlook of *Anekanta,* and logically proves that it is one truth which is revealed to us through its several aspects. It also wants non-violence in thought, word and deed to be established as a rule of good conduct. Thus, it makes a definite move towards a common understanding amongst all faiths that have been and that may be, and a feeling of brotherhood among all men.

12. The Jaina literary traditions claim a great antiquity for the religion which had been promulgated and revitalized from time to time by no less than twenty-four *Tirthankaras. The last of these was Lord Mahavira.* He was born a Kshatriya prince, his father and mother being Siddhartha and Trisala, the king and queeen of Kundalpur in

the kingdom of Vaisali. But the luxuries of royalty made no appeal to him. His mind was steeped in thought about the greatest problems of life, namely, the sufferings of mankind and how to overcome them. The solution could never be found in the entanglements of the palace and the kingdom. Therefore he renounced the world at the age of 30 and devoted himself to the practice of austerities, cultivating that discipline of the body and the kind which is absolutely necessary for the right understanding of life and nature. This he did for a period of twelve years at the end of which Supreme Wisdom dawned on him. He found out the cause of misery and the way to remove it. The essence of his philosophy is already set forth above. This he preached for the remaining thirty years of his life winning a large number of adherents to his creed. He attained Nirvana at Pava at the age of 72 leaving behind a strongly organized community which has continued to flourish, with varying fortunes, throughout Bharatavarsha during the course of the last twenty-six centuries. The community has shared fully in the cultural evolution of the country and made substantial contributions to the national religion and philosophy, art and literature. Great was Mahavira's birth, greater still was the life that he led, and the greatest was the Truth that he revealed to mankind in the form of the Jaina creed. May the memory of His Holy Preachings inspire in us that breadth of vision, that spirit of toleration and that feeling of humanity which is the highest and most urgent need of the world to-day.

Mahavir Preached Ahimsa 6th century B.C.

LORD MAHAVIRA is known to world history as a close contemporary of Buddha in India, Confucius in China and Socrates in Greece.

All of them were great wise men who revealed human values of supreme importance and revolutionised human thought and culture by their philosophies.

But Lord Mahavira is distinguished by his great gift to humanity in the form of the highest ethical virtue of ahimsa, which has become of first importance in world affairs today.

It is, therefore, necessary to take an account of the life and teachings of this great world figure on the occasion of his 2600th birth day.

Sacrifices

Eastern India has been the scene of philosophical thought and activities since times immemorial. It was here that the supreme spiritual thought contained in the Upanishads was born with the Shramanas' cry of revolt against animal sacrifices which formed an integral part of the Vedic religion.

The Kshatriya nobility, influenced with a belief in the spiritual unity between men and animals, and conscious of their chivalrous duty to protect the sinless and punish the guilty, were the first to be aroused by the pitful groaning of the innumerable innocent creatures led to the sacrificial altar in the name of religion.

The ruling family of Vaishali belonged to one of these Kshatriya dynasties.

The prince of Kundanpur named Siddhartha was the son-in-law of Chetaka the king of Vaishali and a brother-in-law of Shrenika Bimbisara, the Emperor of Magadha.

It was this prince Siddhartha and his wife Trishala who were destined to be the parents of the Greatest Man of the Age namely Lord Mahavira.

The site where Mahavira was born is now mostly in ruins. It is identified with a village called Basarh (a corruption of the ancient name Vaishali) in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar where an institution has been established for the study of the teachings of Mahavira and the Prakrit literature which preserves them.

The young prince was brought up with care in the palace, and was imported the best education of his age. But the growth of years did not promote in him the love of royalty.

He felt impelled to devote himself to a life of austerity suited for the relief of human suffering and guidance towards supreme realisation.

Mahavira left the palace at the age of thirty For the next twelve years he devoted himself to a life of severe discipline as a monk. Even the slightest article of luxury and confort He considered to be a botheration and a hindrance in the way of spiritual pursuits.

He, therefore, assumed nakedness and came to be known as Niggantha or Achela (the clothless). It is by these epithets that Mahavira is mentioned in the most ancient Pali texts of Buddhism which assume Jainism as a well-established religion, and Mahavira is a well recognised teacher.

It must, in this connection, be remembered that Mahavira was by no means the first to practise this form of austerity. The most ancient Indian book the Rig-veda, itself records the existence of the Vata-rashana (air-clad) sages, and some of their practices are described there. It was in the line of these Vata-rashana Munis according to the Bhagavata Purana, the Rishabhadeva was born as the fifth in direct descent from Svayambhu Manu.

Tradition

The Jaina tradition is that Rishabhadeva was the first Tirthamkara, who was followed by twenty-two others to vast intervals, before Mahavira appeared on the scene as the twenty-fourth Tirthamkara.

The twenty-second Tirthamkara is known to be Neminatha, the cousin of Krishna Vasudeva of the Mahabharata fame. He practised penances at Girnar. The hill of that name in Kathiawar is still held sacred and is adorned with a large number of magnificent Jaina temples.

The twenty-third Tirthamkara is Parshvanatha who was born at Banaras and practised pennaces at Summeda-shikhara in Bihar, which continues to be the most sacred place of pilgrimage for the Jainas, and is popularly known as the Parshvanatha hill.

At the beginning of Indological studies by Western scholars Mahavira was hopelessly confused with Buddha. Later, when in the light of further evidences, his personality could not be so drowned his system of religion was considered to be an offshoot of Buddhism.

It was ultimately Dr. Hermann Jacobi's researches into Jaina and Buddhist literary traditions which established beyond doubt that Jainism was not only independent of Buddhism but Mahavira was a senior contemporary of Buddha and that Mahavira only revived a faith which was already current in his time, his own parents being adherents of that faith..

It was also proved that the Jain tradition regarding the twenty-third Tirthamkara Parshvanatha having preached 250 years before Mahavira was true.

The high priests of the Vedic cult were known as Brahmanas while the Jaina ascetics were called Shramanas.

The latter did not accept the authority of the Vedas, denounced Vedic sacrifices, entertained no faith in divine favour or disfavour and did not subscribe to the Varnashrama system of social distinctions.

The independence of the two orders was as complete as their antagonism the earliest stage and this is attested by the authorities and the grammarians of the Paninian school who illustrated rule of compound formation of words signifying irreconcilable opposition (Yesham Cha Virodhah Shashvatikah) be the example of Shramana-brahmanam.

First Sermon

Mahavira was thus the twenty-fourth and the last Tirthamkara of the Jainas. He practised absolute abstention from worldly possessions and preached Ahimsa on the eve of the historical period of Indian history.

He devoted twelve years to the disciplining of his body and mind away from the vibrations of the coach-horn and public opinion.

He lived on alms of food offered unasked and contemplated about supreme realities in the peace and quietude of the forest. The realisation earned on him and he became 'Kevali' (supremely enlightened).

He then reached Rajagraha the Magadha capital and delivered his first sermon on the Vipulachala, a hill in its vicinity, which is still held sacred for that event.

The Magadha emperor Shrenika Bimbisara attended on him and put numerous questions concerning the Shramanic traditions. The same were replied by his chief disciple Gautama Indrabhutta, and most of the Jaina puranas and narrative tales begin with an account of this meeting as their preamble.

Mahavira then undertook a wide tour throughout the length and breadth of northern India. He preached to large masses of people who listened to him with interest, accepted his teachings with faith, and practised the same according to their taste and capacity.

He organised his followers in a fourfold Samgha, Muni, Aryika Shravaka and Shravika (Monks, Nuns, laymen and laywomen).

He continued to preach for a period of thirty years, before he threw off his mortal coil and attained Nirvana at the age of seventy-two, at a place called Pava. The site which is now held sacred to the memory of his Nirvana is Pavapuri situated close to Bihar Shareef and not very far from Nalanda and Rajgir.

A fine temple with water all round exists at the site, and thousands of devotees go to this temple all round the year, but particularly on the fourteenth of the dark fortnight of Kartika to perform the Nirvana worship.

According to the Jaina tradition of very ancient origin, the most popular Indian festival the Deepa-malika or Divali was instituted in memory of Lord Mahavira's Nirvana.

Teachings

The teachings of Lord Mahavira constitute the Jaina religion which owns about two million followers today.

The religion is characterised by a special emphasis upon the freedom of the individual as the architect of his own fate, his moral responsibility for his deeds, synthesis of thought and ideas in arriving at the truth and Ahimsa as the highest ethical virtue.

All living beings possess an indestructible soul capable of developing and evolving itself by a process of purification into a Paramatma, higher than whom there is none.

Each individual is fully responsible for his deeds, mental, vocal and physical. These three-fold activities have a power in themselves to forge spiritual bonds capable of producing all the multifold events and experiences incidental to this life as well as the next, without the intervention of any other divine agency.

The idea is fully explained in the Jaina Law of Karma, pursuit of Truth is the key to salvation, and truth could never be known by being fanatic or dogmatic.

The way to it lies through Anekanta, according to which all seemingly warring notions and ideas are only the various aspects of a single reality which is many-sided.

Understand them and fit them into their proper places and you will get unity? Harmony? consistency and completeness which otherwise appear to be unattainable.

Lord Mahavira's teachings, however, reach their pinnacle of glory in his message of Ahimsa (Non-violence) as the supreme ethical and moral virtue.

All living beings are fellow travellers on the path of salvation. As such no one has a right to come in the path of another or cause any hindrance by any kind of violence of injury.

A gentleman has been defined as one who has no tendency to do violence to others. Mahavira has tried to transform all into gentlemen of this nature.

The moral principle of Ahimsa, applied judiciously, would purify all fields of human activity including social, political and economic spheres. 'Live and let live' is the sum and substance of Ahimsa.

Peaceful co-existence in individual as well as national and international spheres is a message of hope to humanity held out by this principle of Ahimsa.

Although Ahimsa has been the creed of the followers of Lord Mahavira for thousands of years, its practice was confined to the narrow limits of religion.

It was given to Mahatma Gandhi to apply the principle of Ahimsa effectively in the domain of political struggle for national independence.

Non-aggression, non-interference, respect for the freedom of others, mutual cooperation in peaceful pursuits, renouncing destructive weapons and utilising knowledge for promotion of happiness and alleviation of suffering all these are only the positive and negative aspects of Ahimsa in its application to social behaviour of individuals as well as nations.

For the propogation of these noble objectives and ideals, there could be no better occasion than the Birth Anniversary of the Great Apostle of Ahimsa, Lord Mahavira, whose message has been ringing in this land for twenty-six centuries.

It would also be in the fitness of things if Lord Mahavira's birthday is utilised for the spread of his noble teachings based on Ahimsa.

A time may soon come, let us hope, when the teachings of Lord Mahavira will be accepted universally as the best way to the goal of happiness and peace not only in this land or that, but throughout the world.

Schism and Rapprochement

It is now accepted in scholarly circles that Mahāvīra did not found a new religion, but reformed an old faith which was current in his time.[1] The followers of the old faith were known as *Śramaṇas* who formed a *monastic* order which differed fundamentally in its creed from the *Brahmaṇas* of the Vedic school. The Śramaṇas practised and preached the four abstinences (*cāturyāma*), namely abstinence from Violence, Untruth, Theft and Worldly possessions. When Mahāvīra joined the order he found that the behaviour of the Śramaṇas was not always sufficiently unworldly and free from anxiety. He therefore split up the last vow of abstinence from worldly possessions (*Aparigraha or Bahiddhādānāo Veramaṇam)* in to two, namely, chastity (*Brahmacarya*) and Poverty (*Aparigraha*). This did not mean that formerly chastity was not religiously practised by the monks. On the contrary, the emphasis used to be on this vow only, and the company of women being abstained from, some latitude prevailed as to the other belongings which a śramaṇa may possess. Mahāvira's intention in mentioning Brahmacarya as a separate vow was that Brahmacarya should not be the be-all and end-all of *Aparigraha*, but the latter should be practised to its logical conclusions by abstaining even from the slightest use of cloth. Consistently with this ideology he formulated the twenty-two endurances (*Pariṣahas*) which a monk ought to practise.[2] His followers thus confirmed fully to the *Nirgrantha* creed and came to be known as *Acela,* the clothless, distinct from the older *Śramaṇas* of the *Cāturyāma* school.

Mahāvīra's successor Gautama was able to convince the leader of the older school that the innovations introduced by the last Tīrthaṃkara were not only not contrary to their ancient creed, but they brought out fully the true spirit and essential features of that faith. The two groups thus merged into one and five vows were accepted by them all in place of the older four.[3] The compromise on the question of cloth appears to have been on the basis of allowing an option (*Kalpa*), as may be inferred from the emergence of the *Jina Kalpa* i.e. the practice of nakedness as preached by the last Jina Mahāvīra, or that of wearing some cloth as the older section, *Sthavira Kalpa,* did. This compromise, form its very nature, could not be lasting, because it was not possible to secure the spirit of equality between those who claimed to practise the harder vow of nakedness and those whom they considered to be weaker in their austerities. According to the succession list of *Ācāryas* after Mahāvīra, the order remained united for three generations only i.e. under *Gautama, Sudharma,* and *Jambū,* the *'Kevalis'*. After them the

leadership got split up and we find two separate genealogies of Ācāryas, the one starting with *Nandi* and the other with *Prabhava*.[4] From the various subsequent accounts of these two branches, we learn that the former were *Jina Kalpi*, the naked, and the latter were *Sthavira Kalpi* the clothed. It was, however, not yet that the Digambara and Śvetāmbara Sects had emerged in their rigid form, because we are told that deflections from one side to the other were frequent and easy.

The *Jina Kalpa* branch had one handicap as compared to the *Sthavira Kalpa*. The austerity of nakedness was not easy to be practised, particularly by those who had come from affluence, or had a bodily defect, and in any case, by the women folk. Numerically, therefore, the strength of the sect was less. This deficiency was attempted to be made up by *Ārya Śivabhūti* who, according to the Śvetāmbara traditions, renounced *Sthavira Kalpa* in favour of *Jina Kalpa*, and whom I identify with *Śivārya*, the author of *Mūlārādhanā*.[5] In this work we find nakedness prescribed as a rule (*Utsarga*) for monks, but an exception (*Apavāda*) has been made in favour of the rich converts, the sky, the physically defective and women who may wear cloth. Thus, within the Jina Kalpa itself certain amount of option came into vogue.[6]

But the seeds of dissension were inherent in the arrangement, because, logically the rule of nakedness became indefensible thereby. If some persons, for whatever reason it may be, could be considered monks and qualify themselves for absolute purification without abstension from cloth, why not others? So the rule of nakedness tended to be observed more in its breach than observance. At this stage *Kundakundācārya*[7] appeared on the scene. In his attempt to solve the problem for ever, he focussed his attention upon the religious practice of the last Tīrthaṃkara, Mahāvīra, who, without doubt, had examplified nakedness. Kundakunda, therefore declared that nakedness was the absolute and indispensable minimum for ascetic life, and those who could not practise it, had no right to be included in the *Muni Saṃgha*.

Since women could not be advised to give up their apparel they were allowed to continue in the Saṃgha merely as apprentices, though their stage of spiritual purity could not be admitted to be higher than that of the householders. It was only now that women were considered absolutely disqualified for true ascetic life and salvation which could not be achieved without unqualified renunciation of every thing worldly including cloth[8] an impossibility for woman. As a corollary to this, those texts which laid down equal possibilities of spiritual purity in man and woman, became inadmissible. It appears to me that this was one of the reasons why the sacred *Aṅgas* prevalent amongst the Śvetāmbaras were not recognised by the Digambaras. Not only that, but even the sacred texts like the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* which were, without doubt, composed by the Jina Kalpis, could not be regarded as authoritative in the Mūlasaṃgha of Kundakundācārya.

Compromise was however, once more effected by *Devanandi* who for his great achievement was honoured by the title of *Pūjyapāda* (of adorable feet) a designation by which he became famous in subsequent history. In his commentary called '*Sarvārthasiddhi*' on the Tattvārtha Sūtra of Umāsvāti, he tried to reconcile, the provision of woman salvation in the older texts, with the prohibition of the same in the Kundakunda school, by his well known formula of *Bhāva Strī* attaining salvation, but not so the *Dravya Strī*.[9]

The implication of this cryptic formula was that a man with a male body could be female in his sex feelings, and such a person being *Bhāva Strī* could qualify himself for absolute purity, but not so a person with a female body *Dravya Strī*. It was on this basis that Pūjyapāda succeeded in establishing unity between the warring elements within the *Jina Kalpis* who now became consolidated in the Digambara community as distinct from the Śvetāmbaras who admitted no such qualifications in the elegibility of women for salvation. The Digambara faith now rests upon Pūjyapāda's formula, so far as woman salvation is concerned.

The validity of Pūjyapāda's formula, is however, questionable. Attainment of salvation is a part of the laws of *Karma*. The same laws regulate the biological formations of bodies in accordance with the abstract potentialities which allow no mutual disparity in *Bhāva* and *Dravya* as presumed in Pūjyapāda's formula. Subsequent writers like Akalaṃka[10] and Vīrsena[11] have tried to support the formula in their own way, but their explanations only expose its inherent weakness.[12]

This short review of the events within Jaina community goes to show that :-

Provision for woman-salvation existed in the oldest books of Jainism. But this was found to be inconsistent with the rule of nakedness for monks on the presumption that women could not be recommended to give up clothing. Repeated efforts were made to reconcile the two views, and the last rapprochment on the subject was effected by Pūjyapāda Devanandi. His formula has served to keep the Digambara community united for about fifteen centuries.

But on examination in the light of the *Karma-Siddhānta*, Pujyapāda's formula is found to violate some of its fundamental rules. The position that emerges out of the examination is that either *Strī-Mukti* has to be admitted in an unqualified form, or the Karma philosophy as propounded in the most authoritative sacred texts has to be thrown over board. There is no escape from this position.[13]

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Kalidasa on the Himalayan Boundary

The Himalayan mountain figures profusely and very prominently in the poetry of Kalidasa. He regards it as the northern boundary region of India. It was the source of rich minerals and vegetable products from times immemorial. The birch bark which was the writing material prior to the invention of paper was obtained from there and so also the chowries which adorned the thrones and symbolised royalty. The requirements of the Devadara wood and peacock feathers were also supplied from there.

The Himalaya as a whole is very vast extending over hundred of miles towards the north. Kalidasa has therefore indicated, more or less precisely, the limits of the region which formed an integral part of the country, and the Indian emperor was expected to inspect the boundary at least once to ensure its safety and the loyalty of the inhabitants. It began from the outskrits of Persia in the west, turned towards the north and crossed the Indus, encircled the Kamboja land and reached the Kailashapeak. From there it turned towards the east crossed the Lohita (Brahmaputra) river, and terminated with the Kamarupa (Prgjyotish or Assam). The Kalidasa peak was reached from the plains of northern India by traversing the Brahmavarta Janapada through the Kurukshetra,[1] crossing the Saraswati,[2] touching Kanaphala where the Ganges descends from the mountains and enters the plains,[3] and then going through thick forests of Sarala and bamboo trees, abounding in musk and chowrie deer.[4] Then the snow peaks are met and the passage has to be made through the *Kraunch Kandhra* which was probably first discovered by Brigupati Parashuram.[5] Across this valley is the Kailash region.[6] This by Kalidasa appears to me to be identical with the valley called Konkala which figured so prominently in our dealings with the Chinese forces, and the boundary from Kailasa upto the Lohit division seems identical with the modern Macmahon line.

This boundary had to be very carefully watched and guarded. God Shiva was himself established on the Kailash peak and he kept crushing the enemies of the country, the Rakshasas and the Asuras. Kubera with plenty of monitary resources was in charge of the region, and he had a band of heroic Yakshas, the local tribesmen later known as Khashas, to patrol the boundary. It was one of this heroic band of warriors who for some reason, probably associated with love, failed in the discharge of his onerous

duties and was punished by banishment from the land for one year away from his family. This was the *Yaksha* in exile whose lot excited the sympathy of our poet lauriet and inspired him to compose the lyrical poem Meghaduta.[7]

The border was not peaceful. It was frequently disturbed by intruders from the neighbouring countries. Kalidasa has recorded of the events of this character in his own poetic and symbolic manner so as to place them above racial hatred and jealousy and yet affording sufficient warning to the intelligent. One of these events is described in the garb of the episode of king Dilipa and the cow Nandini assigned to his charge for protection. The cow grazes at ease in the Himalayan region till a lion attacks it and claims it as his prey since it had treaded upon the land which was his by divine disposal. The king tried to drive it away, but it began to lecture to the king dissuading from the attempt and threatening him with dire consequences. But the king showed his willingness to sacrifice his own life for the safety of the cow. His determination had its proper effect. The lion vanished and the cow was safe. Could this not be compared with the recent claim of the Chinese to some of our Himalayan territories, their brutal and treacherous attack upon our boundary guards, their threats and offers of peace and ultimately their retreat in the face of our determined defence. It may also be remembered to understand the symbolism of this episode the *Jau* means both a cow as wall as territory.[8]

Another event of the same character is indicated in the episode of the fight between Raghu and the Indra of the eastern mountains who tried to put obstruction to the sacred performances of Dilipa by capturing the horse so essential to the performance. Raghu who was guarding the horse challenged the culprit, who then claimed that his superiority being in danger of being eclipesed as a result of the sacred plans of Dilipa, he would not allow him to execute the plans in full. Only he would allow those parts of the plan to be carried out which would not clash with his dignity and honour. This is comparable to the Chinese fear of the strength of India which might result from the peaceful execution of its five year plans and its efforts to disrupt the same by compelling India to divert so much of its resources towards defence. It is remarkable that this threat came from the east[9] as the previous one from the north-west.

We may as well note the third event of a still more serious nature the details of which take up the whole of the Mahakavya *Kumarasambhava*. The gods complain to Brahma that the forces of Asura Taraka are harrassing them badly. Brahma assured them of the relief, but it would require a long patient effort. Shiva and Parvati must conjoin to produce Karttikeya who alone could lead the gods to success against the Asura forces. In course of time Karttikeya was born, became youthful and the threat of the Asuras was finally removed. It must be remembered that this Karttikeya was no ordinary person he was sixfaced and was reared by six mothers. Would it be too much to compare the event with the continuing Chinese threat. It would not be possible to resolve it finally unless the sixfaced programme is carried out. The mighty Karttikeya has to be nourished by the sixfold activities (Kriti) such as a strong government, a powerful army, adequate equipment, well developed industries, ample food and full co-operation of the people. These six *Krittikas* are the most essential need of today to meet the threats to our freedom from more than one sides.

One more important indication of Kalidasa might be noticed in this context. One finds frequent reference to the alliance between the kings of India and the ruler of heaven; and whenever the latter is threatened by the Asuras the Indian monarch goes to his aid and fights on his side. Dushyanta in the *Shakuntala*[10] and Pururavasa in *Vikramorvashingam*[11] fight the enemies of gods. Now one of the words for heaven is *Tridiva* and its ruler is called 'Tridivesha'. It has been surmised that *Tridiva* of the Puranas may be identical with Tibet. If so it is quite understandable that the monarches of India regarded the alliance and independance of Tibet as an essential feature of their foreign policy and the defence of the country. The soundness of that policy is fully borne out by the recent developments. The Chinese deprived Tibet of its independence and took it under their own government. India has thus been deprived of an important buffer state and the enemies are now able to carry the war easily on Indian soil.

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   हंसद्वारं मृगुपतियशोवर्त्यं यत्क्रान्करन्ध्रम
   तैनोदीची दिशानुसरेः। १, ६१.
6. गत्वाचोर्ध्वं दशमुख मुजाच्छ्वासितप्रस्थसंमेः क्लाह्नस्य त्रिदवनितादर्पणस्या तिथिः स्याः।। १, ६२.
7. काश्चित्कान्ताविरहगुरुणा स्वाधिकारात्प्रमत्तः
   शापेनास्तंग मितमह्निमा वर्षं मोरयेन भर्तुः।
   यक्षश्चक्रे जनकतनयास्नानपुण्योदकेषु स्निग्धच्छायातरुषु वसतिं
8. Raghuvasns' a 2, 26-60.
9. Raghuvamsa, S, 39-67.
   स पूर्णतः पर्वतपदाशासनं ददर्श देवं
   नरदेवसंभवः पुनः पुनः सूत-निबद्ध-चापलं हरन्तमश्वं रथरश्मिसंयतम्। ३, ४२.
10. Shakuntala, Act 6-7.
11. Vikramorvashiyam 1, 4.
    अपसरस :- एतस्मिन्हैमकूटशिखरे।
    राजा :- सूत ऐशानी दिशं चोदयाश्वान्।

Education and Coherent Scheme of Life

We are all familiar with the words University, Education Scheme and Life, and one could easily prove that he understands these words by citing the examples of the Nagpur University, the government and university departments of Education, the Kanhan Water works Scheme and the Life of Mahatma Gandhi. But it will be readily admitted by all of us that this information does not imply a knowledge of the subject which we are trying here to discuss. For understanding whether university education implies a coherent scheme of life we have to probe a little deeper into the meaning and significance of university education and a coherent scheme of life.

According to the University Commission Report : "We have now a wider conception of the duties and responsibilities of universities. They have to provide leadership in politics and administration, the professions, industry and commerce. They have to meet the increasing demand for every type of higher education, literary and scientific, technical and professional. They must enable the country to attain, in as short a time as possible, freedom from want, desease and ignorance, by the application and development of scientific and technical knowledge. India is rich in natural resources and her people have intelligence and energy and are throbbing with renewed life and vigour. It is for the universitites to create knowledge and train minds who would bring together the two, material resources and human energies. If our living standards are to be raised, a radical change of spirit is essential. He indeed must be blind who does not see that, mighty as are the political changes, far deeper are the fundamental questions which will be decided by what happens in the universities. Every thing is being brought to the test of reason, venerable theologies, ancient political institutions, time-honoured social arrangements, a thousand things which, a generation ago, looked as fixed as the hills. If India is to confront the confusion of our time, she must turn for guidance, not to those who are lost in the exigencies of the passing hour, but to her men of letters, and men of science, to her poets and artists, to her discoverers and inventors. These intellectual pioneers of civilization are to be found and trained in the universities, which are the sanctuaries of the inner life of the nation."

These being the aims of university education, it becomes necessary for us to investigate how the individuals who join the university for their education could be

fitted for the achievement of these aims. Creation of knowledge and training of the mind implies a particular development and discipline of the body and the mind. A scheme of physical culture, therefore, becomes one of the fundamental principles of university education. Be it the National Cadet Corpse, or the Physical Training Classes or the organised games and sports or something else, physical training calculated to ensure bodily health and build up sound physic, must form one of the essential features of university education. It must be realised that sound mind cannot coexist with unsound body.

As regards the training of the mind in pursuit of the aims of university education, the teaching imparted in the numerous courses and curricula, merely goes to equip the students with the necessary information regarding the various aspects of life and nature. But it does not succeed in creating that attitude of mind which is essential for using that information for the betterment of humanity and advancement of civilization. One of the great impediments in the way of the evolution of the human mind in the right direction is the conservatism which makes one look backward for a glimpse of the golden age of human happiness. This idolatry of the past prevents us from looking at the future with hope and ambition. Equally reprehensible is the scepticism which is inclined to ridicule and brush aside all the accumulated wisdom of the past. It appears to me that if humanity is to progress towards its goal of supreme happiness, an unshakable faith in the future destiny of mankind must be inculcated, and it must be emphasised that the accumulated wisdom of the past must all be properly utilised to control and direct our efforts in the present to build up the future. This balanced attitude of the mind must characterise each and every individual who comes out of the portals of the university.

A product of the university is of course expected to be a very useful citizen. And how is this to be ensured? I think it is very essential that a civic sense must be aroused by the process of education. A basic instinct to think beforehand of the consequences of our own act upon others, and to desist from deeds likely to affect others adversely has to be created to equip one for citizenship.

While one is trained for a profession, the university education would fail in its object unless its trainee is apt to pursue his career consistently with certain social values higher than the material gain involved in the professional activities. The profit motive is generally the uppermost feature of business life. But a man of education is expected not to ignore the social values of his services even at the cost of his income. If a doctor, for example, is prompted solely by the profit motive, he would devote his attention to save a rich liberatine in preference to a big but poor philanthropist. But if he is a true product of the university his choice should be the reverse of this.

This is, so far as I am able to understand it, the significance of the freedom of mind from material bondage. The baser instincts of the senses the desires have to be subdued and the higher instincts the wishes have to be strengthened so as to sublimate ultimately all our desires. What we wish should be our desire, instead of the desire becoming our wish. In the degree in which this is achieved the university education

may be said to have succeeded in imparting a correct training and culture to the mind. A culmination of this process of sublimating the desires is, in my estimate, the Yoga which in the Bhagavad Gita is defined as "*Yogah karmasu kaushalam*" the skill in the discharge of duties is what constitutes Yoga.

These then, I think, must be the fundamental virtues of university education. Properly inculcated, they should evolve a pattern of life fully suited to uplift humanity by serving the purposes detailed above the building of a healthy and sound body, and a mind properly attuned to have a faith in human destiny, to take lessons from human history, to cultivate a civic sense, to appraise social values and to subdue the senses and sublimate the desires, must characterize all university education. This I consider to be the Philosophy invoved in all forms of university education in the sense of a system for conduct of life.

The Bird that Feels the Light

It is a matter of gratification to all of us that oriental studies, and amongst them the study of the languages and religions of our country, have taken great strides during the last one century. The Vedic and the Pauranic religions as well as the Brahmanic Sanskrit literature have been vastly studied and explored and facilities for this now exist in all our universities as well as in the important universities of the rest of the world. Buddhistic and Pali studies also caught the attention of scholars pretty early during this period, as a result of which most of that literature has been published and explored. But, unfortunately, the same has not been the case with Jainism and the Prakrit languages and literature which have been mostly associated with it. It is not necessary for me to dilate upon the importance of these studies on the one hand and the neglect from which they have suffered so far on the other, because that has been done quite adequately in the past. But consequent upon the redistribution of the sections of the Oriental Conference which has brought into existence an independent section for Prakrit and Jainism, it is necessary for me to emphasise the importance of the latter branch of our studies. Jainism has played a great part in the cultural development of our country and has produced an imperishable mark upon our religious and social institutions as well as our art and literature. The philosophy that it has given us is in many ways unique. As there is no Creator according to the Jaina philosophy to bring into existence life and universe or to direct the phenomenal world, it had to build up a very through and detailed doctrine of *Karma* such as no other philosophy that recognises it in principle has cared to work out. Since there was no personal God to look to for mercy and protection, the basic principle on which society had to be organised was 'Live and let live', and the principle had to be most carefully explained in order to make it practicable for the individual. Since individuals are bound to differ in their mental outlook and environments, a breadth of vision had to be promoted and a well defined but graded system of self purification had to be provided. It is in this way that Jainism at its earliest stages came to hold that doctrine of *Karma* which may be said to be perfect in its own way, preached Ahiṁsā in a manner that would enable the individual to live and grow without serious clashes and conflicts with his fellow beings, developed the wonderful system of *Syādvāda* and *Anekānta* that would harmonise seemingly warring ideas and views, and evolved a unique system of self purification

in the form of *Guṇasthānas*. Unfortunately, these aspects of Jainism have not received that serious attention of the modern scholars which they deserve. The irony of the situation is that those who study the system deeply are as a rule ignorant of the present day methods of interpretation and exposition, while those who are conversant with these methods do not generally get the opportunity or have the will to make a thorough study of the system.

The result of this ignorance on the one hand and apathy on the other has been very calamitous. Even today we are not agreed as to what the original creed of *Mahāvīra*, who first preached the doctrine and organised the community, was. We do not exactly know why his original teachings as arranged in the *Twelve Angas* by his immediate disciple Gautama were gradually forgotten or became woefully mutilated. When and how the two great sections of the community—the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras—separated from each other is still a matter of controversy and wild imagination. The greatest teachers such as Bhadrabāhu and Kundakundācārya cannot yet be assigned to any definite period of time, and opinions on the point differ, not only within the limit of a century or two, but by several centuries. One would, for example, put Bhadrabāhu in the fourth century B.C., while another would place him in the fifth century A.D. How the various *Gaṇas* and *Gacchas* amongst the monks and the castes and communities among the laymen came into existence and on what differences they flourished for centuries is a matter of pure imagination and conjecture. What attempts, if any, were ever made to unify the community, we do not know. And the wonder of it is that all this darkness prevails, not because we possess no light in the form of the proper evidence, but only because, I am sure, we have not yet cared to examine our literary heritage in the right manner. Look at the condition of our records! No big attempt has so far been made to collect all the available inscriptions together, to say nothing of undertaking fresh explorations. A very large part of the literature is still locked up in out-of-the way cellars and stores beyond the reach of an average aspirant. No serious effort has been made even to catalogue the manuscripts thoroughly. Whatever literature has been published is for the most part poorly edited, and numerous texts still appear without any kind of introduction or indexes, which makes their use for scholarly purposes difficult and sometimes valueless. Want of a good dictionary of the Jaina technical terms continues to be a serious handicap for one who may for the first time venture to study the literature. These defects could be rectified satisfactorily and soon only by the combined efforts of the society, and it is high time that a well organised effort should be made in the direction.

The Prakrit language of different periods and provinces, which is richly preserved in Jaina literature only, is most important from the point of view of its bearing upon our modern languages. But most of our Universities and Colleges have not been able to start teaching the Prakrits or make Prakrits available as a basic study for those who seek post-graduate degrees in modern Indian languages. I am glad to be able to say that the Benares Hindu University is not guilty of this crime, though the present position with regard to Prakrit studies needs improvement here also. Formerly, the Sanskrit courses in M.A. the Prakrit in the prescribed drama was taught as Prakrit. But unfortunately this sound practice has gradually disappeared from almost all the

Universities with the result that our graduates in Sanskrit are practically blank about the Prakrits. I feel that the old practice deserves to be revived.

Thus, a big organised attempt has been lacking in many directions in the field of literature and education pertaining to Prakrits and Jainism. Individual efforts of a limited nature have, however, not been wanting. On the contrary, they have been growing during recent years, and when we co-ordinate them properly they reveal a remarkable progress all round. So, I shall now try to draw your kind attention to the work which our colleagues have carried out in various directions so far as it has come to my notice, since my predecessor in this office reported to you on the subject two years ago.

To begin with the texts and translations of the Jaina Āgamas, Pt. Bechardas in his *Mahāvīra Vāṇī* (Sastā Sāhitya Maṇḍal, Delhi, 1942) has presented to us 345 Prakrit verses from the Jaina Āgamas and has classified them under 22 heads according to their subject matter. A Hindi translation is given on the page opposite. The work is well designed to give an idea of the broad principles of Jainism. The chief defect of the work is that the source of each verse has not been indicated. The *Nandi Sūtra* text with Sanskrit *chāyā* and Hindi translation by Hastimalla Muni has become available in a neat and handy volume (Satara, 1942). Upādhyāya Ātmārāmji in the Punjab has translated many of the Prakrit Sūtras into Hindi and the second volume of the *Uttarādhyayana* was published during this period (V.S. 1998).

Outside the canonical literature, the *5th Karma Grantha* called *Sataka* has been very well presented with a comprehensive Hindi explanation by Pt. Kailaschandra Shastri (Agra, 1942). Points of contact and dissimilarity between the Digambara and Śvatāmbara writers on the subject of Karma philosophy have been drawn attention to, and the introduction is well designed to make the doctrine of Karma intelligible to all. I understand that the *6th Karma Grantha, Sattariā*, is being similarly translated by Pt. Phulchandra Shastri. *Die Lehre Vom Karman* by Dr. Glasenapp has been translated from German into English under the title *The Doctrine of Karma in Jaina Philosophy* by Mr. G. Barry Gifford and has been published under the editorship of Prof. H.R. Kapadia (Pannalal Charity Fund, Bombay, 1942). The work is mainly based upon the six Karma Granthas and is the first accurate and comprehensive presentation of the Jaina Karma philosophy in English.

Of the Digambara Jaina Āgama the publication of the first three volumes of *Saṭkhaṇḍāgama* of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali together with the commentary *Dhavalā* of Vīrasena with a Hindi translation was already noticed by my predecessor. I have been able to complete three more volumes of the same work during this period, and thus the first of the six Khaṇḍas, *Jivaṭṭhāna* is now complete (Jaina Sāhitya Uddhāraka Fund, Amraoti, 1941, 42, 43). The *Kaṣāya Pāhuḍa* of Guṇadhara with *Cuṇṇi Sutta* of Yativṛṣabha and *Jayadhavalā* of Vīrasena is also now in the course of edition and translation, and its first volume edited by Pt. Phulchandra Shastri, Pt. Mahendrakumar Shastri and Pt. Kailashchandra Shastri has also gone through the press and may be published one of these days from Benares itself. The *Tiloya Paṇṇatti* of Yativṛṣabha has been edited by Dr. Upadhye and myself and its first volume containing the first four Mahādhikāras

out of nine, with a Hindi translation by Pt. Balachandra Shastri has been published under the auspices of the newly started Jīvarāja Jaina Granthmālā. This is a very ancient and exhaustive work on Jaina cosmology. Volume second of this work is likely to go to press as soon as arrangements for the supply of the requisite quantity of paper are made. It may in this connection be noted that Brahmachari Jivaraj Gautamchand Doshi of Sholapur has now made a donation of seventy five thousand rupees under a registered trust deed to the Jaina Sanskṛti Samrakṣaka Saṁgha which he has himself founded, and one of the main activities of this organisation is to publish old texts in the Jivarāja Jaina Granthmālā. The *Samayasāra Pāhuḍa* of Kundakundācārya, with a Hindi paraphrase, has been published in a neat and handy volume by Mr. Nanakchand Jaina, Advocate, Rohtak (Vīra Saṁvat 2468), while Mr. Jagat Prasad has translated into English the *eight Pāhuḍas* of Kundakundācārya (Delhi 1942).

Other Prakrit texts that have appeared are as follow : D.C. Sarkar's *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I (Calcutta University) gives a good perspective of the early Prakrit records which deserve a careful study from the linguistic point of view. Hāla's *Sattasai* chapters IV-VII with the hitherto unpublished commentary of Haritāmra-Pītāmbara has been edited by Jagadishlal Shastri (Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, 1942). Dr. A.N. Upadhye has given to us some very interesting Prakrit works composed in South India. His edition of *Siricindha-kavvam* of Kṛṣnalīlāsuka has been published in Bhāratīya Vidyā (Vol. III, part i) and of *Soricaritta* of Śrikaṇṭha, Chapter I, in the Bombay University Journal (XII, 2, Sept. 1943). Shri Jinavijayaji's edition of a very interesting work *Dhūrtākhyāna*, to which Dr. Upadhye has added a critical essay dealing, amongst many useful topics, with the Prakrit dialect and style of the work, is completely printed and may be expected to be published soon by Muni Jinavijayaji. Dr. Upadhye's edition of *Candralekhā* is sure to be eagerly looked forward to by all lovers of Prakrit literature, because it is a *Saṭṭaka*, the like of which is so far known to us only in Rajaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī*. The printing of this most interesting and valuable work has started and let us hope that it will be completed soon by the efforts, again, of Muni Jinavijayaji. *Līlāvatī* is yet another work, the edition of which Dr. Upadhye has in hand. It is one of the best artistic poems in Prakrit and is repeatedly referred to in rhetorical works of Bhojadeva and Hemacandra. Several manuscripts of the work have been secured and collated by the skilled editor already, and arrangements have been made for its publication also. I am sure all my colleagues share with me the eagerness to get these works as quick as possible.

In the field of the Apabhraṁśas, Dr. Shahidullah has edited 32 *Dohās* of Siddha Kānūpā and translated the same into Bengali (Sāhitya Parishad Patrikā, Vol. 49, No. 1). *Kāmakandalī* published in the Gaekwar Oriental Series is an interesting work for the study of post Apabhraṁśa, and so also is *Cūnḍia* consisting of 31 stanzas composed during the 16th century (V. S. 1576) by Vinayacandra, the pupil of Bālacandra of the Māthura saṁgha at Giripura ruled by king Ajaya, and published by Pt. Dipacandra Pandya in his article on *Cūnadi Grantha* (Anekānta V, 6-7). Pt. Parmananda Shastri has brought to our notice a new work *Sāntināha-cariu* in 13 chapters composed by Mahindu son of Illarāja at Yoginipura (Delhi) during the reign of the Mughal emperor Babar in V.S. 1587 (Anekānta, V, 6-7). In another article the same writer makes mention of no

less than 23 Apabhraṁśa works composed by the well known poet *Raidhū*, manuscripts of which exist at Delhi, Bombay and Nagaur. The period of the poet's literary activity is shown to be from V.S. 1497 to 1521 (Anekānta, V, 12). In my article on some recent finds of Apabhraṁśa Literature published in the Nagpur University Journal (No. 8, Dec. 1942) information has been given about five Apabhraṁśa poems namely, *Pajjunna-kahā* of Siṁha (prob. 12th cent), *Sukumāla-cariu* of Sirihara (11th cent.), *Chakkammovaesa* of Amarakīrti (12th cent.), *Aṇuvaya-rayaṇa-Pāiu* of Lakkhaṇa (13th cent.), and *Nemināha-cariu* of Lakhamadeo (earlier than 1453). Mr. A. S. Gopani in his article on Maheśvarasūri's *Jnānapancamīkahā* assigns that work to not later than the 11th century and has analysed its contents which consist of ten stories narrated in about two thousand verses (Bhārtīya Vidyā III, 2, May 1942).

Let me now notice a few outstanding publications in Sanskrit. Close upon his excellent edition of the *Nyāyakumuda-candrodaya* in two volumes, Pt. Mahendrakumar Nyāyācārya has given us a new edition of *Prameya-kamala-mārtaṇḍa* of Prabhācandra (Bombay, 1941), which is a great improvement upon the previous edition, and the introduction with a critical survey of the contents of the work in relation to the works of other logicians as well as the comparative footnotes and indexes are of immense value. *Jñānabindu-prakaraṇa* of Yaśovijaya Upādhyāya has been edited by Pt. Sukhalalji who in his excellent introduction focuses attention upon some of the most important features of the Jaina theory of knowledge in comparison with the Hindu and Buddhist systems. (Simghī Jaina Granthmālā No. 16, 1942). The *Bṛhat-kathākoṣa* of Hariṣena has been edited by Dr. Upadhye, whose introduction is a masterpiece of scholarship in the domain of the Jaina story literature (Siṃghī Jaina Granthmālā 1943). *Citrasena-Padmāvatī-caritra* is an interesting romance in Sanskrit published by the Jaina Vidyā Bhavana, Lahore. In the domain of technical literature Pt. Vardhmāna Pārśvanātha Shastri has published the text and Hindi translation of Ugrāditya's *Kalyāṇa-Kāraka* a work on medicine in Sanskrit verse belonging to the time of Nṛpatuṅga, who is identifiable with king Amoghavarṣa I of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty (Sholapur, 1940).

In Hindi the *Vardhāmāna Purāṇa* of Navalaśāha, and 18th century poet of Bundelkhaṇḍa, has been edited by Pt. Pannalal Jaina Vasant (Dig. Jaina Pustakālaya, Surat, 1942). A work of special interest in Hindi is the *Ardha Kathānaka* of Banārasidāsa a well-known poet of the 16th century. It has been edited by Dr. Mātāprasad Gupta (Allahabad, 1943), but the editing here is very defective, chiefly for want of proper collation of manuscripts and application of the usual methods of rectifying scribal mistakes. But an ideal edition of the same work is given to us by Pt. Nathuramji Premi (Bombay, 1943), with a very informative introduction, notes and appendices. As a piece of autobiography in verse the work is unique in Hindi literature.

The following Kannaḍa works have lately been edited for the first time :-*Neminātha Purāṇan* of Karṇapārya (A.D. 1130-35) edited by H. Sesh Ayyangar (Madras University Kannada Series, 1940) : *Khagendra-maṇi-darpaṇa* of Mangarāja (middle of the 14th century) a work on toxicology edited by A. Vankat Rao and H. Sesh Ayyangar (University of Madras, 1942); and *Pūrvapurāna* of Hastimalliṣenācārya edited from a single manuscript by Prof. K.G. Kundangar (Kolhapur, 1943).

Having noticed the old texts that have seen the light of day in full or in part, I may here make mention of some lists of important works. Pt. Jugalkishore Mukhtar has given us a list of 10 important manuscripts deposited at Nagpur, 24 at Jaipur, 32 at Amer, 200 palmleaf manuscripts of Moodbidri, 125 at Śravaṇa Belgola and 27 at Sonipat (Anekānta, V), selected from long lists of about 200 manuscript stores which have been compiled by the Vīra Sewā Mandir at Sarsāwā under his direction, and before too long we may expect a very comprehensive catalogue to be issued from that Mandir. An important compilation of this Mandir, which is now running through the press, is a *Purātana-Jaina-Vākya-Sūcī* which contains sententious remarks collected from about 65 old works regarded as authoritative in the Jaina community, and arranged in an alphabetical order.

Let me now bring to notice a series of contribution in the form of articles or books concerning the Prakrit languages. Pt. Mahendrakumar Shastri in his article *Śramaṇa Saṁskṛti Aura Bhāṣā* (Anekānta V, 5) has pointed out how the Śramaṇas came to differ from the vedic followers and how they adopted languages other than Sanskrit for their literature and propaganda. I have in my article *Sanskrit meṁ Prakrit kā Prabhāva* (Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā 47, 2) pointed out how the phonetic tendencies of the Prakrits are also traceable in Sanskrit and how many Sanskrit synonyms can best be explained on the principle of those phonetics. Prof. H.R. Kapadia has given us a *History of the Canonical Literature of the Jainas* (Bombay, 1941), while Dr. D.C. Sarkar gives us *A Grammar of the Prakrit Language* (Calcutta, 1943) which records some forms from the Inscriptions and is a good aid to understand Vararucī's Prakrit Prakāśa. Dr. Ghatage makes a *Survey of the Prakrit Studies* in the Silver Jubilee Volume of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkistan* by Dr. Burrow (London 1940) is a valuable contribution for the study of the language of those records with his companion volume on the *Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkistan* issued in 1937. In my article on *Paiśāci Turkistan* I have tried to show that the language of the records confirms to a remarkable extent to the peculiarities of the Paiśācī dialect of the Prakrit grammarians and that the name *Cūlikā Paiśācī* may be derived from *Sūlika* which was the ancient name of Kashgar where that dialect may have been developed, thus bringing the Cūlikā Paiśācī also in line with the other Prakrits which bear regional names (Nagpur University Journal, No. 7). Alfred Master in his article on the *Mysterious Paiśācī* (JRAS, 1943, 1-2) denies the view that the Paiśācī spoken by the people of the Vindhyas was a form of Prakrit influenced by Dravidian. On the contrary, he propounds the view that Piśāca could not denote any particular tribe nor Paiśācī any particular language, but the Dravidian root from which the word Piśāca may have been formed points to the meaning 'confusion of the mind' and the term is likely to have been used in the past for people whose language was unitelligible.

I may now notice a number of articles throwing fresh light upon the contents of Jaina books or discussing the dates of authors. Pt. Sumerchand Divakar in his article on *Mahādhavala para Prakāśa* (Anekānta V, 12) has given a short survey with quotations of the contents of that rare work called *Mahābandha,* of which the only manuscript so far known existed at Moodbidri in South Kanara. Mr. Divakar has succeeded in

obtaining a complete transcript of the same and he is trying to edit the text and publish it with a Hindi translation. Pt. Mahendrakumar Shastri and Pt. Darbarilal Kothia have discussed the question of the authorship of the benedictory verse found at the beginning of *Tattvārtha Sūtra* and Valuable evidence has been advanced to prove on the one hand that it was added by one of the commentators, and on the other that it belongs to the author of the Sūtras himself. (Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara, IX, 1; Anekānta V). Pt. Phulchandra Shastri in an article on *Tattvārtha Sūtra kā antah-parīkṣaṇa* (Anekānta, IV, 11-12; V, 1-2) has laid his finger on many points in the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* which correspond with the ideas of the Digambara School and differ from those of the Śvetāmbara School. Pt. Jugal Kishore Mukhtar in his article on *Sarvārthasiddhi para Samantabhadra kā Prabhāva* has shown how on many points the Sarvārthasiddhi Ṭīkā of Pūjyapāda bears clear influence of Samantabhadra's works. (Anekānta V, 10-11). Pt. Darbarilal Kothia in his article on *Samantabhadra aur Diganāga meṁ Pūrvavartī Kauna* (Anekānta V, 12) has, on the evidence of the views expressed in their works, made out a case for regarding Samantabhadra as a predecessor of Diganāga as well as of Bhartṛhari, Kumārila and Dharmakīrti. The same writer in another article on *Parīkṣāmukha Sūtra aura uskā Udgama* (Anekānta V, 3-4) has shown how Māṇekyanandi has based his work upon the works of Akalaṁka from which parallel passages are quoted. The heated controversy between Prof. Jagadischandra and Pt. Jugalkishore Mukhtar ended during the period under review and valuable evidence on the question of the priority of *Tattvārthādhigama Bhāṣya* and *Rājavārttika* commentaries on the Tattvārtha Sūtra has accumulated. (Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara VIII-IX; Anekānta IV-V). Pt. Parmananda Shastri in his *Paumacariya kā antah-parīkṣana* (Anekānta V, 10-11) has drawn attention to several points of correspondence between the statements in Vimalasūri's work and those in the works of Kundakunda and Umāsvāti, as well as to some points where they are found to be in agreement with the Digambara or the Śvetāmbara views in contrast with the other. The points that are of a dubious nature between the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbara are interesting, and still more interesting are the points which are peculiar to the work and have no correspondence in the works of either sect. Pt. Dipachand Pandya in his article on *Yaśastilaka kā Saṁśodhana* (Anekānta V, 1-2) has suggested numerous corrections and improvements of the published text of Yaśastilaka champū of Somadeva on the basis of a good old manuscript of the work obtained by him from the Jaina temple at Ajmer. Dr. Upadhye in his article on *Padmaprabha and his commentary on the Niyamasāra* has assigned the author to about the close of the 12th century (Journal of Bombay University, XI, 1). Mr. P.K. Gode has fixed the date of Meghavijayagaṇi's commentary on Hastasanjīvana between 1680 and 1700 A. D. (Bhārtīya Vidyā III May, 1942). Dr. Banarsidas has published notes on the unpublished works *Vinayaṃdhara Caritra* of Śīladeva and *Bhīmakumāra Kathā* composed in Sanskrit and Prakrit (Jaina Vidyā 1942). Pt. Nemichandra Jain has given information about the contents of a work *Kevalajñāna-praśna-cūḍāmaṇi* on astrology in Sanskrit ascribed to Samantabhadra, a transcript of which has been acquired by Pt. K. Bhujabali Shastri for the Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana, Arrah, from Moodbidri (Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara, IX, 2). Mr. Kamtaprasad Jain has brought to light a *Virudāvalī* of the Mūla

Saṁgha, Sarasvatī Gaccha, Balātkāra Gana, which ends with Bhaṭṭāraka Merucandra Guru of the Humvaḍa family. This has been translated from Sanskrit into Hindi by Pt. Kamalākānta Upādhyāya (Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara, IX, 2). Pt. K. Bhujabali Shastri has continued the good work of collecting together the authors' Praśastis from the manuscripts deposited at the Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana , Arrah (*JSB* VII-IX). Pt. Ajitprasadji has through the Jaina Gazette, which he has been editing all these days, given us English translations of various small Sanskrit and Prakrit tracts and written articles explaining to the English reading public and broad features and principles of Jainism. Pt. Nathuram Premi's revised articles numbering 62 on Jaina authors and works as well as on the history of other Jaina institutions have now appeared collected in a book *Jaina Sāhitya aura Itihāsa* (Bombay, 1942). It is a mine of information for all those who wish to work further in the field. Mr. Agarachand Nāhaṭā has in an article on *Vīra Gāthā Kāla kā Jaina Bhāṣā Sāhaṭā* (Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā, 46, 3) drawn attention to 16 poets and their works in Apabhraṁśa or Bhāṣā belonging to a period between the 10th and the 14th century and to 8 works of prose in old Hindi of the 13th and 14th century out of the *Prācīna Gujrātī Gadya Samgraha* complied by Muni Jinavijayaji. The same author in his *Gujrātī Bhāṣā mein Digambara Sāhitya* has given a brief survey of the Digambara Jaina literature produced in Gujrati during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

I may now be permitted to notice briefly a few articles interpreting the Jaina culture or discussing Jaina principles and doctrines. Pt. Sukhlalji in his *Jaina Samskṛti kā Hṛdaya* (Anekānta V, 8-9) has surveyed in a very thought-provoking manner the historical trend of ideas that characterised Jaina culture and how gradually the age of decadence set in. Dr. Devaraja in his *Jaina Dharma kā Mahatva* (*JSB* IX, 2) has tried to examine briefly the place of Jainism on the touchstone of history and reason. In my article on *Sāsādana Samyaktva ke Sambandha meṁ Śāsana-bheda* (Anekānta VI, 2-3) I have pointed out how the authors of the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama Sūtras*, the *Cūrṇi sūtras*, *Sarvārthasiddhi*, Sanskrit *Panca-samgraha*, *Gommaṭasāra Jīvakāṇḍa*, and *Karma Kānda*, the *Śvetāmbara Agamas*, *Karmagranthas* and Prakrit *Panca-samgraha* are in divergence with each other and cut across the sectarian boundaries on an important point of Siddhānta. I have also initiated a discussion in Jaina papers on some of the fundamental problems that have divided the Digambara and Śvetāmbara communities for centuries, with a view to induce a reconsideration of the whole position once again (Jaina sandeśa VII, 29; JSB X, 2). Prof. K.C. Bhattacarya in his *Jaina Theory of Anekānta Vāda* has explained the Jaina system of manifoldness of truth in relation to European thought. Pt. Vansidhara Vyākaraṇācārya in his *Nayoṁ kā Viśleṣaṇa* (Anekānta VI, 3ff) has made an analytical study of the seven Nayas which constitute a very important part of the Jaina system of thought. Dr. Harisatya Bhattacarya in his *Nārāyaṇas, Pratinārāyaṇas and Balabhadras* (Jaina Antiquary VIII-IX) has discussed the Jaina Pauranic personalities in the light of the Hindu Purāṇas. Mr. Kalipada Mitra has contributed an article on *magic and Miracle in Jaina Literature* (Jaina Antiquary VII, 1). Dr. P. L. Vaidya was, during the period under review, busy in arbitration over a dispute regarding the interpretation and application of an astronomical rule attributed to Umāsvāti. His award is now published both in Sanskrit and English and what interests us there are his observations about the several Jaina astronomical texts such as the *Sūryaprajñapti*, the *Candraprajñapti*,

Jyotiṣ Karaṇḍaka, Lokaprakāśa, Vidhimārgaprapā of Jinaprabha Sūri (14th century) *sräddha-vidhi-prakaraṇa* of Ratnaśekhara Sūri (16th century_, *Tattva-taranginī* of Dharmasāgara Sūri (16th century) and above all the *Siddhānta tippaṇa* which is lost. (Palitana, 7-3-43). Prof. G.R. Jain has given us a volume on *Cosmology Old and New* in elucidation of the fifth chapter of Tattvārtha Sūtra of Umāsvāti (J. L. Jaini Trust Fund, 1942).

A few articles on Jaina Art are also noteworthy. Babu Jayabhagavan in his article on *Jaina Kalā aur uskā Mahatva* (Anekānta V, 4) has drawn attention to the characteristics of Jaina iconography and architecture and the symbolism associated with them. The *Manuscript Illustrations of the Uttarādhyayana sūtra* have been reproduced and discussed by W. Norman Brown (Connecticut 1941). Mr. Kalipada Mitra has identified *An image from Pirpahar* in Monghyr district as that of the 1st Jaina Tīrthaṃkara Ṛṣabhadeva with chauri-bearers on either side, and has assigned the same to about the 11th century A.D., while Dr. V.S. Agrawal has given details of a *fragmentary sculpture of Neminatha*, the 22nd tirthaṃkara, discovered from the Kankāli Tilā at Mathura and has assigned it to the Gupta period. It has Baladeva serving him as one of his attendants (*JA*, VIII, 2).

Lastly, I have to bring to notice a series of contributions on the most important subject of the history of Jainism. Muni Ratnaprabhavijaya has compiled *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra* in four volumes in English (Ahmedabad, 1941-42). Vol. I is devoted to an account of the *Previous births of Lord Mahāvīra;* Vol. II presents us with text and interpretation of 116 *sūtras of Kalpasūtra* giving us an account of the life and activities of Mahāvira. Vol. III treats of *Gaṇadhara Vāda*, and Vol. IV with *Sthavirāvalī* according to Śvetāmbara traditions. Pt. Kalyāṇavijayaji has given us *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra* in Hindi (Jalor, V.S. 1998) bringing together valuable material on the subject, though certain chapters such as the one on Jinakalpa and Sthavirakalpa could only be read with caution. Mr. Kamtaprasad in his *Jaina Chronology* has tabulated events of Jaina History covering the period between 573 B.C. and 321 B.C. (*JA* VIII, 1). Mr. Dhirendranath Mookerjee in his *Candragupta and Bhadrabāhu* (*IHQ* XX, 3) has expounded the view that Candragupta who, according to a Jaina tradition, abdicated the throne and retired to the South as a follower of Bhadrabāhu, was the Gupta monarch Vikramāditya Candragupta and not the founder of the Mauryan empire, while the sage was Bhadrabāhu II and not the Śrutakevali Bhadrabāhu. Muni Puṇyavijayaji has written a note on *Bhadrabāhu* in his *Chedasūtrakāra ane Niryuktikāra* (in the Sri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Rajata Mahotsava Grantha, Bombay, 1941, 5). Mr. Nanakchand in his article *Kyā Bhadrabāhu śrutakevalī the* (Jaina Sandeśa VII, 30) has drawn attention to a statement in Dhavalā (Vol. I, p. 66) according to which the five Śrutakevalis, including Bhadrabāhu who was the last of them, did not possess knowledge of the whole Jaina Śruta, but only of the 11 Aṅgas and 14 Pūrvas, so that the other four sections of *Diṭṭhivāda*, namely, *Parikamma, Sutta, Paḍhamānuoga* and *Cūlikā* were already forgotten in their time. Dr. H.C. Seth in his article on *Khāravela and Gardabhilla* (Nagpur University, No. 8) has suggested the identification of king Gardabhilla of the Kālakācarya story with king Khāravela of the Hāthigumphā cave inscription on no less than seven grounds. Pt. Bhujabali Shastri in his *Jaininyoṁ kī Dṛṣṭi meṁ Vikramāditya* (*JSB* X, 1) has briefly surveyed the Jaina traditions about king Vikrama. Mr. B.N. Puri has written an article on *Jaina religious orders in the Kushan Period* (Journal of the Indian History, Special

number, April 1941). Dr. V.S. Agrawal in his article on *Jaina Sāhitya meṁ Prācīna Aitihāsika Sāmagrī* (Anekānta V, 12) has drawn attention to various Kāvyas, Prabandhas, Paṭṭāvalis, Praśastis, image-inscriptions, Vijñaptipatras, Tīrthmālās and Caritras that constitute a rich source of historical information. This article has been supplemented by Mr. Agarchand Nāhatā in his *Aitihāsika Sāmagrī para Viśeṣa Prakāśa* (Anekānta VI, 2). Pt. K. Bhujabali Shastri in his *Mandiroṁ evaṁ Mūrtiyoṁ kī Utpatti* has given the origin and development of the temple and images on the basis of Dr. P.K. Acarya's views (Prācīna Bhārata I, 8) and points out that though the history of temples and images is very old, the literature dealing with the installation ceremonies does not appear to go beyond the 11th or the 12th century A.D. as had been pointed out before by Pandit Udayalal Kaslival and Pandit Nathuram Premi (Jaina Heteṣī XII, 1). In my article on *Girinagara kī Candraguphā* (Anekānta V, 1-2) I have tried to identify the cave at Girnar which is said to have been the residence of Dharasenācārya, who inspired the composition of the Saṭkhaṇḍāgama Sūtras. Pandit Dipchand Pandya in an article on *Varadatta kī Nirvāṇa Bhūmi aur Varāṅga ke Nirvāṇa para Vicāra* (Akekānta V, 1-2) has pointed out that the place mentioned in connection with Varadatta's salvation or departure to heaven was *Maṇimān* hill by the side of the river Saraswati and in the vicinity of Anartapur. Dr. Banarasidas Jaina in his article on *Panjab meṁ Upalabdha kucha Jaina Lekha* (Anekānta V, 1-2) has brought to light 19 Jaina inscriptions from the Punjab, throwing light upon the organisation and other conditions of the Jaina monks in the locality during the period from the 13th to the 17th century. Mr. Kalipada Mitra in his Historical References in Jaina Poems (IHQ, June 1942) has pointed out various mentions of historical personages of the Mughal period from the Apabhraṁśa, old Rajsthānī and old Hindi poems collected in the Aītihāsika Jaina Kāvya Samgraha of Mr. Agarchand Nāhaṭā and Bhanwar Lal Nāhaṭā (Calcutta, V.S. 1994). Mr. Nāhaṭā in his article on *Darkaṭa Vaṃśa* (Anekānta V, 12) has collected a large number of references to the mention of his family from V.S. 1143 to 1607 in image-inscriptions and manuscript praśastis. This family name particularly interests us because Dhanapāla the author of the Bhavisayattakahā belong to it. Mr. Prabhu Lal Jain in his *Gwalior meṁ Jaina Śāsana* (Anekānta VI, 1) makes mention of the fact that Jainism received patronage of the Gwalior kings Vīrasiṁhadeva, Dungarasiṁha, Karṇasiṁha and Mānasiṁha from 1398 to 1528 A.D. during a period of 13 years. Muni Kāntisāgar in his *Madhyapradeśa aur Berar meṁ Jaina Purātattva* (Anekānta V, 3-4) has drawn affection to ten different localities where old Jaina architectural and sculptural remains could be found. In my article on *Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nareśa Amoghavarṣa kī Jaina Dīkṣā* (JSB IX, 1; Anekānta V, 5) I have tried to interpret the introductory verses in the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṁgraha* of Mahāvīrācācārya which seem to imply that the contemporary monarch Amoghavarṣa I became a Jaina monk towards the close of his career. Babu Kamtaprasad in his *Vijayanagar ke Jaina Śilālekha* (JSB X, 1) has reproduced two inscriptions in Sanskrit which throw light upon the progress of Jainism in that part of the country during the 14th century. Mr. B.V. Kṛṣṇarao has written an article on Jainism in Andhradeśa (Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, XIII, 3-4, 1942). Mr. R.S. Panchamukhi has in his article on *Jainism in Karnāṭaka and Bhātkal Finds* (Karnāṭaka Historical Review VI, 1-2) gives information about the discoveries made at Bhātkal Petha and its surroundings on the west coast of

the Bombay Karnataka area, consisting of various objects of Jaina antiquity including bronze and stone images of the Jaina Pantheon and lithic records, and on the basis of the same he gives an account of the state of Jainism obtaining in the area during that period. B. Kamtaprasad Jaina in his *Śravaṇa Belgola kẹ Śilālekhom meṁ Bhaugolika Nāma* (*JSB* VIII-IX) has made an alphabetical list of the geographical names occurring in the inscriptions from Śravaṇa Belgola, while in his *Uttara Karnāṭaka aur Kolhapura Rājya ke kucha Śilālekha* (JSB IX, 1) he has made mention of those inscriptions in Prof. K.G. Kundangar's book of inscriptions which have an association with Jainism. Mr. Agarchand Nāhatā in his *Jaina Jātiyoṁ ke Prācīna Itihāsa kī samasyā* (Anekānta VI, 8-9) has shown that there is no trace of the modern castes and communities of the Jainas in their literature previous to the 11th century A.D.

This is, a brief record of the work carried out in the field of Prakrits and Jainisim during the period of last two years. The record is by no means complete. During the whole of this period we have remained practically cut off from our co-workers in other countries, and my sources of information have been limited owing to the very poor library facilities available to me. Inquiries in such cases, as we all know, are generally ignored. I therefore beg to be excused if any noteworthy contributions have not found mention in my brief survey. One welcome feature that would be noticed from this short review is that scholars of the old school, who used to abstain from critical studies and looked from all research with an air of suspicion, are now taking a substantial part in all important literary as well as historical investigations. It is with a view to attract them more and more to this kind of activity that I have made mention here even of some contributions that may not be considered to satisfy the requirements of the present day standard of research. The work that has been thus carried out in our field is quite substantial, specially when we take into account the fact that the difficulties of getting supplies of paper and other printing materials have been enormous, and have put serious restrictions on the work of publication. The stress of war and the consequent diversion of the mind have also been instrumental in curtailing our explorative and contemplative activities. But let us all hope that these difficulties and hindrances will soon vanish and we shall emerge free to carry on those investigations of the mind and matter which have always characterised our spiritual life and social existence. In the words of our great poet Rabindranath Tagore,

Faith is the bird that feels the light
And signs when the dawn is dark.

Contribution of Jainism to Indian Culture

The richness of Indian Culture is chiefly the result of its three ancient systems of religion and philosophy, namely, the Vedic, the Jaina and the Buddhist. Any one who ignores the study of any of these gets a very incomplete picture of the history and social life of this country and he fails to grasp the essential features of Aryan thought through all its phases of development. A brief survey of the history of Jainism is presented here.

1. Antiquity of Jainism

The Jains claim a great antiquity for their religion. Their earliest prophet was Ṛṣhabhadeva who is mentioned even in the Hindu Puranas as belonging to a very remote past. In the earliest Brahmanic literature are found traces of the existence of a religious order which ranged itself strongly against the authority of the Vedas and the institution of animal sacrifices. At the time of the great Kuru war (Mahabharata), this order was led by Neminatha who is said to have belonged to the same Yadav family as Krishna. This order gathered particular impetus during the 8th century B. C. under Parshvanatha who was born in Benares and who became the 23rd Tirthankara.

2. Lord Mahavira

250 years after Parshvanatha was born the last of the Jain prophets Vardhamana, better known as Mahavira. His father was the chief of Kundinyapur near Vaisali which is now represented by the village Basrarh some 27 miles to the north of Patna. Mahavira's mother was Trisala, the daughter of the Lichchhavi king of Vaisali. According to Jain tradition, Mahavira was born in 599 B.C. From his early childhood he had a reflective mind. Realising the transitary nature of the world he became an ascetic at the age of 30. He practised hard penance and meditation for twelve years during the course of which he bore many persucutions at the hands of the ignorant people till at last, he attained enlightenment. Thenceforth he began to preach his doctrine to people. This he did for 30 years and own a large number of followers both monks and householders. He abandoned his mortal body at the age of 72.

3. Spread of Jainism

Mahavira left behind him a strongly organised religious order through whose incessant efforts the animal sacrifices fell into disuse and non-violence became firmly established

as a rule of life among the people. They gradually expanded over the whole country, north, south, east and west. Jain monks were to be found on the banks of the Indus already at the time of Alexander's invasion. A band of Jain monks under Bhadrabahu migrated to the south and spread the religion throughout the Decean with their seat at Shravana Belgola in Mysore. Royal patronage was also bestowed upon the faith and the great Maurya emperor Chandra Gupta is claimed to have joined Bhadrabahu's march to the south as his disciple. In the 2nd century B.C. King Kharvel of Kalinga professed Jainism and promoted its cause by setting up Jain images. During the early centuries of the Christian era Mathura in the North and Shravana Belgola in the south formed great centres of Jain activities as is proved by a large number of inscriptions, images, and other monuments discovered at both the places. From the 5th to the 12th century A.D. the various royal dynasties of the south such as the Gangas, the Kadambas, the Chalukyas, and the Rashtrakutas and the Kalachuries accorded their patronage to Jainism. Some of the Rastrakutas kings of Manyekheta from the 8th to the 10th century showed a special leaning towards Jainism and gave a great impetus to the development of Jain art and literature. About 1000 A.D. Jainism gained a great ascendancy in Gujarat where the Chalukya kings Siddharaja and his son Kumarpala openly professed Jainism and encouraged the literary and temple building activities of the Jains. During the Muhammadan period also Jainism continued to flourish without much molestation from the rulers owing to the peaceful ways of its followers, though in ever decreasing numbers. They even received some patronage under the benign Mughal emperor Akbar. But during this period their numbers particularly increased in the native states of Rajputana where they occupied many important offices including generalships and ministerships.

4. Jaina Philosophy

As a system of thought Jainism is dualistic, that is, it believes in the independent existence of souls and matter which have nither a beginning nor end. From eternity souls are bound up with extremly fine matter called Karman which a soul attracts to it self as the result of its good or bad actions and intentions. By force of Karman souls are subject to the cycle of transmigration. But if a soul succeeds in entirely getting rid of the Karman from itself by means of purity in faith, knowledge and action, it attains salvation and is then free from birth and death for all time. God, to the Jains, is only the perfect soul which takes no part in the creation, preservation or destrustion of the world, which they believe to subsist by the forces of repulsion and attraction inherent in the parts that compose it, namely life and matter (Jiva and Ajiva).

Great emphasis is laid on Ahimsa or non-violence as the *sine qua non* of good conduct. But with the catholicity which characterises all its rules and regulations, it also lays down that where absolute abstince from injury to life is impossible, one must try to live with the minimum of injury to other living beings. Thus it tries to establish in society the principle of 'live and let live'.

5. Attitude towards other faiths

The attitude of Jainism towards other systems of thought is regulated by its logic of *Syadvada* or *Anekanta* which says that no single statement gives you a complete idea of

a thing, and that, in order to comprehend any-thing fully one must examine it from all points of view. Each point of view, by itself, can lead you only to a partial truth and not the whole truth. Thus what seem to conflicting statements or contradictory ideas, may, on a fuller examination, turn out to be only the different sides of the same thing. In this way, it tries to avoid clash between warring nations and establish harmony amongst people professing different faiths. Unfortunately, this principle of Jainism has been frequently misunderstood and misinterpreted.

6. Literary activities of the Jains

The Jains have played a very important part in the linguistic development of the country. The medium of sacred writings and preachings of the Brahmanas has all along been Sanskrit and of the Buddhas Pali. But the Jains utilised the prevailing languages for their religious propaganda as well as for preservation of knowledge. In this way they exercised a predominent influence on the development of the Prakrit languages. They even gave a literary shape to some vernaculars for the first time. The earliest Kanareses literature for example is of Jain author and early Tamil literature also owes much to Jaina writers. In their sacred as well as secular literature they have preserved the form of the IndoAryan languages as they prevailed at different times in the different parts of the country. Of late, a very rich literature produced by the Jains has come to light which preserves the form of the language as it was current prior to the present day vernaculars; specially Hindi, Gujarati and Marathi. This language has been called Apabhramsa. It forms the link between the classical language and the present day vernaculars, and as such its study is very important from the philological point of view. The Jains have also produced a rich literature in Sanskrit.

7. Development of arts by Jains

The Jains have always taken their due share in the development of the arts in the country. They erected Stupas, as did the Buddhist in honour of their saints, with their accessories of stone railings, decorated gate-ways, stone umbrellas, elaborately carved pillars, and abundant statues. Early examples of these have been discovered at Mathura. Bundelkhand is full of Jain images of the 11th and 12th centuries. The huge statues of Bahuvali known as Gommateshvara, at Shravanbelgola and Karkal in Mysore are among the wonders of the world. The colossal relics carved in the rock-face near Gwalior belong to the 15th century. They also built cave temples cut in rocks, the earliest examples of which belonging to the 2nd century B.C. and later, exist in Orissa, known as Hathi Gumpha caves. Other samples of varying periods exist at Junagadha, Junnar, Osmanabad and other places. The numerous Jain places of pilgrimage such as the Parshvanatha-Hills Pawapuri and Rajgriha in Bihar, Girnar and Palitana in Gujarat, possess temples and other architectural monuments of different ages. The Jain marble temples at mount Abu in Rajaputana, belonging to the 11th century and later carry to its highest perfection the Indian genius for the invention of graceful patterns and their application to the decoration of masonry".

8. Jain sects

The Jain community is one and undivided so far as the essential doctrines are concerned. But about the beginning of the Christian era, it became divided, in ritualistic, side, in two sects, namely the Digambaras who worship the idols of their prophets called Tirthankaras, in a naked form, and the Svetambaras who worshipped them in a clothed form. The latter sect was, during the 16th century, split into two classes, those that worshipped images and those that renounced idol-worship altogether. Similar split, about this time, took place among the Digambara also.

9. The present day Jain community

The present population of Jains in India is about 15 lakhs, distributed all over the country, but predominently in Rajputana and Gujarat. Mostly the Jains are traders and a very large amount of the trade of the country passes through their hands. They have founded and maintain many charitable institutions in the country such as dispensaries, Dharmshalas and houses for animal-protection. They are now devoting more attention to education, publication of their literature, and reform of their society which has become split up by narrow caste distinctions like the Hindus with whom they have always lived in close contact.

10. Jainism independent of and older than Buddhism

Early European scholars started a wrong theory about the origin of Jainism. Finding a good deal of similarity between the two religions—Budhisma and Jainism they thought that two similar religions could not rise independently and simultaneously in one and the same country. They therefore, regarded the less known Jainism to be a branch of the more extensive Buddhism. But more recent researches have conclusively proved the falsehood of the theory which is now given up. Jainism is now regarded by all scholars as independent of Buddhism and the older of the two. Mahavira now proved to have been senior contemporary of Buddha.